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**JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**POLYNESIAN SOCIETY**

**CONTAINING**  
**THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE SOCIETY.**

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**VOL. XIII.**

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**1904.**



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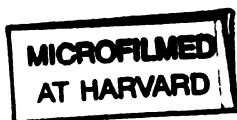
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Wellington. N.Z.

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THE Society is formed to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian races, by the publication of an official journal, to be called "THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY," and by the collection of books, manuscripts, photographs, relics, and other illustrations of the history of the Polynesian race.

The term "Polynesia" is intended to include Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, as well as Polynesia proper.

Candidates for admission to the Society shall be admitted on the joint recommendation of a member of the Society and a member of the Council, and on the approval of the Council.

Every person elected to membership shall receive immediate notice of the same from the Secretaries, and shall receive a copy of the rules; and on payment of his subscription of one pound shall be entitled to all the benefits of membership. Subscriptions are payable in advance, on the 1st January of each year, or on election.

Papers will be received on any of the above subjects if sent through a member. Authors are requested to write only on one side of the paper, to use quarto paper, and to leave one inch margin on the left-hand side, to allow of binding. Proper names should be written in ROMAN TYPE.

The office of the Society is at present at NEW PLYMOUTH, New Zealand

The price of back numbers of the Journal, to members, is 2s. 6d.

Vols. i, ii, iii, and iv are out of print.

Members and exchanges are requested to note the change in the Society's Office from Wellington to New Plymouth, to which all communications, books, exchanges, &c., should be sent, addressed to the Hon. Secretaries.







## MEMBERS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

AS AT 1ST JANUARY, 1904.

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The sign \* before a name indicates an original member or founder

As this list will be published annually, the Secretaries would feel obliged if members will supply any omissions, or notify change of residence.

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 1897-1898—The Rev. W. T. Habens, B.A.  
 1899-1900—J. H. Pope.  
 1901-1903—E. Tregear, F.R.H.S., &c.  
 1904—S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S.



## LIST OF EXCHANGES.

**T**HE following is the list of Societies, &c., &c., to which the JOURNAL is sent, and from most of which we receive exchanges. There is a tacit understanding that several Public Institutions are to receive our publications free, so long as the New Zealand Government allows our correspondence, &c., to go free by post.

Agent-General of New Zealand, 13 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.  
Anthropologische, Ethnographische, etc., etc., Gesellschaft, Vienna, Austria.  
Anthropologie, Société d', 15, Rue Ecole de Medecin, Paris.  
Anthropologia, Museo Zoologica, Florence, Italy.  
Anthropological Society of Australia, c/o Board of International Exchanges Sydney.  
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, 3 Hanover Square, London, W.  
Anthropologie, École d', 15 Rue Ecole de Medecin, Paris.  
Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, University, Sydney.  
Aute (Te) Students Association, The College, Te Aute, Hawke's Bay, N.Z.  
American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, Newhaven, Conn., U.S.A.

Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.  
Buddhist Text Society, 86/2 Jaun Bazaar Street, Calcutta.  
Blenheim Literary Institute, Blenheim, N.Z.  
Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.  
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, H.I.

Canadian Institute, 46 Richmond Street East, Toronto.  
Cambridge Philosophical Society, Cambridge, England.

Faculté des Sciences de Marseilles, Marseilles, France.

General Assembly Library, Wellington, N.Z.  
Géographie, Société de, de Paris, Boulevard St. Germain 184, Paris.

Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.

Institute, The Auckland, Museum, Auckland, N.Z.  
Institute, The Philosophical, Christchurch, N.Z.  
Institute, The Philosophical, Wellington, N.Z.  
Institute, The Otago, Dunedin, N.Z.

Japan Society, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitete Akademien, Stockholm, Sweden.  
Koninklijk Instituut, 14, Van Galensstraat, The Hague, Holland.

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.  
Luzac & Co., publishers of Oriental Text, 46 Great Russell St., London, W.C.

Museum, Christchurch.  
Museum, The Australian, Sydney.  
Minister of Education, Wellington.  
Minister, Right Hon. the Premier, Wellington.  
Minister, Hon. The Colonial Secretary, Wellington.

Na Mata, Editor, Suva, Fiji.  
New York Public Library, c/o Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.

Public Library, New Plymouth, N.Z.

Public Library, Auckland.

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Peet, Rev. S. D., Ph.D., Editor of "The American Antiquarian," 5817, Madison Avenue, Chicago.

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Reading Room, Rotorua, N.Z.

Royal Geographical Society, 1 Saville Row, London.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Brisbane.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, c/o G. Collingridge, Waronga, N.S.W.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 70 Queen Street, Melbourne.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Adelaide.

Royal Society, Burlington House, London.

Royal Society of New South Wales, 5 Elizabeth Street, Sydney.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 87 Park Street, Calcutta.

Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London.

Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona, Spain.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Secretary, General Post Office, Wellington.

Secretary (Under) Colonial Secretary's Department, Wellington.

Secretary (Under) Justice (Native), Wellington.

Wisconsin Academy of Science and Arts, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.



## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

*Held at New Plymouth, 8th March, 1904.*

THE adjourned annual meeting was held as above, Mr. F. P. Corkill, member of the Council, in the chair, the following members being present:—Messrs. W. H. Skinner, J. H. Parker, W. L. Newman, M. Fraser, H. W. Saxton, W. Kerr, J. B. Roy, W. D. Webster, S. Percy Smith.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held 27th January, 1903, together with the annual report and accounts, were read and confirmed. The two latter will be found below.

The following officers were elected:—President, S. Percy Smith; Council, Messrs. J. P. Corkill, W. L. Newman, and Wm. Kerr (all re-elected); Hon. Secretary, Wm. Kerr; Hon. Auditor, W. H. Saxton.

The following new members were elected:—

- |     |                 |  |
|-----|-----------------|--|
| 357 | Honorary Member | Professor W. Baldwin Spencer, University, Melbourne. |
| 358 | Ordinary Member | Geo. Fenwick (as representing "Otago Daily Times.")  |
| 359 | Ordinary Member | Oliver Samuel, New Plymouth.                         |

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## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1903.

*Presented at the adjourned annual meeting, March 8th, 1904, in terms of Rule No. 31*

THE twelfth annual report of the Council must be brief. We may apply the old saying, "Happy is the country that has no history," to the work of our Society during the past twelve months, for nothing of any moment has transpired to call for particular comment. The principal work of the Society is the publication of its transactions and proceedings as embodied in our quarterly Journal, which has appeared with fair regularity. The volume for 1903 contains a few less pages, but it has more illustrations than usual. Mr. Elsdon Best's valuable papers on "Notes on the Art of War" has continued through the whole volume, and will be completed by June next. This is probably the most important contribution to the study of manners and customs of any branch of the Polynesian race that has yet appeared, and redounds to the credit of the writer. We have material on hand for continuing our Journal for a long time to come, but much of it requires translation.

The necessity for a new Maori dictionary has been apparent for some time past—one that should embody the very large amount of original matter now in the hands of some of our members, and which matter is really very large. The Rev. H. W. Williams, M.A., has undertaken the onerous task of preparing such a



dictionary, which is to be published under the auspices of the Society. The Council approached the Government on the subject of the printing, for our funds would not allow of this being done by us. The Government has met us in a very generous spirit, and therefore in a couple of years' time we may expect to see this great work accomplished. A great many gentlemen have kindly placed their collections at Mr. Williams' disposal for this purpose.

We regret the loss of some of our members through death during the period under review. The Rev. E. V. Cooper, of Leone, Samoa, died in October, 1902, and Christopher Harris, of Auckland, also during this last year. Seven members have resigned, and ten have been struck off the list for non-payment of their subscriptions. On the other hand, seven new members have been elected, which leaves the roll as follows on the 1st January, 1904 :—

Honorary Members .. .. .	7
Corresponding Members .. .. .	17
Life Members .. .. .	7
Ordinary Members .. .. .	164
Total .. .. .	195

This shows a falling-off of ten members, due principally to those whose names have been struck off the list. But naturally the number varies from year to year.

Our financial position is fairly good, as will be seen from the Treasurer's accounts herewith, but the arrears are more than they should be—20 members owing for one year, four members for two years. Our total receipts, including balance brought forward from last year, were £212 19s. 3d.; expenditure, £185 14s., leaving a balance forward to next year of £27 5s. 3d. The capital account now stands at £84 0s. 3d., to which has to be added one life membership received late in the year.

# POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

## BALANCE SHEET OF SOCIETY.

### BALANCE SHEET FOR YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1903.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1903.						
Jan. 1.—Balance at Bank of New South Wales	..	35	11	8		
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31—Members' Subscriptions and Sale of Journals	..	..	177	7	6	
				3	7	6
				157	5	0
Whitcombe & Tombs Limited— Publishing Journals—No. 4 of Vol. XI.				41	18	8
No. 1 of Vol. XII				39	16	7
No. 2 of Vol. XII				37	10	6
No. 3 of Vol. XII				34	11	9
Postage on Journals	..	..	..	3	7	6
Photo lithos of Niue views for publishing in Journals, £5 18/-; stamps, £1 4/11				7	2	11
Paid over to Capital Account	..	..	..	10	0	0
Fire Insurance Premium on Library for two years	..	..	..	2	10	0
W. Dawson and Co., Engravers	..	..	..	2	12	0
T. Avery—Stationery	..	..	..	3	4	0
Hire of Meeting Room, Stamps, and Petty Cash	..	..	..	2	10	1
Bank Charges for Keeping Account	..	..	..	0	10	0
Balance as per Bank Certificate	..	..	..	27	5	3
				£212	19	3

### CAPITAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1903.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1903.						
Jan. 1.—Balance from last year	..	..	70	19	6	
Jan. 10—Received from Current Account	..	..	10	0	0	
Dec. 31—Interest	..	..	2	9	5	
"	..	..	0	11	4	
			—	3	0	9
				£84	0	3

Examined and found correct,  
H. W. SAXTON, Hon. Auditor.  
March 8, 1904.

W. H. SKINNER,  
Hon. Treasurer Polynesian Society.





NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,  
AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,  
WITH ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-  
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED  
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

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BY ELDON BEST, OF TUHOE-LAND.

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PART IX.

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**I**T was a practise among some tribes, when expecting an attack, to cover the outside of the stockade of their fort with bundles of flax leaves tightly lashed on to the palisades. I am not sure as to the object of this process, whether it was a covering of green flax in order to save the palisades from fire, or simply meant to block up the narrow spaces between the palisades so that an attacking force could not see through. Neither am I sure that it obtained in the old days, before guns were introduced. A native who took part in the raid on Wellington and Wai-rarapa by northern tribes, in 1819, speaks of a *pa* so covered at the latter place. That, I believe, was the first use of guns in those parts.\*

When the east coast war party, under Paetahi and others, attacked the Papakai *pa* at Maunga-pohatu, they entered the fort on a wet, miserable day, when the people were collected in a large house within the *pa*, having no watchman on duty. Surrounding the house, they speared many of the inmates by thrusting their spears through the bark roof and the *puta auahi*, or smoke hole. The others broke through the enemy and fled. Te Ika-poto and another fled together, the former wailing for his dead as he ran. His companion cried, "Why do you lament before you are in safety, leave it until you have escaped" (*te waiho kia puta te ihu*). Te Puehu received six spear wounds in this affair, but managed to escape.

\* There is no question as to the use of green flax leaves tied up in bundles three to four inches in thickness, which the Maoris used as a defence against bullets in modern warfare, but it is doubtful if it is an ancient custom. Such bundles of flax would, however, be quite impervious to spears. — [Ed.]

When Te Whakatohea assaulted and entered the O-te-nuku *pa* at Rua-toki, they found that only half their task was completed, inasmuch as the fort was divided into two separate and strong redoubts, by means of a massive earthwork and deep ditch run across the centre. The eastern part fell, but the defenders thereof retreated to the western half of the fort, and still defied their assailants. The latter then collected many of their long *huata* spears and laid them together across the ditch, the upper ends resting on the top of the high earthwork. Tohi-a-manu then essayed to clamber up this somewhat uncertain bridge, but one of the garrison managed to pull the spears apart, and the hapless Tohi fell into the moat. However, one Hine-auahi managed to climb up on to the earthwork and was soon followed by others. These jumped down into the fort and commenced the attack, while those in the rear pressed on to their assistance. They took that *pa*.

When the numerous force of Tuhoe, Ngati-Maru and other tribes raided the east coast in order to avenge the death of Te Mai-taranui of Tuhoe, one of the feats was the reduction of the Puke-karoro *pa* at Te Mahia. This involved a long and tedious siege, which caused much suffering among the garrison. It is said that they were so reduced by famine as to be compelled to slay and eat their children, and also ate clay to allay the pangs of hunger. Hence that siege has ever been known as Kai-uku (clay eating). The place finally fell, and many of the garrison were slaughtered.

The native forts were sometimes situated in the most inaccessible places from an attacker's point of view. On the summit of precipitous cliffs their remains are noted, places to which access must have been by ladders or a steep flight of steps. Lone rocks, *buttes* or *mesas*, were also utilised as fortresses. Some of these were most picturesque in regard to situation, such as the Pohatu-roa *pa* at Atiamuri, on the Waikato river. Others again were situated on capes or promontories extending into the sea, rivers, or lakes. A small sample of such is Te Pa-o-kapo at Titahi, near Wellington. Sometimes these were connected with the land by a narrow neck only, the other faces being precipitous cliffs.

It is difficult to understand the Maori character, their modes of thought and apparent eccentricities and incongruities. In this wise, the Maori, although he does what he thinks fit and proper, will often take an exactly opposite course to that which would be followed by an European. Many things, for instance, done in war, are somewhat bewildering to the *pakeha* mind. As for example, the singular custom, if it may be so termed, of the members of hostile parties visiting and mingling with one another, during a fight. When the Waikato host raised the siege of Te Namu *pa*, Taranaki, a member of

the discomfited horde entered the fort and had a pleasant cry with the inmates thereof, to whom he was related. He cheerfully betrayed the plans of his party, and warned the garrison against leaving the fort for some time, lest they be cut off by an ambush.\*

When Ngati-Awa were preparing to march against Tuhoe, Tikitu, of the former tribe, sent a message to Tuhoe, acquainting them of the fact, and urging them to give the invaders a severe drubbing.

What time the sons of Ira were besieged in Pakaurangi *pa*, on the east coast, those of the garrison who were connected with any of the investing force, were in the habit of leaving the fort and paying visits to such relatives in the lines of investment. As the garrison were suffering severely from lack of water, these strolling gentry used to wear thick flax cloaks when leaving the *pa*, and on their return would soak them in the water as they crossed the creek, thus conveying a welcome quantity of water to the thirsty people of the fort. Hence that siege and fight has ever been known as Puweru-maku (wet clothing).†

At the present time my castle, an 8 x 10 one, stands at a place known as Pa-puweru. The origin of this place name is a singular one. In the days of yore, when armed bands of cannibals ranged the land in search of fame and fresh meat, and long before the song of the *pu tiki* was heard by the Child of Tamatea, there abode the Ngati-Tuheā people here. And it came to pass that these people were in need of a rest, or something, when they heard of a hostile party on the march to attack them. Then did their village priest proceed to the trail hard by, and which led to the outer world, and there suspend a flax cape across said trail, and having endowed that garment with certain magic powers, he returned to his village, doubtless chuckling to himself at having so easily discomfited the enemy. For know one and all that, should the advancing party disregard that sign and proceed on their way to the attack, they would imagine a vain thing, and might look out for squalls in the near future. For they had disregarded the *mana* and invocations of a priest, which is a serious item. Anyhow that is the origin of the name, Pa-puweru—*pa*, to obstruct or block up—*puweru*, clothing, a garment. Q.E.D.

Other place names in this district have a similar origin, as Pa-rangiora, where branches of the *rangiora* shrub were used as an obstruction. And Pa-kaponga, on the Wai-potiki Block, where fern trees (*kaponga*) were used in a like manner.

When a *pa* fell there was generally, of course, a great killing toward, and a cannibal feast, and much human flesh carried away in baskets. The *pa* falls, the dead of the enemy are dragged together

\* Gudgeon's "History and Traditions of the Maoris."

† "History and Traditions of the Maoris," by T. W. Gudgeon.

and piled in a heap, the one of highest rank being placed on top. Then one of the victors will begin to *wananga* or declaim against that dead chief, to revile the same after the manner of his kind :—" You thought yourself a great man, lofty as the heavens. But you are brought low now. You ! lying there with your legs stuck out, your staring eyes, your tongue hanging out. You will now go into my oven and provide me with a fine meal, etc." But probably some of the enemy have been spared as to their lives, and led away into slavery. And in the days that lie before, some of those may escape and return to their people, and they will say to them, " So-and-so was *wanangatia* by our foe." Then will that remain as a *casus belli* with that people. It will never be forgotten, but will sink deep into their hearts. Some time, in a year, or ten years, or a generation, it will bear fruit. Then the sons of Tu the Red-eyed will gird themselves with *tu* and *maro*, grasp the stone club and trail the pliant *huata* across far lands, as they swing out once more on the old, blood-stained trail which leads to victory and defeat, to death and slavery, and desire accomplished.

But about the *pa Maori*. It has not yet fallen.

Some curious examples of stratagem may be noted in the accounts preserved of Maori warfare. To wit : in the first attack delivered by Tuhoe on Oputara *pa* they found the defences of that old time fortress too strong to be taken by assault. Still, it would not do to retire, for Hape was inside that grim stockade, Hape of the Pu Taewa, who had slain Tahaki-anina. So the warriors of Tuhoe collected on the flat below the *pa* and gave a free exhibition of their powers in the *haka* line. This drew the attention of the garrison, and after some time, Hape ventured forth from the defences in order to obtain a better view of the dance. While gazing at the spectacle, he was surrounded and slain by a party of Tuhoe, when the *pa* soon fell likewise. Ever since that hapless Hape has been known to local fame as Hape-ware or Forgetful Hape.

When a besieged *pa* wished the enemy to believe that the garrison had plenty of food, they would be most diligent in lighting fires at times when it would be thought it was being done in order to cook food.

Again, when besieging a *pa* the attacking force would endeavour to pull down the stockade by means of a *rou*. This is a long pole, to one end of which is securely lashed a short bar, in a transverse position. To the other end of the pole is attached a rope. Those bearing the *rou* endeavour to pass the cross bar end over the stockade, *i.e.*, between two of the palisades, and then a turn will bring the cross bar in a horizontal position across the palisades, thus giving the desired grip. All hands then " tail on " to the pole and rope, and all pull

their hardest to the time given by the time chant. In this way, with a large number of powerful men at the main ropes, the whole face of stockade might sometimes be torn down. Anon.

When Te Ahi-raratu escaped from his captors at Wai-riko, he at once started to run up the valley, crying as he ran "*Te whakaariki . . . e . . . e ! Te whakaariki !*"\* until he arrived at Karioi. Tama-ngautu saw the marching column of invaders, and proceeded to challenge them (the *wero*, see ante). The column took no notice of him, but marched steadily on and invested the *pa* at Karioi, which was occupied by the Urewera *hapu* under Te Arohana, and by a division of the ancient Nga-Potiki tribe known by the euphonious name of Te Hokowhitu-pakira-o-Romairira. When the siege had lasted about two weeks one Kore-kai-whenua left the *pa* and joined the investing force. It was a *kaikai-waiu*, he was related to them. Then Te Arohana knew that the case was desperate. For Kore informed the investing force that there was no food or water in the fort. Te Arohana left the *pa* with his people and marched to the Hurahia fort. The remaining garrison at Karioi lit their fires regularly and caused plenty of smoke to rise over the stockade in order to delude the enemy into the idea that they were cooking food. To give an impression that there was plenty of water in the fortress, they performed a much more extraordinary action.

Then the attacking force came forward with a *rou* and succeeded in gripping the stockade therewith, but a warrior of the garrison sprang forward and hacked off the cross-bar with his stone adze. This occurred several times, until the enemy gave it up.

After some waiting and consultation on the part of the invaders, one of their number came forward and called out to the garrison : "Come outside. You shall not be slain, but all of you come down to our camp." They at once returned to their camp, leaving only Puhiraka to escort the garrison down. Then the garrison, men, women and children, poured out of the *pa* and proceeded to the camp of the enemy at Te Putere. On arriving there, one of their number, Tama-whai, was seized and slain as a sacrificial offering to the *atua* or war-god of the invaders. For Tama-whai was a *tangata pāpā* or *tangata moemoea*. He had been seen in a vision by the priest of the war party and his death was necessary in order to preserve the prestige, luck, life, health and success of that party, as already explained lest the eyes of the gods turn redly upon them.

The starved garrison were given food, and then, like the knights of old, Kare-kohu-ora and Tama-riwai took the trouble on their own shoulders and stood forth to settle the matter in single combat.

\* The enemy ! The enemy !



The constant strain on the mind in old fighting days must often have made for panics, as the following incident will show :—When the country from Ruatoki to Opotiki was in a state of turmoil on account of the wars of Te Whakatohea, Te Kareke, Tuhoe and other peoples, there dwelt in a certain *pa* two old chiefs and their retainers. One dark night one of these chiefs, being athirst, told a slave to bring him some water. The slave took a calabash and proceeded to descend a steep trail to the creek. But he managed to stumble and drop the vessel, which rolled merrily down the trail, striking at intervals the roots and stones on the track. The occupants of the *pa* heard these sounds and believed them to be caused by the slave's head being crushed in by blows of an enemy's weapon. So alarmed were they that all deserted the fort and fled to the forest, where doubtless they passed an unhappy night. When the slave returned with the water he was surprised to find no one to drink the same.

Several incidents of the following nature are on record :—When attacking an enemy, more especially in a night attack, a person would carry with him a dry gourd or calabash and would smash the same with his *patu* at the moment of attack, crying out at the same time that he had disposed of one man. It is stated that the sound caused by the breaking of the vessel is similar to that caused by smashing in the skull of a man with a club. I have never compared them myself. If true, it might tend to unnerve a surprised foe.

Some ten generations ago the tribe known as Te Whakatane, who were descendants of Tamatea of the Nukutere migration, were living at Te Waimana, one of their forts being at Tauwhare-manuka. Rongomai-pawa, the chief of those people, led a party to Puke-pohatu in order to hunt *kiwi* (a large wingless bird, formerly much used as food in Tuhoe-land. It was hunted with dogs). They were trespassing on the lands of Nga-Potiki (the ancient name of the Tuhoe or Urewera tribe), and hence an unpleasantness arose between them, in which Te Whakatane were defeated. They returned to Te Waimana and organised another party. It was a *hokowhiu*, seventy twice told were the warriors. Crossing the range to the Whakatane Valley, and descending near Karioi, they turned up the valley. On their way up the gorge they were attacked at an overhanging cliff by Te Rangimonoa of Nga-Potiki, and his merry men. So soon as they caught sight of each other on the narrow space between the river and cliff, the two parties ran forward and closed, for it was hand to hand fighting in the days of yore. Tama-rōki, son of Rangimonoa, obtained the *mātātika* and again Te Whakatane were defeated. There was no escape for them in that gloomy cañon and they were slain to a man. And ever since has that place been known as Te Ana-kai-tangata-a-Rangimonoa—Te Rangimonoa's Cañon of the Cannibal Feast.

After a square meal Nga-Potiki, one hundred and forty strong, started for the Wai-mana. Just before reaching the Tauwhare-manuka *pa* they halted and employed themselves in plucking ferns and weeds, which they made up into bundles to resemble swags of human flesh. Slinging these bundles on their backs, and each man with a bunch of fern in his hand, they proceeded on to the fort of the enemy. As they approached each man walked slowly, with bended back, as though weary of carrying the loads of human flesh they were supposed to be carrying. Then they all sat down in sight of the *pa* as though resting while the proper preparations were made to receive them. When they were seen by the fort, the garrison thereof marched out in column in order to challenge and welcome their supposed friends, the victorious. Nga-Potiki rose and advanced, each man holding a quivering bunch of fern before him, so as not to be recognised as an enemy. The garrison column sent forth the *wero* (challenger), who cast his spear and returned. A second challenger advanced and cast his spear, when Nga-Potiki sprang forward in pursuit as one man. With fierce outcry they swept up to the *matua* or column of the fort, who were all kneeling down, with downcast eyes, waiting for the *whiti* cry to spring to their feet and perform the *peru-peru*. Then the weapons crashed on bare heads, and Te Whakatane flowed like water down to Hades.

And another chapter of the long drawn conquest of Te Waimana was writ in characters that all might read.

We are told that the stout and successful resistance made by garrisons was often the result of the superior knowledge, power and *mana* of the *tohunga* or priest. Thus when the famous Taraia attacked the Heipipi *pa* of Maruiwi, near Petane, that old time fort was held intact through the power of the spells of the Maruiwi priest, one Tunui by name.

And, in modern times, when eighty Taranaki held Te Namu *pa* at Opunake against five hundred Waikato, they knew full well that the credit was due to their *tohunga*, Nga-tai-rakau-nui by name.

The men selected to act as watchmen or sentries were selected from those who had keen eyesight and were quick to note all signs pertaining to war, to detect an ambush, to divine the meaning of unusual cries emanating from birds, or the sudden cessation of a bird's song, and a thousand other things which were learned only by long training in the stern school of Maori bush warfare. Such men were termed *mata-taua*. They were the eyes of a war party.

Often sentries were posted at convenient places away from a *pa*, and where a view of a reach of a track leading to the fort could be commanded. Probably one would be stationed at the edge of a bush where the track crossed a clearing or open plain. Such a place is termed a *putaanga*.

The *pu-kaea* was a trumpet used for signalling in war time, or was sounded at night by the watchman stationed on the *puruhara*, or watch tower. It produces, when blown by powerful lungs, a loud booming sound of a somewhat doleful nature. This war trumpet was made of *totara* or *matai* wood. It was made in two pieces, about six or seven feet in length. Each half was hollowed out and properly prepared and these two pieces were put together and lashed in a remarkably neat manner with *aka-tea*, a tough forest creeper, the bark being taken off before it was so used. The small, mouth-piece end, is termed the *kongutu*, and the big, bell-shaped end the *whara*. The edges of the *whara* were notched. A small piece of wood inserted in the trumpet near the mouth-piece I know not the name of.\* The *pu-tatara* was made of a large sea shell and was used for signalling.

Islands on the coast, in lakes and rivers, were sometimes utilised as forts, the defences being of earthworks or stockades, according to the nature of the ground. The islet of *Tapu-tē-ranga* in Island Bay, Wellington, was so used by refugees of *Ngati-Ira*. The remains of a wall built of loose stones was there visible at the time of my visit. I have also heard that remains of defences are to be seen on *Makaro* or *Ward Island*, in Wellington Harbour, but I have never visited that arid isle. *Māna* and *Kapiti* Islands were famous strongholds in former times. At *Wai-kare-moana* the islets of *Pa-te-kaha* and *Nga-whakara* were used as forts, and most picturesque they must have been, as also was the headland knob *Nga Whatu-a-Tama*, and another at *Mokau*. *Pa Waimori*, on the same lake, is a singular little detached hillock at the mouth of the *Hopu-ruahine* creek. It is an island when the waters of the lake are high.

*O-poukehu pa* was on an island in the *Rangi-taiki* river, below *Fort Galatea*. It fell to a party of *Ngati-Pukeko* warriors who swam across to it. A *pa* on an island in *Papaitonga* lake, near *Otaki*, was taken in a similar manner.

But the most interesting of lake *pa* were the artificial islets of *Horo-whenua* lake. These were constructed by the *Mua-upoko* tribe as a safe retreat from their foes. They were formed by driving stakes into the bed of the lake and filling up the enclosed space with logs, stones and earth. There were six island *pa* in that lake. They fell to the ferocious warriors of the treacherous *Rau-paraha*.

Strongholds were sometimes constructed in swamps, which were more difficult to cross than a lake. To support the *pa*, posts would be driven down until they were fixed in the solid. To gain access to such a place the attacking force would have to pass along the narrow causeway used by the garrison, and which same might be defended by

\* Usually termed a *tohe*.—[Ed.]

a few men. If a natural island were in the swamp so much the better. Such was Nga Pu-kanohi, which is a hill standing in a swamp near Taneatua. Earthworks, a wall and moat, are still visible on the hill, while the swamp, having been drained, has sunk and exposed to view a series of piles which had been driven into the swamp in times long passed away. For eleven generations have come and gone since Te Kapo-o-te-rangi camped in that drear swamp.

Sometimes an investing force, by means of much labour, would construct a timber causeway to an inland *pa*, in order to deliver an attack. In this manner fell Te Roto-a-Tara *pa* on the Heretaunga side, as also an island *pa* in one of the Waihou lakes, near Tiniroto.

In making an approach to a swamp *pa* fascines would be employed, as was done at Te Ngaere.

Te Ana-puatai, a stronghold of Ngati-Kahungunu, taken by Tuhoe, Nga-Puhi and others, was a cave with a strong barricade across the mouth thereof.

A curious stronghold was constructed and occupied by the Mua-upoko tribe at a place near Otaki. It was a tree fort. Three huge pine trees, standing close together, were utilised for the purpose. Stout beams were laid from fork to fork of the branches. On these was laid a decking of timber, and upon this platform the houses were built. A fence encircled the platform, stores of food and water were kept in this aerial *pa*, as also were heaps of stones for the purpose of bombarding an enemy. On the approach of an enemy, the people retreated to their stronghold and pulled the ladders up. The platform was about fifty feet from the ground. But one fine day a war party from the far north came, bearing with them arms unknown in the south. They were muskets, and the days of the tree *pa* were numbered, or at least those of the occupants thereof. As one of their descendants informed me, "It was like shooting pigeons."

For an account of another tree *pa*, see White's "Ancient History of the Maori"—Vol. V., p. 32.

In some cases forts were provided with covered ways or passages to water.

Te Kaho, a nephew of Rongo-karae, lived at the Hui-te-rangi-ora *pa* at Ruatoki. Motumotu, of Ngati-Awa, lived at Te Tawa *pa*. The latter went to snare parrots at a certain place. He found Te Kaho there, engaged at the same task. Motu asked him for one of his decoy birds, and it was given him. He took it away some distance and killed it. Then returning to Te Kaho, he asked for another, saying that he had fallen and lost the first one. He was given two. These he also took away and killed, returning and asking for another. Kaho saw him returning again, and knew that there was treachery afoot.

So he rose up and slew him, carrying the flesh of the body to Hui-te-rangiora, where it was cooked and eaten. Ngati-Awa heard of this and marched to avenge the death of Motumotu. They surrounded the Kahika *pa*. Rongo-Karae, chief of the *pa*, did not like the appearance of things and set his men to work at excavating an underground passage from the fort to a gully hard by. It was completed, and the garrison escaped thereby under cover of night. When the warriors of Ngati-Awa delivered their next assault, they had no difficulty in entering the *pa*. They found it quite empty, which was annoying.

When Maru-iwi attacked the Oue *pa* at Te Wai-mana, they approached it under cover of night. Lest the garrison should hear them approaching through the brash scrub, they imitated the cries of the *kiwi*, *weka*, and *kakapo*, all wingless night birds. The chief of the *pa*, Tama-ruarangi, heard the cries of the birds and said, "The food of Tama-ruarangi is quite tame," and returned to his virtuous couch. He slept well, inasmuch as he has not since wakened. And nine generations of men have lived and died since that night.

When a *pa* had been attacked and some of the garrison slain, that *pa* would become *tapu* on account of blood there spilt. If a priest of sufficient *mana* or power was available, he would remove the *tapu* from the *pa* by means of a ceremony known as *huki toto*. But if it so happened that only priests of the second or third grade were obtainable, then that *pa* would be deserted and another one built elsewhere.

Sometimes a *pa* was built more to make known a tribal policy or decision, than to be occupied or used. The Kokotahi *pa* near Tauaroa was built by Matiu and others of Ngati-Whare as an act of defiance towards Ngati-Manawa, who had joined the Government, while the former were staunch Hauhau, or rebels, as we were pleased to term them.

Mariner describes stockades erected by the Tongans, which must have resembled the Maori *pa*. Some of them were square in shape and some were circular. The defences comprised two lines of palisades which were ornamented with white shells. Two ditches were made, one outside each stockade, and the earth taken therefrom was formed into banks. Fighting stages or platforms were erected inside, like the *puhara* of the New Zealand *pa*.

When a chief paid a visit to a people residing in their *pa*, on arriving at the stockade, he would in many cases, not enter by the gateway but climb over the palisades and so enter the fort. In like manner, a young chief, in visiting an elderly relative, would often enter his house by climbing through the window, instead of passing through the doorway.

We have seen that a native of standing in his tribe had very strict notions concerning personal honour, and that it was by no means an unknown thing for a man to slay his own son on his escape from

slavery, rather than let him live and beget descendants, who would be taunted with the fact that their ancestor had been a slave. A similar occurrence took place near Rua-toki, when a *pa* at Owhakatoro was besieged. A chief in the *pa* burned his children to death rather than let them fall into the hands of the enemy. In like manner, men have been known to slay their female relatives, in desperate situations, an act quite approved of by the Maori. The last *pa* built in Tuhoe-land was erected some time in the seventies, when Ngati-Pukeko were trying to sell the O-whakatoro lands.

In the Rev. W. Colenso's account of his first trip through Tuhoe-land in 1841, he speaks of his arrival at Waikare-moana:—"We soon arrived at the village, situated on a high headland jutting into the north side of the lake (? Mātūāhu *pa*). The gateway was, as is often the case, embellished with a pair of huge and hideously carved figures, besmeared with red pigment, armed with spears and grinning defiance on all comers."

There was, of course, a change made in the construction of these native strongholds after the acquisition of fire arms. The Maori, ever intelligent and quick to grasp a situation, soon adapted his mode of warfare to suit the use of firearms. Plans of various forts, constructed and held by them during the racial war in the North Island, show how well planned their defences were. Guns might breach his palisades, but did little harm to his earthworks, and during a bombardment the wily Maori would be safely concealed in underground chambers, and hence fresh and energetic to withstand an attack by infantry. In these latter days small breastworks, consisting of a ditch and bank, termed *parepare*, were made at points of vantage, sometimes to command a track or river, or connected with a *pa* by means of a passage way, as at O-rakau, where such a small outwork was manned against the English troops.

When Tuhoe laid siege to the Tapiri *pa* of Ngati-Manawa in 1868, they built four small *pa* to enclose or command that of the enemy. Between these covering stockades were small camps, with a few men in each, so that Te Tapiri was quite surrounded. The besiegers kept on the alert at night in case the garrison tried to break through the investing lines, which they eventually did, with some loss. Ngati-Manawa state that their dead were eaten by Tuhoe on that occasion, but the latter say that merely their eyes were swallowed by Kereopa.

*Unuhanga arawhata*.—Should a man be living among people other than his own, and, having been injured or insulted, determine to collect his own people and attack the offenders, he will, as he leaves their *pa*, draw aside the *arawhata* or bridge from the moat, and so depart. That was a token of his intention, he had wiped the dust of that place off his feet and had severed his connection with it. Pretty soon trouble followed.

The above sketch of the *pa* Maori is remarkably imperfect. The reason thereof is simple in the extreme—it contains all I know of the subject. I will therefore conclude this sketch with an anecdote :

When the Harema *pa* at Te Whaiti fell to Col. Whitmore's column in May, 1869, the escapees fled to the bush and brush-covered terraces and there concealed themselves. When night fell, pickets of the Government force were located at Matiti and the old mission station. After dark two rockets were sent up from the captured *pa*. These greatly alarmed the unhappy refugees, who, when they saw these "flying candles," as they term them, burrowed further into the scrub and covered themselves with grass and rubbish, in order to avoid being discovered by the "flying candles" of the *pakeha*.

#### THE INTRODUCTION OF FIREARMS.

As observed above, the introduction of firearms caused a considerable change in methods of native warfare. The old hand to hand fighting gave place to skirmishing, and cover taking, and long distance fighting, to a great extent. The *kurau māro* was no longer seen on the battlefield, the natives became excellent bush fighters, as we found out to our cost during the slight unpleasantness which obtained between us for ten years.

The first guns obtained by the natives were flintlock muskets of various kinds, which were known as *pu-titi*, *pu-toriri*, *ngutu-parera*, &c. They were obtained by barter from traders in the early years of the nineteenth century by the northern tribes, and by the year 1830 must have been generally known throughout the island. So keen was the desire for guns among this warlike people, that several chiefs undertook the long voyage to England for the purpose of obtaining them. So delighted were the northern tribes with the new weapons that they at once turned them against their less fortunate southern neighbours, and raids by powerful war parties of a thousand or more fighting men were made from the far north down both coasts as far as the Wellington district. Enormous numbers were slain during the intertribal wars between 1820 and 1840. Some tribes were dispossessed of their lands and forced to live as serfs to the conquerors, while others were practically annihilated, or compelled to retreat south to escape that fate.

Inland tribes, such as Tuhoe and Ngati-Tuwharetoa, obtained most of their guns and powder from coast tribes, the latter being brought into contact with white traders. The Bay of Plenty tribes, including Tuhoe, mostly obtained their first supplies of firearms from Ngati-Maru, of Hauraki. A party of Tuhoe visited that place and obtained their first guns and ammunition. Ten slaves were given in exchange for each of the guns, but the price soon fell to five slaves each. The prisoners taken by Tuhoe when they conquered the Pa-puni district, were taken to Hauraki and bartered for guns.

The expedition of Tuhoe to Hauraki for the above purpose was undertaken soon after the Ngati-Kahungunu raid on Rua-tahuna (Mahaka's raid), when Mata-ngaua was slain. The party stayed some time at Hauraki as the guests of Taraia and other chiefs of Ngati-Maru, and they joined their hosts in the battle of Taumata-wiwi. Piripi, a very old man, who died at Rua-tahuna in 1898, was a member of that expedition. He was taken prisoner by Waikato when Waiari was killed, and, long after, was allowed to return home.

After the return of the above party, the first fight in which the newly-acquired guns were used, was that of Te Kaunga, where Ngati-Awa were defeated.

The first musket obtained by Tuhoe was named Te Riaki, and the first pistol, probably an old fashioned horse pistol, was called Marama-atea. They were, of course, both flintlocks. This pistol was the only firearm carried by the band of Tuhoe which raided the Wairoa district and attacked Pohatu-nui pa. Te Au carried the weapon and used it in the assault to astonish and alarm the garrison. These first acquired weapons still live in song and story, as the following lament will shew :—

“ He aha kai te raro  
 He pari waikohu nei  
 Taorongā na te tungane ki te Pongaihu  
 E roa iara nga heketanga ki Pa-harakeke  
 Me tuku e au kia haere, ka hoki au i konei  
 Whaia na koe kia riro mai a Tamaiti-i-pokia  
 Ngarue ana i to whenua, i Toko-o-Tu  
 Ka kite au i te napinga o te kope  
 Na Te Au e whakakeua, ko Marama-atea.”

What strange thing is this, borne by the north wind ?  
 That rises like a mist before my eyes ;  
 'Tis the echoing wail for the brother at Ponga-ihu.  
 Long was the descent to Pa-harakeke ;  
 I abandon them to their course, whilst I return,  
 Thou followed on, that Tamaiti-i-pokia might fall.\*  
 The earth trembled at Toko-o-Tu,  
 Where was seen the effect of the horse-pistol,  
 Aimed by Te Au, and named Marama-atea.

Pistols are termed *kope* by the natives. The person Te Au mentioned was Te Au-ki-Hingarāe, a famous warrior of Tuhoe.

The old fashioned flintlock muskets were used by Tuhoe until the time of Te Kooti, in the sixties, when they obtained rifles, and the old muskets were abandoned.

Te Puku-o-Wharepakau was a name given to a keg of gunpowder obtained by Ngati-Whare from a trader named White at Matata in the early days, and used in the old inter-tribal fights. New things are always given a name in this manner.

\* Killed near Wairoa, H.B.



The principal articles used for barter with Europeans were flax fibre, pigs, and sometimes dried, tattooed human heads. The latter were sought as curiosities and were sent to Europe.

When the town of Auckland sprang up, the natives of Tuhoe used to drive mobs of pigs from Rua-tahuna to that town in order to sell them and obtain articles of European manufacture, a distance of some 250 miles.

When guns were first used against them, the natives thought they were some new and powerful *atua* (demon, war god in this case). The Taranaki natives, when attacked by the northern tribes in their first gun-bearing southern raid, imagined that the god Maru was slaying them in this wondrous manner.

When Nga-Puhi, Tuhoe, and other tribes attacked Titirangi *pa* in the Wairoa district they had with them the first guns seen in those parts. The garrison were informed of the approach of the army, and that they had guns (*pu*) with them. Ranga-ika said, "Let them bring their *pu* against our *pu*," meaning the *pu-kaea* or war trumpets, which he supposed them to be. When the gun bearers raised their muskets to fire, the garrison said "Why the small end of their *pu* is in front." They thought it a singular manner in which to hold a trumpet. However, they soon found out all about it, for the men crowded on the fighting stages of the fort offered a fine mark for the muskets. As the men fell, struck down by unseen missiles, the people said, "*Ha! He atua te mea nei*"—this is something supernatural.

Ngati-Awa obtained some of their guns from Nga-Puhi, after the fight of O-Kahukura, when peace was made.

When Ngati-Awa and others defeated Nga-Puhi at Motiti, they captured a cannon (*pu-repo*) from them. This gun was brought Opotiki, and used to be fired on the death of a chief.

Cartridges used to be made by the natives for their muskets and rifles. Coarse packing paper was utilised for the purpose. The paper to form the cartridge was wrapped round the *teki*, a piece of round wood or bone, to make it assume the correct size and shape before being filled. These *teki* were often carefully made and embellished with carving. I have one made of the bone of a sperm whale. It is exceedingly well made and carved. It was used by Paora Pukaha of Tuhoe when fighting against us at O-rakau.

Cartridge belts, termed *hamanu*, were made of pieces of *tawai* or *rata* bark. Holes to receive the cartridges were bored in the bark by means of a rude centre-bit made of a piece of flat iron and having a handle affixed to it. This belt was fastened round the waist with a cord or over the shoulder as a bandolier (*pakihere*).

During their war with the Europeans the natives appear to have had plenty of bar lead, powder, bullet moulds, &c., obtained from traders prior to the war. Ladles for melting lead were roughly made from pieces of flat iron, having a wooden handle attached. Match heads were sometimes used in lieu of percussion caps. When bullets ran short during the fight at O-rakau, the Tuhoe contingent made shift with peach stones, a peculiar substitute.

In some cases the old native weapons defeated guns. The gun-bearing Nga-Puhi were defeated by the gunless sons of Awa at O-Kahukura, Ngati-Hau practically destroyed the war party of Tuwhare in the Whanga-nui gorges. Other such instances are on record.

As observed, Tuhoe obtained muskets after Mohaka's raid and before Te Kaunga fight. The war party of Ngai-Te-Rangi, under Mauri, which met disaster near Turanga, had guns, as also had Te Whakatohea when they attacked the Keke-paraoa *pa* on the Waikohu-Matawai Block.

The thoughts of war and fighting must have been ever present with the old time Maori. He would ever be planning how to avenge some insult, real or imaginary, or expecting an attack, or executing some act of cannibalism, etc., in order to keep his hand in practice. Tribes living in open country relied on the *pa* for protection, but a bush tribe, such as Tuhoe, relied on the forest and rough country. In old fighting times, the aim among the bushmen was to have as small clearings as possible, in order to escape detection by raiding war parties. This was more practicable in their case, as cultivation was an unknown art in Tuhoe-land, until they acquired by conquest the fertile lands of Ruatoki and Te Waimana, where the *kumara*, the *taro* and the gourd plant flourished. Their food in pre-potato days consisted solely of the natural products of the forest. Hence they lived in small communities, and in most out of the way places usually. Even after potatoes were acquired cultivations were small, merely a few yards square, for the better concealment thereof. For Tuhoe were ever a small tribe in numbers, though somewhat heavy handed.

#### ABORIGINES OF NEW ZEALAND.

This term we apply to the first migrations of Polynesians which peopled these isles long centuries before the later migration of the same primal stock arrived in the fourteenth century.

It would appear that these original people of the Bay of Plenty district were by no means a warlike people, or at least were no match in battle for the warlike warriors of the latter migration. For instance, it is stated that Te Tini-o-Tuoi, an aboriginal tribe of Matahina, when

attacked by the Hawaikian vikings, never even attempted to defend themselves, and so were slaughtered in great numbers at Te Ana-ruru and elsewhere.

Tradition also states that Te Tini-o-Te-Marangaranga, another ancient people, whose dominion extended from the lower Rangitaiki to Taupo, and who were allied to Ngati-Māhu and Nga-Maihi, had but little knowledge of war craft, and hence fell an easy prey to gentlemen of the Tangiharuru stamp. A descendant of Ngati-Māhu informed me that the Marangaranga, in quarrelling among themselves, used no weapons, but merely their hands. This may or may not be true, anyhow the conquest of those old time people appears to have been a very easy matter.

Many of the old natives state that the ancient tribes of this district were an unwarlike people, a peace-loving people, and that it was the later migration that brought the evils of war to this land.

#### NAMES OF BATTLES OR FIGHTS : THEIR ORIGIN.

Battles were often named from some peculiar circumstance in connection with the fighting, and not from the name of the place where the trouble took place. We give a few examples :—

A fight which occurred at Te Kiokio was named Kohi-pi, because so many children were there captured. From *kohi*=to collect, gather; and *pi*=young of birds, but here used to denote children.

When the Warahoe tribe were defeated at Taupo, the bodies of many of them were placed in baskets (shortly to be cooked and eaten). Hence that fight is ever known as Kohi-kete (*kohi*=to collect; *kete*=a basket).

The fight between the people of Kawerau and Te Teko, already described, was named Te Wharangi, after the last man slain, who was so named.

When Ngati-Maru of Hauraki defeated the O-potiki tribes at Wai-aui, the fight was styled Paenga-toitoti because the dead lay thickly, covering the beach like a stranded shoal of *toitoti*=a fish.

When Kahuki and Tua-mutu fought out their feud at Te Motu-o-tu, many were slain in the creek, their blood reddening the waters thereof. Hence that fight is known as Wai-whero=the reddened waters!

In like manner both tribal and personal names are sometimes derived from certain incidents in war. The tribe Patu-heuheu, now living near Galatea, acquired their tribal name from the fact that some of their ancestors were surrounded and slain in the scrub or brush-wood on the banks of the Wai-pokaia stream (*patu*=to kill; *heuheu*=scrub or brush). The Patu-wai sub-tribe derive their name from the fact of an ancestor being slain in a river (*patu*=to kill; *wai*=water or stream).

When Awa-kanoi was slain by Rakai-pāka at Puhue, Rakai turned the body of his enemy over as it lay on the ground, saying "*Ha! He ika poto te ika nei*" (This is a small fish). Hence Te Ikapoto has since been used as a personal name by the descendants of Awa-kanoi, while the Maunga-pohatu people took the tribal name of Ngati-Huripapa (the descendants of he who was turned to earth).

Coolness and presence of mind is a desirable quality in time of war, and many illustrations might be given concerning the display of these qualities. Old Tu, of Maunga-pohatu, when he went fighting the *pakeha* at Te Karetu, nearly fell a victim to the bullets of Ngati-Porou. In the pursuit he was seen while crossing a stream and fired at. He dropped his gun and swam under water for some distance, and so escaped. During the same pursuit, Tu was once nearly surrounded by the Government troops (native allies), but he took matters so coolly that they took him for one of their own party, and so he again escaped. His eldest son was killed in the fight at Te Karetu, hence the slain youth's sister took the name of Te Karetu, discarding her former name.

Here follow a few items which have been obtained since the foregoing was written.

When Haeana, head chief of Te Marangaranga, was slain by Tangi-haruru, the wanderer, Paumapuku, a relative of Haeana, thought it high time to take a hand. He therefore marshalled his forces and marched on Puke-hinau where he slew Tangi-haruru, whose body was carried back to O-hui. The genial Pau then composed and sung the following jeering song or *ngeri* :

"E te iwi, E!  
 E te iwi, E!  
 Ko ru nuku, ko ru rangi, ko ru papa  
 Ko te kawa i a Tiki-i-ahua  
 I a Tiki-i-apoa, i a Maui  
 I tohia ki te wai  
 Ki a Māhu-tapoa-nui-i  
 Whakarongo ake ra e Haeana  
 Ki te kupu taunu a Poutini . . . a  
 Me he tane pea koe, Ehine!  
 E tohia ki te tohi o Tu  
 E uru koe ki te haehaetanga  
 O te ika na Paumapuku  
 Tena ko tenei, he wahine! Hai aha koe!  
 Hine-tara, E! Hine-tara, E!  
 A-haha!  
 Tana hoatutanga ki Pukehinau  
 Pakiri ana nga niho o Tangi-haruru  
 I roto i to kete tapatahi  
 Na Hine-tara . . . A-hā!  
 He tebe te ure! He tebe te ure!  
 He maroke!"

Hence Te Ao-uru, daughter of Paumapuku, acquired the name of Hine-tara, and a hill at O-hui was named Te Tehe.

When retreating before a pursuing enemy, the boldest warriors would remain in the rear, in order to check the pursuit, and give the women and those bearing the wounded time to forge ahead.

A war party of Ngati-Kahungunu, under Takua, came to Nga-huinga, on the Rangi-taiki river, and camped at Kopua-a-toto. Their camp fire was seen by Ngati-Apa, who, in skirmishing round, encountered a portion of the hostile forces and slew them. They then marched on the camp where Tūkua had remained. When near the camp, they sent forward the same number of their men as the scouts they had slain, and bearing the bodies of the dead, that Takua and his followers in camp might think they were his own men returning victorious. The warriors of Ngati-Apa were thus enabled to approach close to the camp before being discovered. Takua was slain by them. A post was erected and a pit sunk in the ground at the spot where he fell.

The Whakatohea and Ngai-Tai tribes were at peace. Karia, of the former people, thought it a good opportunity to get even with Ngai-Tai, who had slain his two sons in former troubles. Certainly the two peoples were now on friendly visiting terms, but that was all the better. It made things easier. So Whakatohea raised a large crop of *taro* and invited Ngai-Tai to a sumptuous feast. Ngai-Tai came, and many of them remained on the feast ground. The survivors fled to Torere.

Several traditions are on record concerning fights at sea between hostile forces. Also several engagements have taken place on the waters of Waikare-moana. But the native canoes were not suited to that style of fighting.

*Heoi!* We will now cease the long story of the rise and fall of the *kawau māro*. We have sent forth our war party with the *tapu* heavy upon them. They have held themselves as warriors true beneath the sway of the gods of old. They have returned victorious, bearing the *māwe* of their victory to the sacred altar of the war god. They have flowed like water down to Hades, on stricken fields. They rose as one man, at the sign of the charred cloak; they smote fiercely many enemies beneath the shining sun.

The old warriors who are yet with us have outlived their age, there is no place in modern life for their old associations. But the spirit is not dead, it is but weakened. When they speak of the fights of old they are the Ika-a-Whiro once more. They charge with the grim phalanx of the Children of the Mist on the bloody field of Puke-kai-kāhu, they sullenly await the behest of Te Rehu-o-Tainui on the shores of the Sea of Taupo. They join the surging crowd which

smote the rising sun, and once more go into camp with old-time comrades who have long passed away. They man once more the crumbling walls of O-rakau, and ram home the rough cartridges in the trenches of Te Tapiri.

The war trails of the men of yore are overgrown, their weapons are laid aside for ever. No more shall the *kawau māro* spring to action at the sound of the booming war trumpets, never again will the earth tremble to the rhythmic thunder of the war dance. No Volscian succours may aid the war worn Sons of Tu, never more shall they lift the war trails of their fathers.

“Te whare patahi . . e hui te rongo,  
E hui te rongo, e puta mai ki waho.”



## WARS OF THE NORTHERN AGAINST THE SOUTHERN TRIBES OF NEW ZEALAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

By S. PERCY SMITH.

### PART VIII.

#### TAWATAWHITI.

AFTER the defeat of the Nga-Puhi expedition under Rangi-tuke (son of Te Koke), near Tamaki Heads, Auckland isthmus, about April or May, 1827, the Ngati-Whatua and their allies of lower Waikato were much elated at having delivered such a heavy blow at their old enemies. No doubt this defeat was due principally to the brave Ngati-Tipa tribe under their warrior chief Nini, whose descendants still live at Waikato Heads; but Ngati-Whatua assisted, and in so doing, wiped out part of the deep debt of revenge they owed to Nga-Puhi for the overwhelming defeat they had suffered at the hands of the latter tribe at the battle of Te Ika-a-ranga-nui in 1825. The news also, that their great enemy, Hongi Hika, had recently (about January, 1827), been wounded by a bullet in the chest, at a fight called Hunuhunua, on the Mangamuka branch of the Hokianga, gave rise to hopes that the opportunity had now occurred for paying back Nga-Puhi in their own coin.

With these hopes Ngati-Whatua, aided by Ngati-Tipa, raised a *tau* and started from Waikato Heads with their canoes, passing over the two portages at Waiuku and Otahuhu to the East Coast at the Tamaki, the scene of Rangi-tuke's defeat. From here they paddled up the coast, passed Te Kawau island, and landing on the Tawatawhiti Peninsula, fell on a *pa*, said to have been occupied by Nga-Puhi, but probably by the Parawhau of Whangarei (who are frequently included in the former name by the Southern Maoris), and took it with considerable slaughter. From this expedition the *tau* returned to Waikato, and about the same time some of the Ngati-Paoa tribe of the Thames Gulf also migrated to Waikato Heads and settled for a time, though the greater part of the tribe remained in their homes until later, and then moved off to Waikato, fearing that Nga-Puhi would retaliate for their losses at Tawatawhiti, in which their anticipations were realized in the same, or early in the following year.

TE RANGI-TUKIA'S EXPEDITION TO THE THAMES.

It was either at the end of 1827 or beginning of 1828 that Te Maunu, a chief of Ngati-Maru of the Thames, was on a visit to Aotea, the Great Barrier Island, when a party of Nga-Puhi appeared. After a time there was friendly intercourse between the two tribes, and Te Maunu and his wife Kahu-kaka paid a visit to the Nga-Puhi camp. The Nga-Puhi people now persuaded Te Maunu to accompany them in their canoes and point out the local fishing grounds—whilst at sea they killed Te Maunu. On the return of the canoe to the shore, Kahu-kaka discovered that her husband had been killed, and she then composed the following lament for him, for which I am indebted to Mr. Elsdon Best:—

Tu tonu ko te rae, i haere ai te makau,  
 E kai ana au e, i te ika wareware,  
 E aurere noa-e, i te ihu o te waka,  
 E kore hoki au-e, e mihi ki a koe,  
 E mihi ana au-e, kei a Ngahua, te ipo,  
 Taku kahui tara-e, no roto i a au,  
 Taku totara haemata-e, no roto no Moe hau,  
 I haere te makau-e, i te ara kohuru,  
 Kihai i tangohia-e, i te mata rakau,  
 Totohu to hinu-e, nga one hungahunga,  
 I waho Te Karaka-e, ki te hau kainga,  
 To uru i piua-e, ki te wai ngarahu,  
 A, noho mai ra koe, te puke i Rangipo,  
 Ka whakawai mate ra, te wahine a 'Tipuhi,  
 Kauaka e koha e, he ngawha toki nui,  
 Kowai ra toka e, hei ranga i te mate,  
 Ma Te Rohu e ukui-e, mana e homai,  
 Tau noa te makau-e, he huia rere tonga,  
 He unuhanga taniwha-e, tere ana ki te muri-i.

Boldly stands forth the Cape where my beloved passed,  
 I gaze at it as one demented,  
 I hear the unavailing cry in the canoe's bow,  
 I will not greet in vain for thee,  
 I bewail Ngahua, the lover-like husband,  
 O! my flock of white terns!  
 My green *totara* tree from Moe hau's heights;  
 My loved one passed by means of treachery,  
 And fell not in fair fight by the weapon's edge,  
 Sunk is thy blood in the fine sands  
 Beyond Te Karaka, the loved home;  
 Thy fine head with tatoo adorned,  
 Will rest on the hill at Rangipo,  
 Jeered at by the women of Nga-Puhi;  
 Exult not! 'Tis as a gap in a precious axe.  
 Who then will avenge thy death?  
 It shall be for Te Rohu to efface this evil.  
 The loved one was like a *huia* bird,  
 But now, like the death of a *taniwha* is this affliction.



**Kahu-kaka**, was spared by **Nga-Puhi**, for she returned to her tribe, the **Ngati-Maru**, when she incited them to obtain revenge for her husband's death, and persuaded **Te Robu** (to whom she appealed in her lament), to undertake the duty, and the opportunity was not long wanting.

Shortly after April, 1828, an expedition sailed from the Bay under **Te Rangi-tukia**, to wage war on the people of **Hauraki**. The **Ngati-Maru** tribe of the **Thames** met him at a place called **Port Jackson**, near **Cape Colville**, and annihilated his force, only one canoe escaping back to **Nga-Puhi**. My friend **Hoani-Nahe** told me that this expedition of **Ngati-Maru** went to seek revenge for **Te Maunu** killed at the **Great Barrier Island**, and **Ngati-Maru**, who were then living on the **Horotiu River**, **Waikato**, sent forth a party under **Te Rohu** against **Nga-Puhi**, to avenge his death. They were on their way down the gulf to **Aotea**, and had camped for the night at **Port Jackson**; **Nga-Puhi**, under **Rangi-tukia**, seeing their fires, came across from **Aotea** in the night, and at once attacked **Ngati-Maru** in the darkness, when several of them were killed; but as soon as daylight appeared, the tables were turned and **Nga-Puhi** were defeated, losing twelve canoes, only one escaping to carry back the news. **Hoani** says, "this was confirmed by **Hoterini Tawatawa** in 1868 at the time of the loss of the "**Orpheus**," who said that he was engaged in this fight and in his flight he was chased by **Whaiapu** of **Ngati-Maru**, both reaching a rock in the sea at the same time, where **Whaiapu** seized **Hoterini's** belt, which luckily broke thus allowing him to dive off from the rock and swim to the only canoe that escaped." This expedition of **Rangi-tukia's** was undertaken to seek revenge for some deaths at the hands of the **Hauraki** people.

On receipt of the news of this second defeat of **Nga-Puhi** at the hands of their old enemies, it created a good deal of consternation at the Bay of Islands, as mentioned in **Bishop Williams' "Christianity amongst the Maoris,"** p. 95, for it was reported that all the **Waikato** and **Hauraki** tribes were about to make a descent on the Bay of Islands on account of the peace having been broken by **Rangi-tukia** in an expedition which did not meet with the approval of the whole of **Nga-Puhi**. The northern tribe lost in this fight the following men of consequence, **Utu-ariki**, **Rangi-tuoro**, and **Te Ngere**.

The peace referred to was that made by **Te Wharerahi** of the Bay, who visited **Hauraki** in 1828, and brought back with him a number of the **Hauraki** people, but this did not affect our **Ngati-Whatua** friends, who were still living in **Waikato**, as exiles from their own country.

**Nga-Puhi**, though losing much prestige by these late defeats, were not disposed to leave an *utu* account unsquared without an attempt to adjust it; but it was three years before they returned to **Wai-te-mata**

and Waikato, and in the mean time the great battle of Hao-whenua or Taumata-wiwi (not far from Cambridge, at the foot of Maunga-tautari hill), had been fought in 1880, between Waikato and the Hauraki tribes, both of whom by this time had become possessed of many guns.

#### DEATH OF HONGI HIKA.

It was mentioned a few pages back, that the great Nga-Puhi leader had been wounded in an inter-tribal fight at a place called Hunuhunua, on the banks of the Manga-muka branch of the Hokianga river. This fight occurred between the Ngati-Pou\* of Whangaroa (Hongi's near relatives), aided by the Roroa sub-tribe of Hokianga and Hongi's partisans. Hongi drove Ngati-Pou out of Whangaroa, and was pursuing them, when he was wounded near Oporehu. Ngati-Pou finally fled to Wai-mamaku, near Hokianga Heads. A young man connected with the Taou branch of Ngati-Whatua, named Maratea, but whose father was a Ngati-Pou, had joined the Roroa people, and during the fight managed to shoot Hongi through the breast. This was in January 1827. Hongi was carried back to his home at Whangaroa, where he lingered on till the 6th March, 1828, when he died, and great was the consternation amongst the settlers at the Bay, who had been under the special protection of Hongi, for fear they should suffer on that account. But beyond alarms nothing came of it.

Not many weeks after, Te Whare-umu, Ngati-Whatua's enemy, and who first led the attack at Te Ika-a-ranga-nui in February 1825, was killed at Waima, Hokianga; and this nearly led to an inter-tribal war amongst the Nga-Puhi, but was happily averted by the exertions of the Rev. Henry Williams and some other of the Missionaries, peace being made on the 24th March, 1828.

Thus died Hongi Hika, the great enemy of Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara in particular, and the scourge of many of the Southern tribes, who frequently felt his heavy hand, from 1815 to the time of his death. He was no doubt a great leader in Maori warfare, but treacherous withal. It was greatly due to his early possession of fire-arms that he spread such terror wherever he went; but beyond that we must give him credit for being a great general. His cruelty and treachery were not perhaps more marked than in other leaders of his time. It is said that his blind wife, Turi-ka-tuki, accompanied him in all his wars, and that she was his most trusted adviser. It was

\*It is stated that Ngati-Pou formerly occupied the whole of the country round Waipate and Ohaeawae, the country known as Tai-a-mai. A tribe named Ngati-Miru and another named Te Wahine-iti occupied at the same time as Ngati-Pou, and was driven out or exterminated by Nga-Puhi. It is probably that Ngati-Miru are the descendants of one Miru, who is said to have settled at Whangape, having come to New Zealand in the Kura-haupo canoe.

widely believed at the Bay of Islands that the death of both Hongi and Te Whareumu were brought about through witchcraft by Pango (or Nga-iwi), of the Ngati-Whakaue tribe of Rotorua, who was then on a friendly visit to the Bay. He was consequently in danger of his life, but was taken back to his people by Rev. Henry Williams, in April, 1828.

The following is a song composed by Tama-rehe, of Ngati-Whatua, on the death of Hongi Hika, in which he expresses his vexation and anger against Hongi on account of his man-slaying proclivities; and failing to obtain revenge against him by force of arms, he relieved his feelings in song :—

Kowai au, E Hongi, e i ?  
 I riro mai a konei, e, i,  
 Tera Ngati-Whatua, e, i,  
 Te tangata nana i kai atu,  
 Hou-wawe, Hou-moka,  
 I Kai-a-te-karoro na, i,  
 " To upoko ra, te Tupua-i-tawhiti " !  
 Nana rawa i homai,  
 Ko te kaha tuarangi,  
 Hei tua i te motu.  
 Ki'hinga ki raro ra—e.

By whom, O Hongi, was the deed performed,  
 That sent me here, an exile ?  
 There in affliction lives Ngati-Whatua—  
 The people that in former times did eat,  
 Hou-wawe, and Hou-moka, northern chiefs,  
 At the bloody field of Kai-a-te-karoro,  
 " Curses on thy head, thou stranger from afar,"  
 That brought hither to this land,  
 The strange and powerful weapons,  
 That felled the mighty of this land  
 And laid them low in death.

The writer adds, " This is a curse on the white man, who brought here guns and powder, thus, " Curses on thy head, &c." The white man is a *tupua* and the *tupua* is a *ngarara* (a lizard), of old ; a rock, a *tanirha* (a monster), dwelling below the earth, even from the first making thereof. None have seen it. Such is the white man, according to the ideas of the Maoris in his ignorance."

It was at the time of Hongi's death, and the outcome of the outrageous behaviour of the Whangaroa people, that the Wesleyan Mission at that place was broken up, and the Mission removed to Mangungu on the Hokianga harbour.

The Chevalier Dillon called at the Bay in November, 1827, in the " Research," after having returned from Vani-koro island, whither he went to look for the missing French navigator, La Pérouse. He had a visit from Hongi on the 18th, who was suffering from his wound.

He told Dillion that he was about to depart immediately for Waikato, to obtain revenge for the death of Pomare in 1826; he never accomplished this object, however.

#### TAKING OF THE "HAWES, 1829."

A few items of interest may be gathered from the "Church Missionary Record," of the doings in the above year, but it seem to have been a year of comparative peace in the North, whatever may have been going on in the South.

On February 19th, the great chief Paue, of Waimate, died. Mr. Yates, on his return from Takou, a settlement a few miles north of the Bay of Islands, where he had been to visit the chief named Whata, met the chief Titore (whose other name was Takiri), of Waimate, on his way to Takou. He was carrying a small piece of stick as a memorial of the late Poue, which was fastened to the top of a spear, and he as the bearer was strictly *tapu*, and dared not eat till he had delivered it to the person for whom it was intended. Mr. Yates does not tell us the meaning of this, but it is probably the same ceremony that farther south is called *Te Rakau-o-te-mate*, "an ancient Maori custom, and one which was invariably carried out when a chief of any rank died. The *rakau* or stick was formerly retained for a year or longer, and was frequently taken to the *pa* of a former enemy against whom a grudge was felt. If any person (Maori) was met by the bearer of the *rakau* he was instantly killed and a war ensued. If no one was met, then the *rakau* was left, and an armed party came to attack the *pa*." \*

On March 10th, died Te Koikoi, a warrior of some fame, and on the 14th of the same month, "the news was received of the destruction of Mr. Campbell's brig, the "Hawes" by the natives of southward (Whakatane). Three of her crew were killed and eaten, but the vessel and the rest of the crew were rescued by Captain Clarke." As the story of the taking of this brig is not to be found in detail in any publication now easily accessible, and as it has a certain bearing on our story, I have translated the following from Dumont D'Urville's "Voyage de l'Astrolabe," who quotes it from the "Revue Britanique," of 1880.

"On the 17th November, 1828, I left Sydney as mate on the brig "Hawes," of 110 tons and a crew of 14. The brig was commanded by Capt. John James, who had also with him twelve sailors whom we were to leave at the Antipodes and Bounty Islands. After having left

\*G1.—p. 10, 1876.

ten of the men at the Antipodes Islands and two at Bounty Island,\* we sailed for New Zealand, the aim of our voyage being commercial. We touched at the Bay of Islands in December, 1828, in order to take in wood and water, and then directed our course towards the East Cape, distant about 500 miles. As soon as the natives saw us, they came off in crowds in their large canoes. We had taken on board at the Bay, an Englishman as an interpreter. It was in vain that we tried to persuade the natives to exchange with us, but they refused; at which we were much surprised, for these people are very eager to obtain all that comes from Europe. But the mystery was soon cleared up; our interpreter told us they had commenced their war song and prepared themselves to attack us. Determined to make a vigorous resistance, we ran to arms and uncovered our cannon, seeing which the natives made off, for they had no intention of fighting us, but rather to take us unawares.

The object of our voyage not being attainable here, we hauled up our anchor, and made sail along the coasts of the Bay of Plenty. The natives are in great numbers here, very warlike, are robbers and treacherous. Our captain permitted some of the principal people to come on board, and treated them with respect, hoping thus to induce them to trade, and his skilful conduct succeeded in two days in obtaining as much flax as we desired. We were continually on our guard during the two days, for the islanders made many attempts to surprise us, but our vigilance, excited by the advice given us by our interpreter, baffled their designs.

We then returned to the Bay of Islands and stored our merchandise and took in provisions, then sailed for Tauranga, situated at the entry of the Bay of Plenty (of which he gives a lengthy description). We learnt that quantities of wild pigs are to be found here, and as their pursuit would detain us some time we came to an anchor. Our interviews with the natives confirmed in appearance what we had been told as to their amicable disposition, and for several days we obtained provisions in sufficiency; but that did not last long, for at the end of seven weeks we had obtained but seven tons of potatoes and three tons of cured meat.

\*One of these men named Coffee, I afterwards met at the Chatham Islands, where he had settled down, married a Maori wife and had several children. The object for which these men were left on the islands mentioned, was to catch seals. Coffee described to me the life he and his mate led on the desolate Bounty rocks, their difficulties about water after the supply left with them was exhausted, and their despair at the non-return of the vessel to take them off, which, as he said had been taken by the Maoris in New Zealand. They were eventually taken off by another vessel, after suffering great hardships.

Our interpreter recommended the Captain to send a boat to Walki-Tanna (Whakatane), a place about 50 miles from Tauranga, assuring him that provisions could be obtained there in abundance. In consequence the boat was prepared, and I was put in command; the following day we left, with the interpreter and a sailor. At midnight we anchored in a little bay in front of the place, and at daybreak went up the river for a fourth of a mile, where we found ourselves opposite to a *pa*, which, like all I have seen in New Zealand, is situated on an escarped hill of a conical form.\* Its natural strength is increased by an earthen parapet. To reach the place, one has to follow a winding narrow path that Europeans cannot traverse without danger, whilst the New Zealanders run with bare feet over the sharp-pointed rocks with great lightness. The natives assembled at our landing-place, saluted us with their *aiee mui* (*haere mai*), an expression of friendship which means "Come here." Our interpreter having informed them of the object of our visit, their joy became excessive; they danced and sang around us with the most grotesque actions, and declared they would render us all the service possible. They then conducted us to the home of their chief, by the path I have mentioned; it was a small hut made of posts stuck in the earth, the roof and sides made of rushes so that no rain could enter. The only opening was a small door hardly sufficient for a man to pass through, whilst the height of the hut was not sufficient to allow one to stand upright. It was surrounded by a species of gallery ornamented with coarse sculptures painted in red, which denoted the rank of the family of the chief. The huts of the other people are altogether miserable, and resemble pig-sties. They usually sleep out of doors, and only in very rough weather are they forced to use their huts. They sleep with their legs bent under them, and are covered with a mat of rushes, so that at night they look like little hay-stacks here and there.

The chief to whom we were introduced was named Ngarara, or the Lizard. He was a fine man, well-made, very tall, and of an imposing aspect. His whole body was tattooed. We found him sitting before his hut, with a beautiful mat over his shoulders. His face was painted with oil and red ocre. His hair, arranged after the manner of the country, was gathered on the summit of his head, and ornamented with plumes of the *poe*,† a very remarkable bird. As soon as he heard our desires he showed us a large number of fine pigs, which he consented to sell. I asked him to send them by land to the place where our ship was, but he responded that would be impossible

\*In all probability this was the old *pa* Puketapu, just behind the present village of Whakatane.

† Possibly *pohoi*, a tuft of feather worn in the ear.

because he was at war with some of the intermediate tribes. I saw there was nothing else to do but to return to the ship, for the boat was too small to convey these provisions. Unfortunately, the wind was contrary and the sea very rough, so we were obliged to beat and keep well out. The following night the wind freshened from the north-west; we took in reefs and our little boat did better than we could hope, but at daylight we found ourselves so far to leeward of the river, that we were forced to return to Whakatane. The wind having fallen somewhat, we took to the oars, and at three o'clock in the afternoon found ourselves where we started from the day before. I decided to communicate overland with the Captain, and as neither the interpreter nor the sailor would go, on account of fear of the natives, I determined to go myself, engaging one of the chiefs to accompany me. (He then describes the difficulties of the route—rivers, heavy beaches, &c.—and mentions the quantity of flax, *kaikatea* (*kahikatea*) trees and the *koudi* (*kauri*), in which of course, he is mistaken, for no *kauri* grows south of Tauranga. The writer also mentions that orange trees had been introduced at that time. After two days and nights, having had care to avoid any natives, he arrived at the ship, where he gave his guide two tomahawks and some powder.)

As soon as the Captain heard we had found plenty of pigs at Whakatane, he up-anchor and started, arriving off the place the following night. The people appeared very pleased to see us, coming off in large canoes with abundance of provisions, which we purchased without coming to an anchor. Ngarara came on board and treated us with an apparent cordiality; his people seemed animated with the same sentiments, and in conformity with his orders, kept off at a distance from the vessel. We arranged our purchases along the deck as well as possible, so we might stow more; but the wind freshening from the south-east, we returned to Tauranga to kill and salt our pigs. But the quantity was not sufficient, and we therefore again got under sail for Whakatane, where we arrived on the morning of March 1st, 1829. The weather was beautiful and we cast anchor between the isle Maltora (*Moutohora*) and the main. Hardly had we arrived when the natives came off in great numbers; we only wanted twenty pigs, and those were all we bought.

On Monday, 2nd March, at six o'clock in the morning, the boat was sent ashore with an officer and eight men, including the interpreter, to kill and prepare our pigs at a hot spring we found not far from our vessel. (This spring is on Mou-tohoro isle). An hour after mid-day, we called to them to come on board to dinner, but as they did not understand, the captain went to look for them, leaving me and three men to take care of the vessel, not suspecting the perfidious intentions of the natives. Ngarara was on board at that time with

ten or twelve of his people. I remarked several times that they were talking vehemently about the *kaipuke* (ship), and suspecting some treachery I told the supercargo, who was a Tahitian, to bring out the sabres and to watch Ngarara whom I saw preparing his arms. On this, the natives sprang into the shrouds of the main mast, having each his musket, which they had hitherto concealed in their canoes. At this critical moment we had no pistols on deck, and I felt sure, if one of us descended to get them, Ngarara would profit by it and commence the attack. As our muskets had been placed in the mizen-top not only because they were safer there, but for fear of a surprise, I ordered one of the men to go aloft and fire at Ngarara; but as he was not so well-assured of the evil intentions of the natives, he refused to obey. There was not a moment to lose; I went myself into the top and ordered the men to keep a strict watch. Unfortunately my men would not listen to me, saying that I meditated the death of an innocent person, and continued to joke amongst themselves. But as soon as Ngarara saw me in the top occupied in unloosing the muskets, he fired at one of our men who was only three paces from him and who was playing with a sword; the ball passed through his head, which Ngarara immediately cut off with his *mere*, a sort of short club terminated with a sharp flint. All his men then jumped on to the deck and our two poor sailors were both massacred. They then fired at me without hitting me, but at the moment that I was aiming, Ngarara sent a ball through my right arm, which broke the bone. When they saw me fall down in the top, they commenced a war-dance, with horrible yells, and then proceeded to pillage the ship. Although I was nearly fainting with pain, I remarked that in the excitement of the pillage, the miserable natives had no regard for the authority of their chief, and as they would not obey, some of them were killed on the spot. Their diligence in filling their canoes was extreme. Ngarara ordered one of his men to come and seize me; that man not being able to accomplish this by himself, called others to his aid, and I was thus carried to the canoe. By this time the sun had set, and the savages pulled hard to enter the river before dark, which at any time is dangerous. We got in safely, although we had to pass in on a breaker. Some of the canoes, principally those in which were our arms and munitions, capsized; the natives managed to save themselves, but they lost their canoes and their booty.

I did not know what had befallen the captain and the crew; but thought they had all been cut in pieces, and fancied myself the surviving victim. Destined to suffer on the part of these savages the most horrible tortures prior to their satisfying their passion for human flesh, I regarded with indifference the loss of their canoes, and in spite of the agony of mind and body in which I was, I saw



with ravishment that act of justice. When we arrived at the village, the women surrounded us, chanting and dancing, making demonstrations of extravagant joy, and praising their heroic masters for the courageous action, in their opinion, which they had performed. After the natives had disembarked their plunder, they lighted large fires, around which they gathered, the light of the fires showing more clearly their horrible contortions. They appeared to be holding a violent discussion; I understood enough of their language to know that I was the object that occupied them so violently. My fate seemed inevitable, the greater number of the savages demanded my death; but it was ordered otherwise. I owed my safety to the chief who had served me as guide to Tauranga, and who interceded for me, promising that if my ransom did not arrive at a fixed date, he himself would kill me; adding that a musket was much more valuable than my life. This argument decided the natives to postpone my death.

He then conducted me to his hut, where all the troubles of that day presented themselves to my mind, and I thanked God for his mercy in my miraculous deliverance and implored his pity.

I passed the two first nights without closing an eye: all that I had experienced, and the pain caused by my arm rendered sleep impossible. My groans so troubled my host towards daylight that he put me outside his house, and I crawled under shelter near by. During these two days no one dreamt of helping me; eventually I found a piece of leather, which I placed in the form of a splint on my arm, and tearing up my socks used them as a bandage, my host tying it on against the wound; I often went to the river to bathe it, where one of my guardians accompanied me. The ball had traversed the bone and remained in, nor could I extract it.

The second day of my captivity, as I was at that side of the *pa* facing the bay, the view of a schooner attracted my attention. She was close to our unhappy vessel, of which nearly all the rigging had been taken, I saw the natives abandon her in great haste, whilst the schooner endeavoured to tow her away. I begged of the miserable natives to take me off to her, promising them my ransom and extra payment; they were deaf to my prayers. One may conceive better than I can express, what I felt on seeing the two vessels departing, by which alone had I any chance of safety. I therefore tried to resign myself to my fate, which seemed inevitable; but the love of life and the thought of the greater danger I had escaped, caused a ray of hope to enter my heart. That which occurred the following morning was not, nevertheless, of a nature to diminish my mortal anguish. One of the natives brought to me the head of one of my unfortunate companions; it was that of the Tahitian, which they had prepared with great care, and had tattooed. In this manner they preserve

quantities of heads, and it forms one of their branches of commerce : I trembled at the idea that possibly mine would share the same fate before long.

On the morning of the fourth day of my captivity, I was much alarmed in seeing the natives surround me. I demanded the reason ; they told me the people of Tauranga, a neighbouring tribe, were about to attack them with forces superior to their own. Shortly after, Ngarara appeared with the captain's sextant ; he gave it to me and told me to observe the sun and inform him if it was really true that the Tauranga tribe was advancing towards them. To refuse would have been fatal to me, though I did not pose as a prophet. At the same time, reflecting from the well-known character of these natives that the news of the pillage of our ship would excite the cupidity of the neighbouring tribes, I obeyed the orders of Ngarara, observed the height of the sun and demanded a book, which I studied attentively. "Yes." I said, "The tribe of Tauranga is advancing towards your people with hostile intentions." "And when?" demanded he. At this I felt greatly agitated, and knew not what to answer. "To-morrow," I said. He appeared satisfied, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

The natives constructed at the foot of the *pa*, towards the riverside a kind of rampart of earth four feet high, on which they placed our cannon and then waited with impatience, but without fear, the approach of daylight next day. I fancied I heard a discharge of musketry, when Ngarara burst into my hut and told me that the attack was about to take place, just as I had predicted. His confidence in my predictions now knew no bounds ; and he prayed me to inform him if he would conquer. I told him yes, which inspired his people with fresh confidence, my previous prediction having been so promptly fulfilled. The enemy was at that time on the opposite side of the river, and had commenced a brisk fire, which those of Whakatané replied to vigorously. One of them conducted me to the rear of the *pa*, thinking I should be in less danger there, for my life had become an object of solicitude. I shortly heard the report of one of our cannon, then shouts of victory ; the discharge had produced such fear in the assailants, that they fled as soon as they heard it. Ngarara came to me with several chiefs, addressed me as the *atua* (god). They cut off the heads of the prisoners they had taken, then cleaned and washed the interiors of the bodies and afterwards cooked them. The avidity shown by these savages, men and women, in that horrible repast, persuaded me that they preferred human flesh to all other.....

(The author then describes how heads are preserved, but his account presents nothing new).

Nothing interesting occurred to me until the 9th March. On that day I learned with a joy impossible to describe, that my ransom had arrived; that extraordinary deliverance was due to the following circumstances:—

When the captain quitted the ship to go ashore, the first that he saw was a native bearing one of the swords of our men, and when he had found the men, he learnt that they had been robbed of their arms. He at once gave the order to man the boat, but found that the oars had been stolen; and they saw one of the natives who had taken them, on a rock with them. Our men gave chase with such vigour that he threw away the oars and fled. As they returned towards the boat the savages hidden behind the rocks fired on them, but happily did no harm. They had hardly left the shore, when they discovered that the natives were in possession of the brig. They were without arms, consequently it was useless to think of trying to save the vessel. They therefore put to sea, taking a north-west direction, pulling hard, and they were sufficiently lucky to fall in with the schooner "New Zealand," Captain Clark, from Sydney, and who took them on board. The latter captain, on hearing the state of our ship, resolved to retake her, which he did, as we have seen. The fragments of human flesh spread about the deck, and the remains of fires they had lighted, left no doubt that the unhappy ones left on board had been devoured by these cannibals. The schooner then returned to Tauranga, where they learnt that I was still alive and a prisoner at Whakatane. The captain sent off two chiefs to carry the muskets for my ransom; they went by land and arrived on the 9th of March. I left with them immediately, but my weakness, due to the wound, rendered the journey much harder than on the previous occasion; I had great trouble in managing to cross the mountains, covered as they were with high ferns, dripping with dew, and was not in consequence able to sleep. . . . We had to make many detours to avoid the inhabitants. After three days and nights of very hard travel we reached Tauranga, where I had the inexpressible pleasure of finding my captain and messmates. . . .

We arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 15th March, when the captain took me to the Rev. Mr. Williams, a missionary established in those parts, but not being a doctor, he could only give me a powder to prevent the excrescence of the flesh of my wound. I left for Sydney on the 17th March, on board the "New Zealand," and we arrived on the 25th. I thus passed twenty-three days without any help or medical assistance. They extracted three bullets out of my arm, and the surgeon wished to amputate it, but to this I would not consent. After staying three months in Sydney, during which my wound healed, I returned to England, arriving there after a voyage of four months."

THE DEATH OF NGARARA.

I have said that the taking of the "Hawes" was connected with our story, and the following, copied from J. A. Wilson's "Life of Te Waharoa," shows the connection and the sequel. "When the news of the cutting off of the "Hawes" reached the Bay of Islands, some Europeans resident there, considered it necessary to make an example of Ngarara. They therefore sent the "New Zealander" schooner to Whakatane, and Te Hana, a Nga-Puhi chief acquainted with Ngarara, volunteered to accompany the expedition. The "New Zealander" arrived off Whakatane, and Ngarara encouraged by the success of his enterprise against the "Hawes," determined to act in the same manner towards this vessel. But first, with the usual cautious instinct of a Maori, he went on board in friendly guise for the double purpose of informing himself of the character of the vessel, and of putting the *pakehas* off their guard. Ngarara spent a pleasant day, hearing the *korero* (news) and doubtless doing a little business; so much so that his was the last canoe alongside the vessel, which latter it was arranged should enter the river the following morning. Meanwhile, our Nga-Puhi chief sat quietly and apparently unconcernedly smoking his pipe on the taffrail, his double gun, as a matter of course lying near at hand; yet was he not unmindful of his mission or indifferent to what was passing before him. He had marked his prey, and only waited the time when Ngarara, the last to leave, should take his seat in the canoe. For a moment the canoe's painter was retained by the ship, "but in that drop of time," an age of sin, a life of crime, had passed away, and Ngarara had writhed his last in the bottom of his own canoe—shot by the Nga-Puhi chief in retribution of the "Hawes" tragedy, in which he had been the prime mover and chief participant.

"One of the natives who took part in the "Hawes" tragedy was a Nga-Puhi man, who at the time was visiting at Whakatane, but usually lived at Maunga-tapu, near Tauranga, having taken a woman of that place to wife. It so happened that Waka-Nene, of Hokianga, afterwards Tamati-Waka, and our ally in the first war between the Maoris and the Government, at the Bay of Islands, 1848-4, was on the beach at Maunga-tapu, when this Nga-Puhi man returned from Whakatane to his wife and friends. Tamati-Waka advanced to meet him and delivered a speech, pacing up and down in Maori style, while Ngati-he, the people of the *pa* sat round. "Ugh! you are a pretty fellow," said, Tamati, "to call yourself a Nga-Puhi. Do they murder *pakehas* at Nga-Puhi in that manner? What makes you steal away here to kill *pakehas*? Has the *pakeha* done you any harm that you kill him? There! that is for your work," he said, as he suddenly

stopped short and shot the native dead, whom he was addressing, amidst his connections and friends. This action, bold even to rashness on Waka-Nene's part, stamped his character for the future, throughout the length and breadth of New Zealand as the friend of the *pakeha*—a reputation he has since so well sustained."

The revenge taken by the Whaka-tohea people, with which tribe Ngarara was connected, for his death, belongs only indirectly to this story. But in the course they took they secured the death of an unfortunate white man then staying at Hicks Bay.

It would appear from a narrative written by the late Major Ropata Wahawaha, that on board the "New Zealander" schooner were some Ngati-Porou people on a visit to the Bay of Islands, to which place they had been urged to proceed by Uenuku, a chief of Ngati-Porou, and that it was in course of their voyage back to the Bay that Ngarara was shot. After the occurrence, the Ngati-Awa people of Whakatane (Ngarara's people), having seen the Ngati-Porou on board, came to the conclusion that Ngarara's death was due to the influence of the latter tribe. So they arose, together with the Whaka-tohea, Whanau-a-Apanui and Whanau-a-Ehutu tribes and proceeded to Whare-kahika (Hicks Bay), and laid siege to the *pa* at Omaru-iti there. Here Tu-tohi-a-rangi, Uenuka's son was killed, together with a white man named Tera (? Taylor), whilst another named George, escaped by swimming off to a rock, whence he was rescued by a ship's boat belonging to a whaler, which happened to call in at that place in the very nick of time. Tera's body was burnt. This was either in the end of 1829, or the beginning of 1830.

Subsequently, in 1831, Ngaure and Whare-tomokia of Nga-Puhi, with their people were returning from a friendly visit to Ngati-Porou, of the East Coast, by canoe, when Te Whanau-a-Apanui tribe, having heard of their passing along the coast, thought this too good an opportunity to be lost, so manned a canoe and gave chase. They came up with the Nga-Puhi chiefs off Whakaari, or White Island, and after a fight succeeded in capturing the canoe, and killed most of the crew. Thus was some revenge obtained for Ngarara's death, but it led to consequences perhaps little anticipated by Te Whanau-a-Apanui tribe, as we shall see later on. At this time the Nga-Puhi chief Te Wera was still living at Te Mahia Peninsula, and had been at enmity with Ngati-Porou, but the death of the two Nga-Puhi chiefs, together with that of Tu-tohi-a-rangi, son of the principal chief of Ngati-Porou, appears to have ended the enmity and engendered a common desire for revenge against the people of the Bay of Plenty in which Nga-Puhi played a prominent part, but not till 1834. But to return to the North, for a few items from the "Missionary Record."

On May 22nd, 1829, the Rev. W. Williams met at Kawakawa, Bay of Islands, a Maori chief who had lately returned from a visit to Tahiti. This is worth noting, in order to put us on our guard against accepting as original traditions of the Maori, matters that this and other Maoris may have learned in their whaling voyages to the central Pacific. Not that there is much danger of this occurring from Nga-Puhi sources, for that tribe has probably contributed less towards the ancestral history of the Maoris than any other tribe.

22nd June, Rev. W. Williams went to Kerikeri to visit the well-known Nga-Puhi chief Rewa, "who had severely injured his hand by the bursting of a gun. It was necessary to amputate three of his fingers, which I proposed to do, but the superstitions of the people were so great that every one was opposed to it, and I was also given to understand that if I had cut his hand, a party of strange natives who had just arrived from the southward to visit Rewa, would probably have been cut off by Rewa's people as a payment for his accident." This was strict Maori law; some one had to suffer, whether he was the wrong-doer or another was not of much consequence. A noticeable instance of this occurred the following year, as we shall see. This party of natives from the south appears to have returned on August 6th. Who they were is not stated, but probably were some of the Ngati-Porou people. The Rev. J. D. Lang describes Rewa in 1839, as follows:—"He is as fine a looking man as I have ever seen, tall, muscular, athletic, with an expression of kindness on his open countenance, which it is impossible to mistake, notwithstanding the tattooing with which his face is disfigured. His daughter is one of the handsomest native women I have seen."

At this period there appears to have been a Maori god of some note, established at the Bay, named "Whiti," who communicated with the people by a whistling sound, produced by the priest by means of ventriloquism.

April 24th, 1829. All the natives round Waimate proceeded to Whangaroa to the *hahunga*, or "bone-scraping" of Hongi Hika's bones. This was an old custom and the occasion of much feasting, together with some wailing by the relatives, when the bones of distinguished persons, after the body had been buried for about a year, were exhumed, scraped clean, painted red with *kokowai*, or red ochre, and then finally deposited in the family vault, usually a cave or chasm only known to a very few.

#### THE GIRLS WAR (so called), 1830.

In 1830, an occurrence took place at the Bay of Islands, which is very illustrative of Maori customs, and which led to further Nga-Puhi expeditions against the southern tribes. It has been called the "Girls

War," for this reason :—The captain of a whaler, then anchored off Kororareka (afterwards Russell), to which place very many such ships came in those days for fresh provisions, &c.,\* took to himself two Maori girls as wives. Tiring of these after a time, he took two other and younger girls, sisters, and discarded the first pair. Not long after, the four girls were bathing on the beach at Kororareka, and were sporting and chaffing one another, whilst their mothers looked on from the shore. From chaff they got to abuse, and finally to cursing in the Maori sense. The mother of the first two girls rushed into the water and nearly succeeded in drowning the other two girls. The first two girls were said to have been connected with the family of Te Morenga, an influential chief of Kawakawa, whilst the ladies who succeeded them in the affections of the captain, were connected with Rewa's family, one of the most important of the Bay chiefs. This incident led to great disturbances, for insults of the nature offered could not be brooked by the old-time Maori. Ururoa, a chief of Whangaroa and brother-in-law of the late Hongi Hika came to Kororareka with a large force and proceeded to plunder the *kumara* plantations of the local people, *i.e.* Te Morenga's and Pomare's tribes. This was on the 5th March, 1880. The missionaries used their utmost persuasion to avert a conflict, for the two parties were now in close proximity; but on the following day, owing to the accidental discharge of a musket which killed a woman of the invading party, a general fight was brought on in which a good many people were killed and more wounded—Rev. Mr. Davies says nearly one hundred. Amongst the slain was Hengi of Takou, north of the Bay, a chief of some rank.

On the 8th March, 1880, arrived at the Bay, the Rev. Samuel Marsden and his daughter. Naturally he used his great influence to assist the resident missionaries to make peace between the fighting tribes, most of the members of which were related; indeed it is said that often fathers, sons and brothers were fighting against one another on either side. A peace was made on the 17th March in the presence of about a thousand natives, and ratified on the 18th, "When," says the Missionary Record, "a chief from Ururoa's party repeated a very long song, with a small stick in his hand, which at the conclusion he broke and threw down at the feet of the ambassador of the opposite party. The meaning of this was, that hostilities had been broken off. The latter chief then repeats a similar form of words and casts down his broken stick at the feet of the former speaker."

\* An old settler informed me in 1880, that he had seen over sixty whale ships at one time, anchored in the Kawakawa river, opposite Opuā.

Thus peace was made, so far as Nga-Puhi was concerned ; but Hengi's two sons, Mango and Kakaha, were not satisfied with the *utu* obtained for their father's death, and proceeded to arrange for a hostile expedition against the tribes of the south, "*Kia ngata ai te nyakan pouri*,"—to assuage the darkness of the heart. This was, of course, in strict accordance with Maori law : someone must suffer, and as they could not attack their relations, the Bay of Islands people, after peace had been made, they used this as an excuse for a raid on the innocent tribes of the Bay of Plenty.

But, Mr. C. F. Maxwell tells me, there was another *take* also, inducing the Takou people to seek revenge. He says, "I will now explain why Ngati-Kuri (of Whangape, west coast, north of Hokianga), joined Nga-Puhi and formed part of the *ope* which devastated Tuhua, and were afterwards cut off and eaten by Ngai-Te-Rangi at Motiti. When Hengi was killed at Kororareka in 1880, by Ngati-Manu, he left two sons, Mango and Kakaha, by a Ngati-Kuri woman, and also a young wife. After his death, Tareha, the great Nga-Puhi chief, of Ngati-rehia *hapu*, took the young widow to wife. The two stepsons objected and brought her back. In revenge, a Nga-Puhi *taua* came down and destroyed the *kumara* cultivations of the brothers. This naturally caused much annoyance and the brothers therefore decided—"We will go south and obtain payment, or die at the hands of strangers, for those who have injured us are of our own tribe."

They sent to their mother's people, and about 200 of the Ngati-Kuri joined them. The *take* or reason of these people consenting to join in the expedition was this :—Whare-tomokia of Ngati-tautahi, had been way-laid and slain by Te Whanau-a-Apanui at Orete, Bay of Plenty, while returning from a visit to Waiapu, some of his people being retained as slaves. It was to obtain *utu* for this, and to release the prisoners that they joined the expedition."

The date of Whare-tomokia's death was apparently 1881 ; he was with Nga-ure as described on page 84.

#### AHUAHU, 1880, AND MOTITI, 1881.

The record of Mango and Kakaha's expedition to Ahuahu, or the Mercury Islands in the Bay of Plenty, are more meagre than usual, nor can I ascertain the exact date of their departure from Takou, a few miles north of the Bay of Islands. It was, however, somewhere about July, 1880, for the Rev. W. Williams says, July 18 :—"A party from Kororareka, who were concerned in the late fight (March, 1880), are about to proceed to the south to fight with any they meet with, though they are not at hostilities with any in the south at present. They are going to obtain satisfaction for one of their chiefs killed at Kororareka, as they cannot conveniently obtain it from the people



who killed him." The expedition was a small one, only about one hundred warriors taking part in it, and probably not more than two or three canoes. The war-party fell unexpectedly on the unfortunates living at Ahuahu, or Great Mercury Island, and killed a great number of them. They then attacked Maunga-tapu *pa* at Tauranga, but suffered a repulse at the hands of the Ngai-Te-Rangi tribe, after which they returned home to the north.

On the 20th January, 1881, the Rev. A. N. Brown, notes:—"The accounts received from the south are disturbing; many have been cut off." This apparently refers to the above expedition. He adds, "During the past four months there has been much fighting amongst the people living thirty miles south (of the Bay) and at Hokianga."

I remember hearing an incident of this massacre at Ahuahu Island, which adds another instance of the remarkable tenacity of life of the Maori. A man had been tomahawked by Nga-Puhi (a terrible wound), and was left for dead. He came to himself, apparently some time after the fight, to find himself the sole survivor of his people. Nga-Puhi had left, after holding the usual feast. The poor fellow bound up his head as best he could, got something to eat, then swam the two and a-half mile channel separating Ahuahu from the mainland, and finally after many days of wearisome travel, turned up at Coromandel, where his friends lived. He survived for many years afterwards.

The defeat suffered by Nga-puhi at Maunga-tapu, Tauranga, naturally necessitated a retaliatory expedition to wipe it out; and moreover, the late Hengi's relatives and tribe felt that the massacre at Ahuahu Island had not satisfied their lust for revenge. Another expedition was therefore decided on, this time to be commanded by Te Haramiti, an old priest of Matauri, near Takou. Apparently the expedition started from the Bay early in 1881, for news had reached the Bay, of the Nga-Puhi defeat in March, as the following extracts show:—

March 6th, 1881.—Rev. W. Williams says, "News has just arrived that a party of about fifty natives from Takou which went down south about two months ago to kill all that came in their way are entirely cut off at (or near) Tauranga." The Rev. A. N. Brown under March 5th, says: "Went to Rangihoua (at the Bay.) A desperate battle has been fought at the south, only one man has returned out of the party that went from Takou, consisting of twenty chiefs, forty slaves, seven canoes and two cannon. This party, before they were surprised had cut off and destroyed at different places over 800 natives." March 11th:—"A few of the natives from Whangaruru (a little south of the Bay) joined the expedition from Takou which has been cut off

from the south. A large party from inland are now gone to Whangaruru to eat up all the food of those who have been killed, whilst the children and wives will be left desolate." This proceeding of course, was the law of *murū*, and the "inland people" would thus reason: these Whangaruru people had no business to go and get killed; the tribe thereby loses a number of good warriors; their relatives must suffer for it.

The best account of Te Hara-miti's expedition is that given in Mr. J. A. Wilson's "Life of Te Waha-roa" so often quoted, which I copy here, with the addition of a few notes of my own.

"Undaunted and undiscouraged by want of success, Nga-Puhi again sent forth a *taua*, led by Te Hara-miti, a noted old priest. As this war-party was a small one of 140 men, it was arranged that a reinforcement should follow it. In 1882 (read 1881) Te Hara-miti's *taua* set out, and landed first at Ahuahu where about one hundred Ngati-Maru were surprised, killed and eaten.\* The only person who escaped this massacre was a man with a peculiar shaped head, the result of a tomahawk wound then received. He said, as he sat in the dusk of the evening in the bush, a little apart from his companions, something rustled past him, he seemed to receive a blow, and became insensible; when next he opened his eyes, he saw the full moon sailing in the heavens; all was still as death, he wondered what had happened. Feeling pain, he put his hand to his head, and, finding an enormous wound, began to comprehend the situation; at length, faint for want of food, and believing the place deserted, he cautiously and painfully crept forth, to find the bones of his friends, and the ovens in which they had been cooked. Food there was none; yet, in that wounded condition he managed to subsist on roots and shell fish until found and rescued by some of his own tribe, who went from the mainland to visit their friends who had been slaughtered. How the wretched man lived under such circumstances is a marvel.†

"From Mercury Island, Te Hara-miti's *taua* sailed to Tuhua (Mayor Island) where they surprised, killed, and ate many of Te Whanau-a-Ngai-Taiwhao. A number however took refuge in their rocky and impregnable *pa* at the east end of the island, whence they contrived to send intelligence to Ngai-Te-Rangi at Tauranga of Nga-Puhi's irruption. The Nga-Puhi *taua* remained several days at Tuhua, irresolute whether to continue the incursion or return to their own country. A few men of the *taua*, satisfied with the first slaughter,

\*I think this refers to the previous expedition under Mango and Kakaha of the previous year, which, there is no doubt did kill about 100 people at Ahuahu.

†It will be noted that Mr. Wilson's account of this incident differs but little from my account given on a previous page.

had wished to return from Mercury Island; but now all, excepting Te Hara-miti, desired to do the same.\* They urged the success of the expedition; that having accomplished their purpose, further operations were unnecessary, that they were in the immediate vicinity of the hostile and powerful Ngai-Te-Rangi, who, should they hear of the recent attack, would be greatly incensed; that their own number were few, and there appeared little hope of the arrival of the promised reinforcements, and that though the tribes in the south possessed only a few guns, yet they no longer dreaded fire-arms as formerly, when the paralysing terror they inspired so frequently enabled Nga-Puhi to perpetrate the greatest massacres with impunity—hence Pomare and his *taua* had never returned from Waikato. To these arguments Te Hara-miti, their priest and leader, replied that, though they had done very well, the *atua* (god) was not satisfied, and they must therefore try and do more. He assured them that the promised succours were at hand and that they were required by the *atua* to go as far as the next island, Motiti, whence they would be permitted to return to the Bay of Islands. To Motiti, or Flat Island, accordingly they went; for Te Hara-miti, their oracle, was supposed to communicate the will of the *atua*, and they of course like all New Zealanders of that day, whether in war or peace, scrupulously observed the forms and rites of their ancient religion and superstitions, and obeyed the commands of their spiritual divinities, as revealed by the *tohungas* or priests.

“The Nga-Puhi, when they arrived at Motiti, were obliged to content themselves with the ordinary food found there, such as potatoes and other vegetables, with pork, for the inhabitants had fled. But this disappointment was quickly forgotten when the next day at noon a large fleet of canoes was descried approaching from the direction of Tuhua Island. Forthwith the cry arose, “Here are Nga-Puhi, here is the fulfilment of Te Hara-miti’s prophecy,” and off they rushed in scattered groups along the south-western beach of Motiti to wave welcome to their friends.

“Let us leave this party for awhile to see how, in the meantime Ngai-Te-Rangi had been occupied. As soon as the news from Tuhua reached Tauranga, the Ngai-Te-Rangi hastily assembled a powerful force to punish the invaders. Te Waha-roa (of Ngati-Haua, of Matamata, Thames Valley inland), was on a visit to Tauranga, and by his prestige, energy, and advice, contributed much to the spirit and

\*Mr. Maxwell tells me, that Kauae-hapainga, a priest of Ngati-Kuri—which tribe formed part of the expedition—had cast the omens, and found them unfavourable to a further extension of the Nga-Puhi operations, and he advised a return home, but Te Hara-miti overruled this.

activity of the enterprise. In short, so vigorous were Ngai-Te-Rangi's preparations that in a few days a fleet of war canoes, bearing one thousand warriors led by Tu-paea\* and Te Waha-roa, sailed out of Tauranga Harbour and steered for Tuhua. (My notes add the following:—Prior to starting, recourse was had to the seer or *matakite*, to communicate with his god to ascertain whether the expedition would be successful. The seer's name was Tawaha, and in his sleep he heard his *atua* chant to him the following:—

Maunga-nui, nau mai haere !  
Maunga-roa, nau mai haere  
Kia kite koe i Wai-hihi,  
Kia kite koe i Wai-haha,  
Te inakeretanga o toa ure,  
Ki roto te wai o Hiha !

Great mountain, thou art welcome,  
Tall mountain, thou art welcome.  
When thou shall see Wai-hihi,  
When thou shalt see Wai-haha,  
Then shall his courage fall,  
In the waters of Hiha.

This was deemed quite satisfactory and the *tauu* proceeded joyfully on its way. The following chiefs of Ngai-Te-Rangi were engaged in this expedition:—Te Kiri-tata, Hika-reia,† Tawaha, Te Rangi-hau, Te Panepane, Tahere and others.) “The voyage was so timed that they arrived at the island at daylight on the following morning, when they were informed by Te Whanau-a-Ngai-Taiwhao, from the shore, that the Nga-Puhi had gone the previous day to Motiti. The warriors, animated with hope, and thoroughly set upon revenge, or to perish in the attempt, made old ocean hiss and boil to the measured stroke of their warlike *tiki*; while the long, low, war canoes glided serpent-like over the undulations of an open swell. At mid-day, as they neared Motiti, the enemies canoes were seen ranged upon the strand at the isthmus that connects the *pa* at its south end with the the rest of the island; and now Ngai-Te-Rangi deliberately laid on their oars and took refreshments before joining issue with their antagonists. The Maunga-tapu canoes forming the right wing of the attack, were then directed to separate at the proper time, and pass round the south end of the island, to take the enemy in the rear, and prevent the escape of any by canoes, that might be on the eastern beach.

‡ All arrangements having been made, Ngai-Te Rangi committed themselves to the onslaught, which, as we have seen, the doomed Nga-Puhi rushed blindly forth to welcome. The latter, cut off from

\*Tupaea subsequently escaped from the great slaughter at Te Tumu, 7th March, 1834, when his tribe suffered very severely at the hands of Te Arawa.

† Hikareia was killed as he fled from Te Tumu. 7th March, 1834, by Te Ipu-Tarakawa, at Wairakei, half-way between Maketu and Tauranga.

escape, surprised, scattered and outnumbered, were destroyed in detail almost without resistance." (The first man or *mata-ika* was killed by the Ngai-Te-Rangi chief Te Panepane). "Old Hara-miti, blind with age, sat in the stern of the canoe ready to receive his friends; but, hearing the noise of the conflict, he betook himself to incantations to insure the success of his people, and was thus engaged when the men of Ngai-Te-Rangi came up and with their fists beat him to death, a superstitious feeling preventing each from drawing his sacred blood. Only two Nga-Puhi survived—a youth to whom quarter was given, and a man who it is said, swam to Wai-rakei on the main; in respect of which feat we will only say that it was an uncommonly long swim."

The Nga-Puhi story says that more than one of their people escaped this massacre, and that they together with the survivors of Whare-tomokia's party were rescued at Tauranga by Titore's *ope* of the following year. Such was the end of the so-called "Girls War," at the Bay of Islands. The quarrels of a few girls bathing on the beach at Kororaeaka, had thus led to the deaths of many hundreds of people, a great many of them having not the remotest connection with the quarrel, or with the people to whom the girls belonged. One of the cannon, or perhaps mortars, called by the Maoris a *pu-huri-whenua*, and named Te Hara-miti, is still in possession of the Optiki natives.

A few additional items from the "Missionary Record," of 1881, may be of interest:—January 7th; Mr. W. Williams visited Titore (? Titore), who was a great chief (mentioned several times in this narrative) and had married Hongi-Hika's sister. In the same month there was fighting going on at Manga-kahia and the Upper Wairoa between the people of the latter place and the Ngai-Tawake of the Bay, which Messrs Baker and Shepherd tried to prevent without success. Mr. Baker says, "Amongst the Wairoa people was Moe-tarau, from Kaipara, I never saw so lion-like a man in my life, and his language agreed with his appearance." In this expedition the two missionaries ran much danger from the excited state in which the natives were. In February, it was estimated that the number of natives within five miles of the new Mission Station at Waimate was between two and three thousand. Alas! how many are there now, probably not two hundred?

On May 14th, there was a party of Whakatohea natives at the Bay, who were living under the protection of Mata-karaha. June 15th, "A small cutter has returned from Tauranga, which left the Bay a fortnight since. She took from Rangi-houa thirty natives under Whare-poaka, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of a report that a sister of his had been killed by the people of that place. Their intention was to fight, but they were overawed by the numbers."

August 5th, Rev. H. Williams visited Oruru, near Mangonui, the first visit of a missionary. Tarepa was then one of the principal chiefs, who appeared to think "the Nga-Puhi are much changed since the missionaries have lived amongst them." December, Mr. Davis visited Maui, whose son had recently died, the boy was laid out on a bier in a shed dressed up in feathers and mats; and his father and mother and other relatives were dreadfully cut about the face and limbs, in token of grief. "A man was just preparing to kill one of the slaves as a sacrifice to the *manes* of the child."

On April 12th, 1831, the Rev. Mr. Yates describes the ceremony of consulting the oracle as follows:—"After the two men who called themselves priests were strictly *tapued*, they entered for a time to pray that they might be rightly directed in the important business before them. In about five minutes they returned, each with a cockle-shell in his hand, and with which the hair was immediately cut off the forehead—each one performing very ceremoniously the office for the other. On finishing they ate some sacred food, and with another cockle-shell tied to their garments, they went into the thickest of the fern, where, having cleared a small, circular space, they sat and prayed again. Two small sticks were then cut with the cockle-shell and nicely balanced upon another stick stuck in the ground for the purpose. The circle, from the height of the fern, was well-sheltered from the wind, and the sticks were left balanced when the priests retired. They are to return again at sunset, when, if the sticks have not fallen down, their deity has not heard their prayers and the whole ceremony has to be repeated. But if they have fallen towards the rising sun, success will attend their undertaking; if the contrary, there will be no success and probably the tribe will be cut off." This is a species of divination allied to the *niu*, but differs slightly from the latter ceremony.

The destruction of Te Hara-miti's expedition naturally caused great excitement amongst the Nga-Puhi tribes, and immediately led to steps being considered for obtaining *utu* for this serious blow to the prestige of Nga-Puhi. We gather from the "Missionary Record," a few notes of occurrences at the Bay in connection therewith: April 4th, 1831, Rev. H. Williams "saw Morunga (? Te Morenga), Kawiti and Hiki," all renowned Ngai-Puhi warriors, "preparing for an expedition to the South on the 12th. Kawiti's party moved on to Kororareka, twelve canoes manned by between 200 and 300 men." On the 18th, Moka, another great Nga-Puhi warrior, "nearly blew his hand off with a musket. This is his first meeting with this party since their fight on March 6th, 1830. The expedition was postponed till the summer. On the 18th, Te Tirarau (of Whangarei) was at Kororareka; he came to join the expedition, but returned, as Kawiti had done." On the 20th, "Visited old Wata, of Takou, from

which place came the principal people in the expedition, as it was their relatives who had been cut off. 22nd April, "Mate, of Mangakahia, Te Tirarau's late opponent, also came to Kororareka to join the Southern expedition. The Takou people also had just arrived, they were the most aggrieved of any of the people, as it was their relatives principally who fell at Motiti. Titore, Tareha and Rewa were also there. They advised the Takou people to wait until summer, when all Nga-Puhi would go with them. Titore said he could not attend to Christianity till he returned from the proposed expedition to Tauranga."

PUKE-RANGI'S *Taua* TO WAIKATO, 1882.

We must leave the proposed Tauranga expedition for awhile, to relate that of Puke-rangi to Waikato, but the exact date of its leaving cannot now be ascertained, indeed, beyond the facts stated by Mr. C. Marshall,\* I know nothing of it. Mr. Marshall who was then living in the Waikato, having been the first white man to settle in those parts,† gives a full account of this expedition, which is summarised here; it took place in 1882. The *taua* appears to have been composed largely of the Southern Nga-Puhi tribes, from Whangarei, &c. The expedition was a very strong one, nearly 8,000 men under the leadership of Puke-rangi, Motu-tara and Te Tirarau of the Parawhau tribe of Whangarei; the latter had a separate account of his own to square on account of losses at Otamatea, Whangarei and other places. Nga-Puhi came by the usual route *via* Otahuhu and the Awaroa portage, whilst Waikato assembled at the heads of that river equally as strong as Nga-Puhi. After a time, having consumed all the food there, Waikato retreated up the river, where after some time Puke-rangi and his party followed them after burning the settlement of Putataka at the mouth of the river, where a few Europeans had by this time settled down. Near Whangape lake, Nga-Puhi surprised some forty Waikato people and killed them, but they proceeded no further and returned to the Heads, where they killed a *pakeha* named "Paddy."

Nga-Puhi were followed to Manukau by some of the Ngati-Amaru, one of the Waikato tribes, but they effected nothing; hearing which the Ngati-Te-Ata (of Waiuku), Ngati-Tama-oho, Ngati-Tipa and Ngati-Mahanga—all Waikato tribes—and Ngati-Whatua, with several of their sub-tribes followed after Nga-Puhi, as far as Tawa-tawhiti, near Te Kawau Island (? Whangarei), where they attacked and defeated the Northern tribe with great slaughter. In this encounter Puke-rangi,

\* "Pakeha Rambles through Maori Lands," Lieut. Col. St. John, p. 19.

† Captain Kent was the first white man to settle at Kawhia, in 1831, finally removing to Mauku, and then North Shore, Auckland. He was buried at Te Toro Point, Manukau, where I saw his grave in 1863.

the Nga-Puhi leader was killed. Ngati-Whatua at this time were living at Te Horo, on the Waipa, and in this war they got a little satisfaction for their previous losses. This was the last expedition that Nga-Puhi made against these Southern people of the West Coast. They had probably had enough of it, and fire-arms were by this time common to most tribes. I think it possible that Mr. Marshall has given a wrong position for Tawa-tawhiti, unless there were two defeats of Nga-Puhi at the place of that name, near Kawau Island, and that it was to Whangarei the *taua* went.

In November, 1831, the news of the capture and killing of Tama-i-hara-nui of Akaroa, by Te Rau-paraha, reached the Bay by letters dated in March, 1831. There were said to be 1500 men armed with muskets, under Te Rau-paraha at Otaki, Kapiti, &c. Also in the same month the letters of the Maori chiefs to His Majesty William IV., asking him to protect them against "the tribe of Marion" (the French) were sent; as it was reported that the latter nation were about to take possession of New Zealand. The letters were signed by Whare-rahi, Rewa, Patu-one, Nene, Kekeao, Titore, Te Morenga, Ripi, Hara, Atua-haere, Moetara, Matangi, and Taonui. The occasion of this letter was the visit of a French man-of-war in the previous month.

It will be remembered that in March 1828, the Rev. Henry Williams had saved the life of Pango, a Rotorua chief, by taking him to Tauranga from the Bay, thus defeating the intentions of some of the Nga-Puhi chiefs, who had expressed their determination to kill Pango. On 27th April, 1831, the Rotorua chief, Whare-tutu, arrived at the Bay, sent by Pango, to ask that a missionary might be sent to his tribe at Rotorua. Mr. Williams took advantage of this, and left the Bay in the little schooner "Karere," October 18th, 1831, and together with Mr. Chapman sailed for Tauranga, where he found several Europeans settled, and from thence proceeded to Rotorua, reaching Ohine-mutu on the 28th, Mr. Williams being the first missionary to visit that place. They reached the Bay on their return on November 18th.

#### TITORE'S EXPEDITION TO TAURANGA, 1831-2.

Early in December, 1831, the gathering of the Nga-Puhi tribe commenced prior to proceeding south to obtain *utu* for the destruction of Hara-miti's expedition. They assembled at Kororareka, and amongst the chiefs were Titore, Rewa, Whare-nui, Te Morenga, Ururoa, Moka and Tareha. On the 25th December, about 200 people arrived at Kororareka from the north to join the expedition, Whare-poaka was with them. These were Whangaroa and Takou people, no doubt, for it was the relatives of the latter who had suffered at Motiti. At that time it was estimated that there were between 500 and 600 natives



living at Takou. Of Titore's expedition, the Rev. H. Williams gives a full account in his diary,\* as he and Mr. Fairbairn accompanied the party in their schooner-rigged boat, leaving the Bay January 3rd, 1882, Their intention was to endeavour to mitigate some of the horrors of Maori warfare. This expedition numbered about 600 men, and it appears that some time in January about 200 of the *tau*a separated from the rest under Rewharewha, or Ururoa of Whangaroa, Whare-rahi and Whare-poaka, and made a raid on the people of the Thames Valley, where they did great destruction amongst the Ngati-Haua, Ngati-Maru, and other tribes living there.

#### EXPEDITION TO MATAMATA, 1882.

After the great battle of Hao-whenua, in 1880, between the Waikato and Thames tribes, in which the latter were defeated, the Ngati-Paoa branch of the latter together with some of Ngati-Whatua left and proceeded down the river Waikato—Ngati-Whatua to join their relatives at Te Horo, Waipa River, and Ngati-Paoa to their old homes on the Waiheke channel, hauling their canoes over the portage at Otahuhu, whilst some went by way of Maramarua, at the head of which river was another portage leading over to the Gulf of Hauraki. Here Ngati-Paoa lived for some time, until the death of Taku-rua at the hands of Waikato (Ngati-Haua), when an expedition was organised by Ngati-Paoa to obtain revenge. It was just at this juncture that Rewharewha's division of Nga-Puhi, separating off from the main party, under Titore, arrived on the scene, and as these two tribes were related through intermarriage, Nga-Puhi were easily persuaded to make a raid up the Piako and Thames Valleys. The combined *tau*a consisting of 260 Nga-Puhi, and many of Ngati-Paoa, first went to Tararu, Thames, where a great war dance was danced, and they were joined by other of the Thames people. Te Hira of Ngati-Maru, with 200 men and some of the Nga-Puhi, went up the Waihou river and thence to Matamata, where considerable fighting took place, ending in victory for the invaders. The Ngati-Paoa and the rest of Nga-Puhi paddled up the Piako and there took the Kawe-heitiki *pa*, from whence after a time the Nga-Puhi re-joined Titore's force at Kati-kati. The Nga-Puhi chiefs in this expedition were:— Patu-one, Te Waka, Kainga-mata, Whare-poaka, Rewharewha, Te Whare-rahi, Te Taonui and Raumati—the two latter accompanied Te Hira. The Hauraki chiefs were:— Kohi-rangatira, Taharoku, Hauauru, Haora and Tipa. The celebrated Taraia Nga-kuti was at that time with Te Rau-paraha at the taking of Kai-apohia.

\* Life of Archdeacon Williams, Vol. I, p. 107.

But to return to the main part of the Tauranga expedition. Titore sailed leisurely down the coast, entering Katikati Heads on the 5th March, where they joined forces with those of Rewharewha, who already had been engaged with Ngai-Te-Rangi, but without any result. The expedition, consisting of eighty canoes and boats, then passed on between Mata-kana island and the main, camping at Karopua on the 7th. This was about two miles from the Ngai-Te-Rangi position at Otu-moe-tai. Several skirmishes took place on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th. And so it continued with many desultory skirmishes through April, and the expedition returned to the Bay sometime in July or August having accomplished very little, for the Southern natives were by this time fairly equipped with arms, and Nga-Puhi did not find their enemies so easy to conquer. "Nga-Puhi were not beaten, but wearied, humbled, and confessing to failure, the God of the missionaries, they said, had been too strong for them."

April 23rd, 1832, Rev. Mr. Davies, writing of the state of the natives (Nga-Puhi), says, "Many have died of sickness and disease, while a greater number have been cut down in the field of battle, in fact they bid fair for annihilation, for the island is at this time in a very turbulent state. The poor creatures are now pretty generally supplied with fire-arms and ammunition, and instead of going in small parties as usual, they now collect themselves together and fight army against army, and in some cases, it is feared, Europeans join them. About three weeks since, I met a respectable man at the Bay, who had made a voyage round New Zealand in his own vessel, as commander and trader; he told me he had lost by his voyage £1500. His principal object was flax, but as the natives were so universally involved in war, he could get nothing of the kind from them, and the consequence was he was then on his return to Port Jackson." "Mr. Chapman, a respectable settler, a flax agent, who was going to reside at the Thames, informed me that for these five years past, the natives of that beautiful part had not been allowed to cultivate except here and there in secluded valleys—those of Whangarei, a stronger party making a continual attack on them, and they had been so driven about that with few exceptions, they had left all their seed and food, and were therefore living almost exclusively on fern-root and fish, and live in a dreadful state of continuous alarm." As a matter of fact, the bulk of the Thames tribes—Maru-tuahu and its sub-divisions—had fled inland to Matamata, Waikato, &c., to escape these constant Nga-Puhi raids.

As showing a few of the old customs and superstitions of the Maoris in those days, the following is quoted from the "Record," describing Titore's expedition to Tauranga. "Rauroha was no doubt

glad of the release, for he had suffered whilst on board from one of their superstitions; he had cut and dressed his brother's hair prior to his coming on board, and therefore dare not go below lest he should be killed by the *atua* (god). The weather being bad, he had been obliged to squat for three night under the long boat. . . . Titore, after landing this morning with his party, invoked the god of the wind and the waves, thus:—A handful of seaweed which had been cast up by the sea, is selected from the beach, and having been dipped in the sea, is fastened to the limb of a tree as an offering to their imaginary god; an incantation is then said by the principal chief, his party being present." January 27th, "Arrived at the place where Hinaki had been driven from Tamaki (*vide ante* 1821), and we sat down for refreshment. One of our lads was requested to give the chiefs some biscuit; he replied, "Bye and bye." Our old chief Whare-nui was in the midst of a *karakia* (incantation) with a short piece of stick in his hand, one end of which was placed on a piece of beef. He continued this for seven or eight minutes, and after he had ended, Kupenga took the stick and did the same. This, we find, is to render the place free, for it had been *tapu* since the death of Hinaki." This of course was to *whakanoa*, or make common, the place where blood had been shed. The "Record" notes that about 1832 the Maoris first began to get intoxicated.

#### TITORE'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO TAURANGA, &c. 1832-1833.

Titore was not satisfied with his expedition to Tauranga in the beginning of 1832, so decided on another. Rev. A. N. Brown says, "November 28th, 1832, Titore, who has just returned from the south, was sitting on a bank (at Kororareka) relating his exploits. On the right were fourteen heads stuck on short poles, which the natives seemed eyeing with fiendish exultation. Tohi-tapu, who accompanied us, after addressing the god Tu in a chanting tone, threw a piece of stick he had in his hand towards other three heads, which were those of their friends, that Titore had brought back from the South. The chiefs stopped their conversation to see if the stick, round which was tied a piece of *korari* (flax), would fall with the knot upwards. It did fall upwards, which they took for a good sign, in the event of their returning to the South again to fight."

Apparently Titore's party left the Bay in the end of 1832, and returned in the first half of 1833, being accompanied by a party of Te Rarawa (the shark) tribe from Mango-nui, Kaitaia, &c., under the leadership of Te Pana-kareao,\* who was the leading chief of those

\* Nopera Ngakuku Panakareao, died 12th April, 1856. His residence was at Kaitaia, where his particular *hapu* of Te Rarawa lived—Te Patu, which at the time of his death numbered about 200. His father, Te Kaka, was a very influential and brave man, but in the inter-tribal wars of the North, he was driven

parts in the middle of the nineteenth century. With him were also some of the Au-pouri tribe, whose home is at the North Cape, but who, at that time, were living about Kaitaia, Ranga-ounu, &c., having been driven from their homes by Hongi-Hika and his allies some years previously.

Again, the Rev. H. Williams and Rev. Mr. Chapman proceeded from the Bay to Maketu, in the Bay of Plenty, to try and put an end to the contemplated slaughter by the Nga-Puhi tribes. On their arrival at Maketu, 27th February, 1833, they found the Nga-Puhi host camped there, a skirmish having taken place the previous day, in which ten people had been killed. At this time, Maketu, which was a large and strong *pa*, was held by (Ngati-Pukeko) the Arawa tribe; whilst Te Tumu, about six miles to the east, and afterwards to become celebrated for the defeat of Ngai-Te-Rangi, of Tauranga, was held by the latter tribe under Tupaea, Kiharoa and others. The Arawa tribe was divided by tribal quarrels, so much so that some of them were actually assisting Nga-Puhi, *i.e.* the Ngati-Whakaue, whilst Ngati-Rangi-wewehi under Hikairo were assisting Ngai-Te-Rangi. It will be remembered that Pango, a Rotorua chief, had been saved from massacre at the Bay, by the Rev. H. Williams, in 1828; and since then several visits had been paid to the Bay by Rotorua chiefs, very often to beg that a missionary might be sent. So that the feeling caused by the fall of Mokoia at Rotorua in 1823, at the hands of Hongi, had become somewhat lessened, and a temporary friendship had sprung up between certain *hapus* of Te Arawa and Nga-Puhi.

A few notes from the "Record" will serve to show the state of the country as Messrs. Williams and Chapman sailed down the coast to Maketu. Leaving the Bay on the 3rd February, 1833, they called in at Whangarei on the 9th and found "no natives, all having been dispersed some time since by a party of Waikatos." This would be the expedition in retaliation for Puke-rangi's and Te Tirarau's *taua* to Waikato in 1832. On the 10th, they pulled up the Whangarei river; again no people; they saw the ruins of a *Pakeha's* house. "When

from Oruru and fled to the North Cape, taking refuge amongst the Au-pouri tribe, and with them, was obliged to flee to Manawa-tawhi, or the Three Kings Islands, where they lived for many years. It is said that when the natives on the main used to burn the fern, the ashes would be carried by the wind across the thirty miles straits that separate the Three Kings from the North Cape, and these unfortunate exiles used to sit down and cry over these ashes as messengers from their old homes. On one occasion, Te Kaka, in making his escape from his enemies became entangled in the supplejack vines, thereby endangering his life, and in commemoration of this event, named his son Pana-kareao (spurned by the supplejack). This was prior to the combination of Nga-Puhi under Hongi. In re-occupying their conquered territory afterwards, Pana-kareao was attacked by Hone Heke in 1841 and driven from Oruru with some loss finally settling at Kaitaia.

last here, there were several natives in the *pa*, and some Europeans about; but all are now gone, through war." On the 11th, they called in at Mangawhai, where they saw many footsteps of the Rarawa party which had followed after Titore. At Whakatu-whenua (Cape Rodney) they overtook the Rarawa, amongst them Rawiri (? Taiwhanga). From thence to Omaha on the 12th, the Rarawa having passed on to Hauturu (or Little Barrier Island). On the 13th, they ran into Port Charles, at Cape Colville, where the "boys" were considerably alarmed on account of "Pareke-awhiowhio, a noted character, and lord of this part and who has killed many a traveller." They reached Ahuahu Island on the 14th, and waited there for the Rarawa fleet. They saw many human bones scattered about, the result of the slaughter by Nga-Puhi in 1831. After calling at Mercury Bay and Whanga-mata, at neither of which places was a soul to be seen, they entered Tauranga on the 26th and camped under Maunga-nui, the southern headland of the harbour. On the 27th February, they reached Maketu, having seen some of Ngati-Awa (really Ngai-Te-Rangi, the Journal always refers to them by the former name) along the coast, and heard a big gun fired from Te Tumu *pa* "which did not appear strong." March 1st, Titore came to see Mr. Williams, and he gathered that Nga-Puhi would be glad to return. The news came in of several persons having been killed to the southwards by a distant people.

March 2nd.—Forty men of Nga-Puhi went from Maketu towards Te Tumu, held by Ngai-Te-Rangi under Tupaea in consequence of those killed a few days ago—it was without result. Korokai, of Ngati-Whakaue, Rotorua was at Maketu at this time. March 3rd. News by a native from Rotorua that Te Rau-paraha had crossed over to the South Island, carrying destruction everywhere. (This, I think, was the raid on Cloudy Bay). March 5th. "Tacapo" (*sic*) Nga-Puhi's vessel sailed to look for the Rarawa contingent. On the 6th, Pango,\* alluded to a few pages back, came from Rotorua to visit Mr. Williams. On the 7th some 400 men from Nga-Puhi started out to lay an ambush along the road to Rotorua to try and catch some Ngati-Awa reinforcements coming to the assistance of Te Tumu *pa*, and there was a skirmish on the river on the 8th. "I heard that when Whare-papa, a Nga-Puhi chief, was killed in a late engagement here, Titore's wife took a rope and gave it to his widow and told her to hang herself, which she did, retiring unattended to the *wahi-tapu* (sacred place, where incantations, &c., are offered) among some bushes.

\* Pango, was said to have been one of the most learned of the Arawa tribe, and well versed in their history. The Polynesian Society possesses some documents written by his son—matter which was taught by old Pango.

These circumstances were not uncommon a few years since. It was the practice formerly to kill some slaves on the death of a chief, but this has gradually ceased at the Bay and Hokianga." On the 11th March, a skirmish took place with the people of Te Tumu, and a son of Amohau\* of Rotorua was killed. "Immediately all was confusion and noise, firing of guns, wailing and howling in a horrid manner. This last part belonged exclusively to the women, who arranged themselves before the corpse, throwing their bodies into every attitude and filling the air with lamentation, cutting themselves until the blood gushed out, and besmearing their faces and bodies. The frantic widow sat in grief upon the body of her husband—a most dreadful spectacle—tossing her head and arms about like one deranged." March 14th, "Much commotion consequent on firing heard beyond Te Tumu, supposed to be the arrival of allies. The whole *pa* except women and children, armed and rushed off to the fight. On the opposite side of the river (Kai-tuna) the natives assembled around their priests who stood in the water while they went through their religious ceremony, sprinkling the warriors occasionally with water, at the conclusion of which they caught up a handful of sand, and throwing it in the river, went off at speed towards the enemy." This was the *tohi-taua*, or baptism of war, ceremony. After two hours this party returned having two of their number wounded, but none killed. "The firing still continued, and at 2.30 o'clock another party that had been against Te Tumu came in, wild and naked, saying that Tupaea and twenty others of Ngai-Te-Rangi had been killed—which proved to be false. Near sunset we witnessed a religious ceremony, upon the return of a party that had been out some days to waylay the enemy near one of their *pas*. The party assembled naked, every person with a bunch of green grass in his hand. The priest, an old grey-bearded man and apparently built of such slight material that a puff of wind would blow him away, stood up with outspread arms, hold three blades of long grass in each hand, and repeating over them his *karakias*, or prayers to Tu, the god of war. At the conclusion of the old man's service, the party delivered one bunch of the grass to him, they then all stood up and chanted a few words, clapping their hands at the same time; after which they ran down to the river, and wetting the second bunch

\* Amohau, was one of the principal chiefs of Ngati-Whakaue of Rotorua. He was a fine old fellow, very thickly tattooed. In 1880, when I was at Rotorua selecting the site and scheming out the plan of the town of Rotorua, he accompanied Chief Judge Fenton and myself all over the place, and was very much interested in the project. He died at Rotorua, 8th September, 1889, aged about 85.

of grass returned and gave it to the priest. I could not understand a word, nor would any one explain it." This was apparently the bringing home of the *mawhe* or "spirit" of the battle-field.

March 15th.—Amohau, the father of the man shot a few days ago (referred to on a previous page) after the usual *tangi* over his son, said that he did not wish to obtain any revenge for the death, but was willing to make peace, with the help of the Missionaries. He wished Mr. Williams to send a messenger to the *pa* at Te Tumu to make peace, and then go on to Tauranga to meet Titore and the Rarawa people. Messengers were accordingly sent on the 16th and were well received by Tupaea at Te Tumu. On the 19th news was received that the Rarawa were at Katikati and had made an attack on the people there. Kiharoa, a chief of Ngai-Te-Rangi came out of Te Tumu *pa* to meet Mr. Williams, who went on to Tauranga where, on the 21st he found the Rarawa, with Titore, Papahia (of lower Hokianga) and others, together with Te Robu, a Ngati-Maru chief of the Thames, who had joined the Rarawa with 70 men. A long discussion as to peace ensued, ending in Titore and Papahia telling Mr. Williams to go to Otu-moe-tai, the *pa* of Ngai-Te-Rangi (just across the water from the present town of Tauranga) and discuss the question with them. Peace would probably have been brought about but for an attack made by Nga-Puhi and Rarawa on Otu-moe-tai on the 22nd and again on the 25th, when two men and a woman of the *pa* were killed, and three of the Rarawa.

Disgusted at the bad faith of Nga-Puhi, Mr. Williams now left for home, and whilst at one of the islands off Coromandel on the 31st March, saw a few natives from whom he learnt that a Nga-Puhi *taua* under Marupo was at Aotea, or the Great Barrier. The "Record," notes the fact that the whole coast from Tauranga to the Bay was desolate and without inhabitants. On April 2nd, Mr. Williams called in at Mahurangi where he found Messrs. Fairburn and Shepherd, as also Te Rau-roha and Kupenga of Ngati-Paoa, and Patu-one of Nga-Puhi. (Probably this was not Patu-one of Nga-Puhi). Peace appears to have been made in May or June between Nga-Puhi and Ngai-Te-Rangi at Maketu. But before that, according to the Ure-wera accounts Pana-kareao, with the Rarawa and Aupouri people had extended their expedition to Whakatane, where Ngati-Awa repulsed them, killing three of their chiefs. In this war, as we have seen, some of Te Arawa tribes joined Nga-Puhi; others assisted Ngai-Te-Rangi. And hence, says my informant, Te Arawa were able to visit the Bay and obtained many arms there.

On July 14, 1838, the old and turbulent Nga-Puhi chief Tohi-tapu, died at the Bay of Islands, and on the 5th of May Mr. Busby, the first British Resident, arrived in "H.M.S. Imogene."

Titore, who had played such an important part in the late Southern expedition, was himself shot during a local fight between his party and that of Pomare (the younger) early in 1888. Titore Takiri left no issue. His expeditions were the last on a large scale to sail from the north, excepting one in 1888, of which there is no Maori account extant that I am aware of, though the Rev. Dr. Lang, who visited New Zealand in 1889, gives the following account of it, but he mentions no names of those engaged in it.

#### EXPEDITION TO GREAT BARRIER ISLAND, 1888.

He says, "Towards the close of the year 1888, about one hundred fighting men of one of the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, went on a predatory excursion to the Barrier Island, at the mouth of the river Thames, about 120 miles to the southward, on the East Coast. Barrier Island is about 40 miles long, very fertile, but thinly inhabited. The interlopers from the Bay of Islands having therefore billeted themselves on the peaceful and unoffending natives of that island, the latter sent private information of the circumstance to the chiefs on the banks of the River Thames, on the mainland, with whom they were on terms of friendship, and who accordingly assembled in great force to give battle to the invaders. The latter, it seems, though fewer in numbers, were better acquainted with fire-arms than their countrymen to the southward, and there were accordingly upwards of twenty chiefs of the Thames River shot in the fight that ensued, besides many natives of inferior standing. The fight had evidently been very sanguinary, for the Bay of Island natives who had in the meantime nearly exterminated the natives of the Barrier Island, were themselves reduced to thirty men, and were glad to embrace the opportunity of a small coasting vessel, bound to the Bay of Islands with pork and potatoes, to return to that neighbourhood. The little vessel arrived in the Bay on the 2nd February last (1889), having landed the thirty natives on the coast, to walk overland to the Bay. . . . Pomare then laid claim to the island and was offering to sell it, the natives who had been concerned in the affair being of his tribe and district."

#### VISIT TO TE REINGA, 1884.

In December, 1884, Mr. W. G. Puckey visited Te Reinga, near the North Cape, the place where the departed spirits descend to the nether world, and as his account is interesting in touching on some of the old customs, the following is extracted from his notes published in the "Church Missionary Record" for 1885. "I set out on the 4th December to visit a remnant of the vanquished tribe, the Au-pouri, taking with me six of my natives and Paerata, an old chief and guide.



This once bloodthirsty warrior and superstitious heathen, who was partly the means of annihilating this once powerful tribe, is, we hope, through the grace of God, become as gentle as a lamb." . . . . The party proceeded from Kaitaia to the West Coast, and thence proceeded along the magnificent beach that extends northwards to Cape Maria Van Dieman.\* "We brought up at night at Hukatere, an old fortified place where Paerata once fought and was wounded. . . . At 5 o'clock next morning we started on our way across the island for Houhora on Mount Camel, as we intended to pass the sabbath there." . . . And they experienced much fatigue in crossing the six miles of sand which there covers the island from coast to coast. "At this place we were cordially received by Whiti, an old and venerable chief, one of the principal heads of Te Rarawa tribe. This old man on learning where we were going, said, 'Of what use is your going there; for the people are very few and they have nothing for you to eat.'"

On the 6th December, Whiti on learning that we intended to explore Te Reinga, communicated the news to a chief of another village, who immediately came and said to Paerata: 'I am come to send you and your white companion back; for if you cut away the *aka*, or roots of Te Reinga, the whole island will be destroyed, but your white friend will not. Do not suffer your friend to cut away the ladder by which the souls of our forefathers were conveyed to the other world.' The whole body of New Zealanders, although composed of numerous tribes who for the greater part are living in malice, hateful and hating one another, yet firmly believe in the Reinga—which is at the North Cape—as the one only place for their departed spirits. It is their belief, that as soon as the soul leaves the body, it makes its way with all speed to the western coast. If it be the spirit of one who resided in the interior, it takes with it a small bundle of the branches of the palm tree (? *nikau*) as a token of a place whence it came; if one who lived on the coast, the spirit takes with it a kind of grass that grows by the seaside (? *pinguo*) which it leaves at different resting places on its road to the Reinga." On the 7th December, they returned to the West Coast, and in travelling along the beach saw many fragments of wrecked vessels and whale bones, and at night reached Wai-mahuru, a small stream where there were a few houses that are considered sacred. On the 8th—"At break of day we proceeded on our way about three miles, when we came to one of the

\* There is an amusing story told of the Rev. Mr. Puckey and this beach. Having frequently to travel along the hard, sandy beach, he conceived the idea of making a small four-wheeled car, to which he added a mast and sail. It answered admirably, until one day, the steering apparatus went wrong during a high wind, and the car "took charge" and carried the reverend gentleman into the breakers where, but for the help of his natives, he would have been drowned.

resting places of the spirits, where we were told we should know if any native had lately died, as there would be a green *whakaau*, or token of his spirit having rested there on its way to the Reinga, but we found none. . . . About three o'clock we arrived at the end of the beach at Kahu-kawa, where resided all the natives of the North Cape, not exceeding twenty-five in number."

December 9th—We proceeded to explore the Reinga. After proceeding about half-an-hour we came to another and the last resting-place of the spirits, which is on a hill called Haumu, from whence they can look back on the country where their friends are still living, and the thought of them causes the spirits to cry and cut themselves. Here we saw many dry *whakaau* which, as our guide said, were the tokens of the spirits who had rested there. I asked him if it were not possible for strangers who passed this way to do as my natives were then doing, namely, twisting green branches and depositing them there as a sign that they had stopped at that notable place—a general custom with the natives whenever they pass any remarkable place. After this we went on over sandhills and sandy beaches till we came to a fresh water river. Here we took breakfast, after which we ascended a very high hill composed of craggy rocks on which were growing patches of slippery grass, over which it was very difficult to walk, and the precipice over which the road lay, hanging over the sea, made travelling very dangerous. When we reached the summit, we descended to the water's edge. Here there is a hole through the rock into which the spirits are said to descend by the *aka*, which is a branch of a tree (a *pohutukawa* tree according to the Maoris) growing out of the rock, inclining downwards, with part of it broken off by the violence of the wind, but said to have been broken off by a number of spirits which went down by the *aka* to the Reinga, some years ago, when a great number were killed in a fight. After a while, our new guide took us about one hundred farther along, where he directed our attention to a large lump of seaweed washed to and fro by the waves of the sea, which he said was the door that closed in the spirits of the Reinga. This latter place is called Motatau,\* where, our guide remarked, they caught fish, which are always quite red from the *kokowai*, or red ochre, that the natives bedaub their bodies and mats with—the natives believe that the painted garments go with departed spirits.

The scenery round the place where I stood was most uninviting, not only so, but calculated to inspire the soul with horror. The place has a most barren appearance, while the screaming of the numerous

\* Motatan, or Motau, is frequently mentioned in Maori laments—" *i te rimu e mave ra ki Motau.*" "Where the seaweed swirls at Motau"; and is emblematical for death.

sea-fowl and the sea roaring in the pride of might, dashing against the dismal black rocks, would suggest to the reflecting mind that it must have been the dreary aspect of the place that led the New Zealanders to choose such a situations as this for their Hell. We now returned to Kahu-kawa, and reached home on the 12th.

During the time I was absent, great rumours spread among the tribes that I had gone to cut away the *aka* (or root) of Te Reinga. Many angry speeches were made, and some said they would go and waylay us as we were returning. It, in fact, roused all the old affections of those who had any, for their old Dagon, while numbers who were beginning to be a little enlightend would say, "And what of it, if the ladder be cut away? it is a thing of lies; no spirits ever went there." On being asked, "What, are you afraid of having no place of torment to go to?" Some of the old men touchingly replied, "It is very well for you to go to the *Rangi* (heaven), but leave us our old Reinga, and let us have something to hold on by as we descend, or we shall break our necks over the precipice." Many, however, threatened to fight with Paerata, as they laid the blame on him. About forty men came to inquire into the truth, as well as Kuku, a notable chief." After much talk, however, Paerata was able to convince them that their old road to spirit land was still intact.

Forty years ago I had a native of the Au-pouri tribe of the North Cape in my employ for several years. He has often described the Reinga to me, and stated that in travelling southward along the long beach mentioned by Mr. Puckey, he has seen at a distance companies of spirits approaching him on their way northwards to Te Reinga. But they always disappeared before they drew near; and if he looked back after a time, the same party would be seen hastening along to their destination. He told me that in the north the doors of the *kumara* stores were always turned to the north, for fear the spirits travelling from the south should enter and thereby *tapu* the *kumaras*, and therefore unfit for food. By this we may suppose the spirits could not turn back after once starting.

Mr. Puckey's idea as to Te Reinga having been chosen as the entrance to Hades from its weird and uninviting appearance, is not correct. It was the nearest part of New Zealand to the Ancient Fatherland of Hawaiki whence the race originated, and to which all spirits were supposed to return after life. There are Reingas in most of the islands—if not all—occupied by the Polynesians, and they are generally to be found at the western end of the islands—in other words towards the direction of Hawaiki, the Fatherland. The spirits were always supposed to travel along the mountains from where ever the body died, to the western end of the islands, and there "jumped off," hence *Reinga-wairua*, the Spirits' Leap, the name applied to most of these points of departure.

The following from the "Church Missionary Record" for 1885 illustrates the manners of the early years of the nineteenth century. It is supplied by the Rev. Mr. Davis of the Bay, a very competent Maori scholar. "June 30th, 1884, several natives here for instruction. This evening one of the young men from Kai-kohe, who has lived with me from the first, gave the following interesting account of himself:— . . . While I was yet in my mother's womb, my father devoted me to the Powers of Darkness. As soon after my birth as I was able to struggle for my mother's breast, I was kept therefrom and teased by my father in order that angry passions might be deeply rooted in me; the stronger I grew the more was I teased by my father and the harder was I obliged to fight for the nourishment of my mother's breast. This was done in order that my angry passions might be fostered in their growth, and ultimately become matured in desperate wickedness. All this was done (to use his own words) before I had seen the plants which are produced by the earth."

"As soon as I saw the world and was able to run about, the work of preparation went on more rapidly; and my father kept me without food in order that I might learn the art of stealing, and so at length become an adept, not forgetting at the same time to stir up the spirit of revenge and anger . . . My father also taught me the Black Art (*i.e.* witchcraft in which his father was a great priest and an adept) so that I might be able to bewitch or destroy people at pleasure."

"My father told me that in order to be a great man, I must be a murdering warrior, a desperate and expert thief, and be able to do all kinds of wickedness effectually."

"I recollect that when a child, my father went to kill (hunt) pigs. After they were dead I tried to get a leg or a limb; but my father beat me away, and did not allow me to eat any part thereof because I had not shown myself desperate in endeavouring to catch and kill the pigs."

"When the tribe went to war, and I was able to join them, I endeavoured in all things to fulfil my father's wishes, by committing acts of wickedness, and considered that I was quite right in so doing. When I became a man and capable of committing acts of violence, catching slaves for myself, &c., my father was pleased and said, now I will feed you, because you deserve it; now you shall not want for good things."

This young man subsequently came under the teaching of the Missionaries, and abandoned his old life, which caused a separation between him and the old father who removed from Kai-kohe to be away from Missionary influence.

The "Missionary Record" for the years following 1838 are full of interesting matter relating to the Maoris, and more especially with respect to the Thames and Waikato people, who came under the Missionary teachings by the founding of new stations at Puriri on the Thames River in 1834, and at Manga-pouri between the Waikato and Waipa rivers, also in the same year, but they no longer deal with the subject of this paper, but rather with the state of the Maoris of the north central districts of the Colony; and a melancholy tale of war, treachery, murder and barbarism it is, illustrating what was said in the beginning of this narrative, that in the early years of the nineteenth century the whole of the North Island was one vast camp of armed men seeking each others destruction.

In January, 1836, Rev. H. Williams, Messrs. Fairburn and Hamlin, succeeded in bringing about a peace between Waikato and Nga-Puhi, at Otahuhu, near Auckland, and since that time these two great tribes have not been at enmity; but war still flourished amongst most of the other tribes, only one of which, however, did Nga-Puhi take part in, and that was:

TOKO-A-KUKU, 1836.

It will be remembered that Te Wera Hauraki had settled down with some of the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe at Te Mahia Peninsula, Hawke Bay, and had married women from that tribe. Here he lived from 1824 to the time of his death, about 1841-3, much respected by the numerous tribes of his neighbourhood for his bravery and justice. His contingent of Nga-Puhi armed with muskets was looked on as a tower of strength by the surrounding people. Even refugees from Taranaki driven by the repeated invasions of the Waikatos to the south of the island, settled for years under Te Wera's protection, as did a very large number of the Wairarapa natives. But in those troublous times anything but peace was the rule. At a date which I have found it quite impossible to fix, but which lies somewhere between 1825 and 1830, Te Wera rendered effectual assistance to his neighbour at Poverty Bay, Te Kani-a-takirau, by attacking and taking the Ngati-Porou stronghold of Tuatini, which led to further enmity between the latter tribe and Nga-Puhi. But this enmity came to an end in 1836, when we find the two tribes making common cause against the Whanau-a-Apanui tribe of the Bay of Plenty, brought about by a common suffering.

It will be remembered that in 1823, on the southern expedition of Te Wera and Pomare, that they attacked the Whanau-a-Apanui tribe at Te Kaha, at whose hands Nga-Puhi suffered a repulse, resulting in the death of Te Wera's nephew Marino. Te Wera never forgot or forgave this, but awaited a suitable opportunity to avenge

his nephew's death. In the end of 1829 or beginning of 1830, occurred the fall of Omaru-iti *pa* at Whare-kahika, or Hicks Bay, which was taken by the Whanau-a-Apanui and Whanau-a-Ehutu tribes, who killed a good many of the Ngati-Porou as payment for Ngarara (who took the brig "Hawes" in 1829). Amongst the slain was Tu-tohi-a-rangi, son of Uenuku, principal chief of the Ngati-Porou of Hicks Bay. Here then was a common cause for Nga-Puhi under Te Wera and Ngati-Porou to sink their differences and make a joint expedition against the Whanau-a-Apanui.

On the 19th December, 1833, the Rev. W. Williams\* left the Bay in the schooner "Fortitude" for the purpose of conveying stores for the new station at Puriri, and also with the object of returning to the East Cape some Ngati-Porou who had been at the Bay for some time; amongst them was a chief, Rukuata, and Tohi-a-kura, who had learnt a great deal of the new religion whilst at the Bay, and now came back to his people and much assisted in introducing Christianity. They arrived at Hicks Bay on the 8th January, 1834, and were soon in communication with the natives, who were then preparing for war with the people of the Bay of Plenty, no doubt in retaliation for Omaru-iti. Mr. Williams mentions† that at Rangitukia, the outer *pa* of Waiapu, whither he went on the 9th, the natives said the *pa* mustered 560 fighting men. On the 10th he visited Whaka-whiti-te-ra, another large *pa* containing, it was said, 2,000 fighting men. These figures show the numbers of people inhabiting those parts at that time, though only two *pas* are named. After a visit to Te Wera at Te Mahia, the party returned to the Bay, having paved the way for a Missionary, and the Rev. W. Williams himself occupied the ground by removing to Poverty Bay in January, 1840.

In consequence of events just referred to, it was decided by Ngati-Porou and Te Wera to organise an expedition to attack Te Whanau-a-Apanui and other Bay of Plenty tribes at their stronghold at Te Kaha point. Messengers were sent down the East Coast, and in March, 1836, the forces assembled at Hicks Bay. Ropata Wahawaha says: "All the tribes of the East Coast were called on. They came from Waiapu, from Turanga, from Nuku-aurua, from Wairoa, from Ahuriri, from Wai-rarapa — even from the South Island. They assembled at Whakawhiti-te-ra, Waiapu, and then proceeded to Toka-a-kuku, at Te Kaha." The Ngati-Porou leader appears to have been Taumata-a-kura, mentioned above; he had only agreed to join the

\* Afterwards Bishop of Waiapu.

† "Christianity among the New Zealanders." Page 176.

force on condition that no cannibalism should take place. Mr. Williams says he went into battle Bible in one hand, his musket in the other, and that the few casualties on Ngati-Porou side were believed by them to be due to Taumata's god. The force proceeded to build *pas* to invest Toka-a-kuku, and in the meantime messengers were sent off by the besieged to gather the coastal tribes of the Bay of Plenty to their assistance, contingents coming even from Whakatane, numbering, it is said, 1,800 men, of whom 200 came by water and succeeded in getting into the besieged *pa*. The rest marched overland, and as soon as they were observed approaching, a sortie was made from the *pa* to distract the attention of the besiegers. This brought on a general engagement at Pu-remu-tahi, not far from the *pa*, where a great fight took place, the Nga-Puhi guns being used with great effect. A complete rout of the Bay of Plenty forces followed, the pursuit extending as far as Te Awa-nui, some fifteen or sixteen miles distant. In the meantime the sortie from the *pa* had also failed. Ropata Wahawaha says the siege lasted for six months, but the *pa* was not taken in the end, though the Bay of Plenty people suffered very severely—there are said to have been 140 killed in the first battle, amongst whom were the chiefs Rangi-patu-riri, Te Kaka-pai-waho, Te Hau-to-rua, and Tu-te-rangi-noti. Provisions running short, this great *taua* eventually abandoned the siege, having obtained sufficient *utu* for their slain relatives, and returned to their homes. No man was eaten during this war, but the prisoners were hanged on *whatas* in sight of the besieged. Soon after the return of the *taua* proposals of peace were received from Te Whanau-a-Apanui by the Ngati-Porou, and this was finally cemented in 1887.

This was one of the last great East Coast fights of the century, for Christianity was fast spreading, and the various tribes were getting exhausted by wars. Although the causes mentioned were those which immediately led up to Toka-a-kuku, the Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati-Porou had been at enmity for generations past. I heard whilst at Te Kaha in 1900 that Ngati-Porou often came over the exceedingly mountainous country lying between Te Kaha and Waiapu by two well known war-trails, and raided the shores of the Bay of Plenty. These latter people sometimes met and fought them in the mountains. Some years prior to Toka-a-kuku, Te Pori-o-te-rangi, grandfather of Te Hou-ka-mou, the present chief residing at Hicks Bay, raided along the coast to near Te Kaha, where a battle was fought in which Te Pori fell. He was recognised by his assailant, who desired to spare his life, but others coming up killed him. This was a great blow to Ngati-Porou, and it was partly to avenge this that Ngati-Porou assembled their allies to attack Toka-a-kuku. The reason why this

*pa* did not fall was due to the fact that it was so large that the people had cultivations inside, and plenty of *kumaras* stored, for Te Kaha is celebrated for the growth of that tuber. Moreover, as provisions became scarce, they managed to send away canoes by night, which pulled straight out to sea until daylight, then steering for the south, and landing at Taumata-apanui and other places where there was plenty of provisions. The people of Te Kaha look on the abandonment of the siege as a victory for them.

At the same time that this siege was in progress, the celebrated fall of Te Tumu *pa*, near Maketu took place—this was on the 9th May, 1836.

#### THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN.

Beyond the incidents that have been described in the preceding pages, no further collisions between the northern tribes of Nga-Puhi and those of the south took place. The teaching of the Missionaries, now established in a great many places, and the advent of a considerable number of white traders, all tended towards a cessation of the desolating wars that ever since the introduction of muskets had prevailed in all parts of the country. The fact that most tribes were, by the end of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century provided with muskets, tended also to put an end to the wholesale butchery that formerly took place; the Missionaries, who had the best means of forming an estimate, culculated that between the years 1800 and 1840, over 80,000 people had been killed or died through causes incidental to the wars.

This long story commenced with a history of the Ngati-Whatua tribe,\* and it will end with another episode in the history of that tribe as told to me by Te Reweti one of their chiefs in 1860.

Ngati-Whatua procured their first musket under the following circumstances:—There is a *pa* named Tau-hinu, situated immediately at the junction of the Paremoremo creek with the Wai-te-mata harbour. During one of the earlier incursions of Nga-Puhi—but which I cannot now trace—this *pa* was attacked by Hongi Hika, and he so far succeeded that he drove Ngati-Whatua out and down to the tongue of land at the edge of the Wai-te-mata, where, however, they rallied and succeeded in repulsing the Nga-Puhi, driving them in turn away from the *pa* and capturing one of their muskets. As Ngati-Whatua say, the gun was no use to them for they did not know how to use it, nor had they any ammunition. Totara-i-ahua was the chief of Tau-hinu *pa*, a man who distinguished himself in the Patu-one—Tu-whare expedition to the South in 1819-1820. About 1821, he visited Coromandel, where he obtained another musket from some

\* "The Peopling of the North," Journal Polynesian Society, 1898.



vessel, and learnt how to use it. He gave it the name of Hu-teretere. The next guns they obtained were at Tai-a-mai, Bay of Islands, to which place Ngati-Whatua made a foray, which occurred—so far as I can trace—in 1820, and the object of this expedition was to retaliate on Nga-Puhi for an attack they had made on Te Roroa people of Kaihu. Ngati-Whatua say they took two *pas* on this occasion. I think this is in all probability the defeat suffered by Nga-Puhi referred to by Marsden as occurring in 1820.

The first Governor of New Zealand, Captain Hobson, R.N., landed at the Bay of Islands, 29th January, 1840, the British Sovereignty over the islands being proclaimed on May 21st, 1840. The following is my old friend Te Reweti's description of the circumstances leading up to the foundation of Auckland :—

Towards the early part of 1840, Ngati-Whatua and the Taou had returned to their *kaingas* on the Wai-te-mata from Waikato: Ngati-Rongo had returned from Whangarei and other places to their homes at Mahu-rangi, and the Uri-o-Hau were beginning to occupy their old homes at Otamatea and the adjacent rivers. They were still in fear of their neighbours at the north and others to the south, as the country they occupied on the Auckland isthmus, was the highway of all war parties, whether coming from either direction. In this state of unrest, a meeting was called of the *morehu* or remnants of the tribes at Okahu, near the future city of Auckland, to determine on what course they should pursue to ensure their safety. During this *runanga*, or council, Titai, a *matakite*, or seer, was one night under the influence of his god, when the following was sung to him in his trance, which he duly repeated to the meeting in the morning, as the advice of the god to the people :—

He aha te hau e wawara mai ?  
He tiu, he raki,  
Nana i a mai te pupu tarakihi ki uta  
E tikina atu e au te kotiu,  
Koia te pou whakairo  
Ka tu ki Wai-te-mata  
I aku wai rangi e.

What is the wind that softly blows ?  
'Tis the breeze of the north-west, the north,  
That drives on our shore the nautilus.  
If I bring from the north  
The handsome carved post,  
And place it here in Wai-te-mata,  
My trance will then be fulfilled.\*

\* After northerly and easterly gales, the Paper Nautilus is occasionally cast on the shores of New Zealand. *Tiu* and *Kotiu* are properly the north-west winds, and when Titai proposes to being from the "north-west" he correctly gives the direction of the Bay of Islands from Wai-te-mata.

The meaning was at once devined by the people. The Nautilus is the ship of the white man; the carved post, the flag of England, and it was at once seen that if they could induce Governor Hobson—who had lately arrived at the Bay of Islands—to come to Wai-te-mata and settle there, they would be allowed to occupy their country in peace. They sent off messengers to Kaipara, where Captain Symonds then was, and invited him to Wai-te-mata, whence, after staying some time, an embassy accompanied him to the Bay of Islands, going by way of Kaipara and Manga-kahia. They found the Governor living on board a man-a-war, and after a fortnight stay, he brought the ambassadors back in his ship, and anchored off Wai-ariki (Official Bay, Auckland). There they found Apihai Te Kawau and the Taou people, who welcomed the Governor. After a time he landed and pitched his camp where Fort Britomart formerly stood, the tents covering the whole of the point. At that time, Horotiu (Commercial Bay), Wai-ariki (Official Bay), Wai-papa (Mechanics Bay), Mata-harehare (St. George's Bay), and Taurarua (Judge's Bay), were all covered by *kumara* and potato cultivations, the whole of the product of which was presented to the Governor and the settlers.

Such then is the account of some of the incidents in the history of the Ngati-Whatua tribe, of Kaipara and Auckland, with which this narrative commenced, as related to me by the people forty odd years ago, and noted at the time. Writing it out in a comprehensive form, has brought back to my recollection many scenes and incidents in Maori every-day life which can no longer be studied. At that time this people of Kaipara had practically no European neighbours, and many of their old customs were still in full force, softened, however, by the influence of the Missionaries. The only white men living in the whole of Kaipara in 1859, were Mr. George Rix, at the mouth of the Kau-kapakapa, Mr. C. E. Nelson at Mataia, the Rev. W. Gittos at Oruawharo, Captain Stannaway at Tokatoka, and Mr. Marinner, in charge of Brown and Campbell's establishment at Mangawhare, on the Wairoa, with some few Europeans engaged under him in the kauri spar trade, and an occasional visitor in the person of my respected friend and fellow official John Rogan, the District Land Purchase Commissioner. It would be difficult to find anywhere a finer people than the Ngati-Whatua were at that time; they retained all the best points of the Maori character, whilst the worst had been eradicated by the efforts of their Missionaries, the Revs. Messrs. Buller and Gittos. They were strictly honest and honourable in all their dealings, hospitable to a fault, and appeared to me to follow the teachings of the Missionaries in a true spirit of Christianity.

## APPENDIX.

The publication of the foregoing narrative has brought from several friends, a few corrections and some further material, which appears below:—

(Page 165.) J.P.S. Vol. X., page 83.\* Mr. C. F. Maxwell sends me the following note as to the expression used by Hongi's wife: "*E Hongi E! Ka kore te puru o Taumarere.*" The fight at Te Ika-aranga-nui was not in Hongi's name, though he generally got the credit of it. Nga-Puhi had decided that in this instance Te-Whare-umu (of Ngati-Manu, who resided at Taumarere, Kawakawa, Bay of Islands, and was afterwards slain at Waima) should declare war—*Ki-whaingā*—and have the honour of leading the first attack. It was arranged between the leaders that Ngati-Manu should give way before Ngati-Whatua and draw them into the open, when Hongi with the main body of Nga-Puhi would fall on their rear and thus take them between two fires. Turi-ka-tuki, Hongi's wife, with other women watched the battle from a ridge near by, and when she saw Te Whare-umu hard pressed and Ngati-Whatua gaining ground, she called out that Taumarere was defeated, using a metaphorical phrase well known to Nga-Puhi. It is possible that she was unaware of the strategy of the Nga-Puhi chiefs. Hongi immediately attacked, and Te Whare-umu perceiving this rallied his men, and the main conflict came on. (Obtained from one of Te Whare-umu's descendants).

(Page 106.) J.P.S. Vol. IX., page 98.\* Mr. Maxwell being at Kawhia, 1901, learnt that Te Wherowhero, the great chief of Waikato was one of the few who escaped from Matakītaki in 1822, and that he received his name from an incident that occurred at the siege of that famous *pa*. Nga-Puhi who were encamped on the flat below the *pa* had spread out a large red cloth or blanket, which attracted great attention from Waikato, for they had never seen anything like it before, they consequently bestowed the name Te Wherowhero (scarlet) on this young chief, who afterwards became somewhat famous as Potatau, first King (so called) of Waikato.

(Page 187.) J.P.S., Vol. X., page 83.\* The Kawhia people say that it was Hongi's wife Turi-ka-tuki that made peace between Waikato and Nga-Puhi after Matakītaki; and that when Pomare announced his intention of again making war on Waikato, Nga-Puhi all said, "*E! hoa, Kauaka e haere; he maunga-rongo na te wahine. Ki te haere koe, riro tonu atu.*" "Friend! do not go; it was a peace made by a woman. If you go, you will never come back."

\* The numbers in brackets refer to pages of this narrative in book form; the others to volume and pages of the Journal.

Consequently when Pomare persisted in going and was killed, Nga-Puhi made no effort to avenge his death"—a peace made by a high class chieftainness being very binding.

(Page 106.) J.P.S., Vol. IX., page 98, note 6. Here I have inadvertently given the name of the Poor Knight's Islands as Tawa-tawhiti, whereas the name of those islands are Tawhiti-nui. The reference in the song is to Tawa-tawhiti at Whangarei. Captain Gilbert Mair informs me that there is a Tawa-tawhiti near Whangarei and that it was formerly a place of importance, occupied by the Para-whau tribe, "here it was they were attacked by Ngati-Paoa, and Te Hauauru wife of Kukupa (father of Te Tirarau) taken prisoner, and her three sisters slain. Kukupa subsequently ransomed his wife from Ngati-Paoa by presenting them with a musket. Kukupa, in bidding farewell to Ngati-Paoa, said, "*Haere! Haere ra. E mara ma! i te ra roa. Tera te waru te tuara roa o Hongi Hika..*" "Go! return while the sun shines—while it is yet summer, and there is time—the winter approaches, borne on the long reaching back of Hongi Hika." A plain indication of what the invaders might expect. The reference in the song is to this incident.

(Page 111.) J.P.S., Vol. IX., page 108. Captain Mair supplies me with the following interesting incident connected with Hongi's visit to Rotorua, 1823, when Nga-Puhi took Mokoia Island. "When Nga-Puhi entered the Waihi estuary, they paddled up the Ponga-kawa river to Pari-whaiti, that magnificent outburst of subterranean waters flowing out of Lake Rotoiti, and the head of navigation. Here the *ope* divided, Te Wera, with one part of the force going along the west side of Mata-whaura, the fine wooded hill just to the north of the east end of Rotoiti, and striking the lake at Otai-roa, a bay on the north coast of the lake, while Hongi Hika with the larger part of the force dragged their canoes overland to Roto-ehu lake. A warrior chief of Ngati-Pikiao named Te Ra-ka-taha living at Tapuae-haruru, the native village at the east end of the lake, hearing the sound of Te Wera's guns as he attacked Otai-roa, went in a canoe towards that place to fetch away the chief Te Amotu-Takanawa, father of the late Te Mapu-Takanawa. Te Amotu and his people were living in Puta-atua pa, and Te Ra-ka-taha got Te Amotu, Te Paki-o-rangi and eight others into the canoe, but they were seen and pursued by Te Wera's *ope*, and then commenced a race for life as the two canoes dashed onwards towards Tapuae-haruru. The pursuers gained on the others so quickly that both canoes reached the beach almost at the same moment. The party of Ngati-Pikiao at once took to the forest, fleeing along the Tahuna track which leads to Roto-ehu. Upon reaching a small stream

called Taupo, about midway between the lakes, the fleeing party were overtaken by Nga-Puhi and would all have been killed, but for the devotion of Te Amotu, who, bidding his comrades save themselves by flight, engaged their pursuers single-handed. After killing two with his *taiaha* he was overpowered and slain—all the others escaped. The survivors fled through to Rotoma lake, and joined two *hapus* of Ngati-Pikiao, named Ngati-Tama-kari and Ngati-Makino, then occupying the Mori-a-pawa *pa* on the lake. Te Wera's party returned to Otairoa.

"In a few days, Hongi, with the bulk of the force, arrived at Roto-ehu, where their presence was soon detected by the *tutei*, or scouts of the local tribes. Nga-Puhi had camped at a place called Maungatapu, and during that night they were attacked by a small band of Ngati-Makino and Ngati-Tama-kari (and I think some of Tautari's people). The local people had only their *rakau maori*, or native weapons, and not a single musket, yet in the confusion of the attack and darkness of the night, they succeeded in killing and carrying off the body of a Nga-Puhi chief named Kai-kinikini, besides eight others. It was Te-Ra-ka-taha, before mentioned, who killed this man, whilst Tahuri-o-rangi, a chief of Ngati-Pikiao, lately deceased, killed another chief whose name has escaped me. Hongi's *taua* had a wholesome dread of these people, who subsequently succeeded in several similar attacks, so they quickly moved on to attack Mokoia. After the fall of that place and peace was established, mainly through Te Wera's and Hikairo's exertions, Hongi's *ope* returned to the coast by the way they came. These incidents were told to me in 1866, by Te Ra-ka-taha and Tahuri-o-rangi, as we visited each site where they had attacked Nga-Puhi, and described on the ground the various incidents.

"The late Rev. Mr. Spencer told me, when he settled at Tara-wera, in 1848, Te Mapu Takanawa came to him and extorted a promise—which he never allowed Mr. Spencer to forget—to the effect that all his discarded "bell-toppers" should be given to Te Mapu, one of which was always carefully placed on the stone marking the spot where Te Amotu fell" (to which I may add, that I saw the stone with the hat myself in 1874).

I feel pleased through Captain Mair's help, in being able thus to place on record the noble action of Te Amotu, in sacrificing himself to save his fellow tribesmen.

Again Captain Mair supplies the following detail with reference to the proceeding of the Nga-Puhi after the fall of Mokoia (p. 112) (J.P.S., Vol. IX, p. 104.) "The Arawa people who escaped from Mokoia, swam towards Kawaha, on the east shore of the lake, a distance of fully two and a-half miles. Many were drowned in mid-lake, but a large number succeeded in reaching the shore. Te Rakau

of the Arawa, greatly distinguished himself; after killing many of the invaders with his *taiaha*, he was pursued, and plunging into the lake, dived into a small cave where his pursuers could not find him. He emerged therefrom during the night and succeeded in killing several more of the enemy. This operation he repeated on successive nights whilst great efforts were made to capture him, but he succeeded in escaping by swimming to the mainland at Kawaha."

"In reference to Te Ao-kapu-rangi; she was a woman of rank of the Ngati-Rangi-wewehi tribe, and married Te Wera, the Nga-Puhi chief (she was captured by him in 1818, see Tarakawa's "Doings of Te Wera," J.P.S., Vol. VIII, p. 242), and being anxious to save her own people when Mokoia was attacked, she insisted on going with the *taua*. So she importuned her husband and through him Hongi Hika, to save her friends. To this Hongi at last unwillingly consented, making it a condition that all who passed between her thighs should be saved. She was in Hongi's canoe, when Te Awaawa (who owned the only musket on the island) crept behind a flax bush just where the canoe landed, and fired, knocking Hongi over, and, as my old friend Pango informed me, giving Hongi "a bad headache for three days." Hongi's fall, though protected from a wound by his steel helmet, created a sort of panic, during which Te Ao-kapu-rangi sprang ashore and quickly making her way to a large house belonging to her tribe, she stood with her legs straddled above the doorway, at the same time imploring her people to enter the house, which they did, till the house could contain no more, and all these were saved. Hence is the Ngati-Rangi-wewehi saying—" *Ano ko te whare whawhao a Te Ao-kapu-rangi* " "This is like the crowded house of Te Ao-kapu-rangi." It was this circumstance that brought about peace with Nga-Puhi. Te Ao-kapu-rangi, having obtained permission, went for her uncle Hikairo, who was in hiding in the Mango-rewa forest at a place named Te Ahi-tutu-hinau, and took him to Hongi at Mokoia. Hongi gave him his helmet, a Morian cap he had received from George IV: on his visit to England in 1820, and which Te Awaawa's bullet had damaged. This helmet subsequently fell into the hands of an old Ngati-Parua chief named Tahuri-o-rangi, who showed it to me at Te Waerenga in 1867, but it was buried in the old man's house at his death in 1873.

(Page 108) (J.P.S. Vol. IX, p. 95). I have mentioned the incident occurring at Orahiri, just after the fall of Matakītaki in 1822, when a number of Waikato woman were captured. Captain Mair kindly supplies some additional information, which is illustrative of Maori manners at that period. "As to Hui-putea, I am told this name was given, not as that of a man, but—as the name implies—

of the peculiar circumstances occurring there ; and that the successful midnight surprise took place at Otorohanga, close to that fine *kahikatea* tree near Ellis' timber mills. It seems that after Matakītaki, the refugees, including Te Wherowhero fled inland, and meeting a chief of Ngāti-Whakātere named Te Ota-pehi with his people near Rangitoto mountain at a place called Pa-motumotu, Te Wherowhero asked him, "*Tera ranei ahau e maru i a koe ?*" Can you shelter me, (i.e., avenge my wrongs), to which Te Ota-pehi replied, "*Ae! ka maru koe i toku pureke ; he kahu pitongatonga !*" Yes, I will clothe you with an impervious and invincible garment !—I will assist you in obtaining revenge. Accordingly Te Ota-Pehi accompanied Te Wherowhero with a small band of *tina toa* (chosen warriors), and cautiously made their way down the valley of the Wai-pari, approaching Otorohanga about dark. Here they met a woman who had escaped from Nga-Puhi who told them that a *tauā* of between seventy and eighty strong had come up the Waipa valley from the direction of Matakītaki, taking a lot of prisoners 'principally women' at Orahiri, included amongst whom was one of great rank and beauty named Te Riu-toto. The Nga-Puhi had brought their captives to Otorohanga, and were then indulging in horrible excesses, feasting on the dead, and shamefully abusing poor Riu-toto. Te Wherowhero made the woman return to Nga-Puhi and convey a message to the captive women to the effect that they would be rescued as soon as the morning star rose, and in the meantime to exercise their arts of fascination on their captors to their utmost extent. The women did so, and during the night the small band of *tangata-whenua* approached near. At the crossing of the Waipa on the south-west side of the present township, near Mr. Mace's house, they caught one of the Nga-Puhi who was starting off to plunder on his own account. Ere he could cry out his captors put his head under water and soon put an end to him. Cautiously surrounding the Nga-Puhi camp, where the enemy exhausted, weary, and unsuspecting were lying, Te Wherowhero and his maddened band closed in on them and before they could free themselves from the embraces of these modern Delilahs, were stricken down never to rise again. Fully sixty of Nga-Puhi were thus accounted for, and the wholesome fear which this exploit induced into the invader's hearts, made them listen to the mission of the Waikato chiefs, Te Kihirini and Te Kanewa-te-whakaete, who had been taken prisoners at Matakītaki" (as already related). "Riu-toto was captured at Ta-rakerake near the Orahiri mill dam. Only one of Nga-Puhi escaped from this surprise which was called "*Hui-pūtea*," because the enemy was caught "all in one basket," or heap, with the captured women mixed up with them."

(Page 109) J.P.S., Vol. IX., page 100, foot note. Captain Mair also supplies the following:—"Te Hama-i-waho was killed at Ohiwa in 1828 (not 1838) for there it was that the fierce battle between Ngati-Awa (Ngati-hoko-pu) and the Whakatohea took place, at One-kawa, where this chief fell. This was the year my father as master of the mission schooner "Herald," together with the Revds. Messrs. Davis, Hamlin and Williams, sailed to the Bay of Plenty"—the first English vessel to communicate with the natives since Captain Cook, says the "Missionary Record." "Calling in at Tauranga, they found Koraurau of Ngai-Te-Rangi living with his people in the densely populated *pa* at Te Papa" (present site of Tauranga town). "That very night Koraurau's wife bore him a son who is still living and named Hohepa Hikutaia, or Te Mea. My father gave the woman some blankets and American twill shirts, and in return was presented with a greenstone *mere* called "Raukaraka" now in the Auckland Museum. Three days after they sailed towards Opotiki, Te Papa was taken by Te Rohu, son of Te Rangi-anini, of Ngati-Tama-te-ra of the Thames, and Koraurau and most of his people slain. His wife plunged into the harbour with her new born son on her back, but was pierced through by a musket ball, yet she managed to reach the opposite shore near Whare-roa, where she died.

"On the 'Herald' reaching Ohiwa, the tide being unfavourable for entering the harbour, my father took the dingey and landed on the beach at One-kawa Bluff, and was horrified to find a large number of freshly slain dead lying on the beach. It seems that Ngati-Awa after slaying some 60 or 70 of their opponants were so overcome with grief at the loss of their famous young chief, that they fled with the body to Whakatane, leaving the defeated Whakatohea fleeing in the opposite direction towards Opotiki. The attack on the Whakatohea was led by a very small number of Ngati-Awa under Te Hama-i-waho who was overcome and slain ere his father Apa-nui and the main body could arrive on the scene. On learning the death of his favourite son, he made a long detour lest the sight of his dead son's body should unnerve him, and uttered his *poroporoiki*, or farewell, saying, "*Haere e tama E! Hai kona ra. E te iwi arahina ahau ki te ururua o te Whare-kura! Farewell, O Son! Go hence! O Tribe! Lead me to where the warriors of the foe are thickest.*" His terrible onslaught on the Whakatohea caused such a panic that his son was terribly avenged."

This voyage took place in 1828, for Nga-rara, of Whakatane, was shot in 1829 in attempting to cut off the "Herald" when at that place.



## HONGI'S VICTORY OVER TE RARAWA AND AU-POURI TRIBES.

Mr. Maxwell supplies the following particulars of one of Hongi's conquests, of which, I believe, there is no other record. It was told to him by Hone Peti, probably the best living authority on Nga-Puhi History, and corroborated by Hare-te-Heihei. The date may be fixed by the following: Mr. Maxwell was told it occurred a year or so before Hongi went to England (1820), and the Maori narrative of Patu-one and Tu-whare's great expedition (Page 41, J.P.S., Vol. VIII., page 217) commences by saying that it was shortly after the return of Nga-Puhi from the conquest of the north that Patuone's expedition started for the south, which was in October, 1819, so the probability is that Hongi's conquest of the north was in 1818, or 1819; it is said Nga-Puhi had very few guns at that time. Mr. Maxwell says, "Hongi Hika led an expedition against the Au-pouri tribe, when Hou-taewa, a famous fighting chief of the Au-pouri was killed, the *take* or cause was this: Te Rarawa tribe, living at Ahi-para, had been at war with the Au-pouri tribe of the North Cape, for a long time, but had always been beaten by Hou-taewa. They finally surrounded him and his *tau* near Huka-tere—a place on the long sandy coast that runs from Ahi-para to Cape Maria van Dieman—while they were cooking food. But Te Hou-taewa cut his way through the enemy, killing many, including Tutei, a relative of the great Nga-Puhi chief Titore. This death caused Nga-Puhi to take up the quarrel of the Rarawa tribe, and a war-party under Hongi-Hika attacked the Au-pouri at their *pa* of Huka-tere. But they could not take the *pa* and lost many men by sorties headed by Te Hou-taewa, who killed their bravest warriors and carried off their bodies to the *pa* to be eaten. This so exasperated Nga-Puhi that they determined to storm the *pa* at all costs. Taui-nui of Ohacawae (afterwards killed with Pomare in Waikato 1826—see *ante*) was indebted to the Au-pouri for services rendered on their part, and, stealing up to the *pa* in the night, informed the besieged of Hongi's intention, and advised them to flee, promising to give timely notice of the attack by firing off his musket, and when their line of retreat would be clear. While the *aroa-kapas*, or companies of Nga-Puhi were forming for the attack, a musket went off. Upon enquiry it was reported, "It is only Taui cleaning his gun." The attack was made, and the *pa* found to be abandoned, none except a few wounded were to be found. A pursuit of the fugitives at once commenced. Six of the Nga-Puhi, headed by Te Kiroa of Manga-kahia, whilst in pursuit, discovered a wounded man being assisted by a woman, over the ford at Hou-hora river. This was Te Hou-taewa and his sister. He

had been wounded by a musket ball in the thigh, Te Kiroa attacked and slew him; he then cut off Te Hou-taewa's head and with the woman returned to the Rarawa and Nga-Puhi *taua*. The former people held a *tangi* over the head, as that of a relative who had been slain by Nga-Puhi. The combined *taua* then returned to their homes without further molesting Te Au-pouri. The latter tribe completely lost their prestige after Te Hou-taewa's death, and never regained any importance. Te Kiroa took the name of the warrior he had slain."

But Te Au-pouri had not yet come to an end of their troubles, for Pana-kareao of Te Rarawa tribe finally conquered those who escaped the hands of Nga-Puhi. Mr. Maxwell continues: "The circumstances which lead up to the war between Te Pātu and Au-pouri tribes, and constituted a valid *take* or reason why Pana-kareao, chief of the Kai-tote *hapu* of Te Pātu attacked and defeated them, thereby establishing his *māna*, from Awa-nui to Muri-whenua (North Cape), arose as follows: In the first place it must be premised, that Te Au-pouri tribe and Ngati-Kuri tribe (of Whanga-pe and Herekino. They often fought savagely amongst themselves, and also with Te Rarawa living at Puke-poto (between Ahi-para and Kaitaia) and at Taka-hue (inland of Kaitaia). Hongi Keepa, son of Te Uma, chief of Ngati-Kuri, and then residing at Kapo-wairua (between Spirits Bay and Pa-rengarenga, North Cape) wished to marry an Au-pouri woman. A dispute arose about this, and Hongi Keepa was very roughly handled, indeed blood was shed. Hongi Keepa then attacked and defeated the Au-pouri tribe, which fled—some to Whangaroa, and there stayed with Ngati-Pou, others went to the Bay of Islands, as they had relatives there, amongst them the chief Hengi, of Ngati-rehia *hapu* of Nga-Puhi, who had married a woman of Ngati-Kuri and Te Au-pouri. (Hengi was afterwards killed at the "Girls' War" at Kororareka, March 1890, as already related).

"When Hongi-Hika attacked and drove out Ngati-Pou from Whangaroa in 1827, some of the Au-pouri went with him. When Hongi was wounded by Ngati-Pou at Oporehu, Te Au-pouri returned to Taka-hue and remained there under the protection of Pana-kareao. After a time these refugees persuaded Pana-kareao to attack Hongi-Keepa in revenge for having driven them out from their homes at the North Cape. In this campaign, Hongi-Keepa was defeated and killed, and Ngati-Kuri and the remainder of the Au-pouri dispersed, the former returning to their old home at Whanga-pe, and the latter fleeing to the Three King's Islands, where they remained until the advent of the Missionaries to Kai-taia in 1834, when they returned to their homes at Muri-whenua."

From an old document in my possession I can add another item respecting the death of Hongi-Keepa. From this it appears that he had decided to escape from the *pa* in which he and his people were besieged, but before leaving his friends, he sung the following farewell song. On going forth at night he was caught by Pana-kareao's people, and killed.

Tera hoki koia te marama,  
 A hikitia ake i te pae ra,  
 Au ki raro nei ka tirohia-e-  
 I raro ra a Heke,  
 Tenei te wairua-e-  
 Whakaehu po kei taku tinana-e-  
 Oi taku tatari, tira haere ra,  
 A 'Kiri ra, hei kawe atu-e-  
 Pae whenua ki Kapo-wairua-e-  
 A tirohia te whare o Nga-uma  
 A ringihia mai taku rangi-e-  
 Hinu koia o te koinga ra-e-  
 O Hura kei waho-e  
 Te hoko Ati-Kuri e moea-e-  
 Kati ka mauru  
 Te Aroha i a au na-e-

Behold there the gentle moon,  
 Arising from the horizon,  
 Whilst I am seen by it below here,  
 Far away is my lover Heke,<sup>1</sup>  
 Whilst her spirit alone is here  
 In nightly dreams my body visits her,  
 O that I had waited for the travelling party  
 Of 'Kiri,<sup>2</sup> to carry me beyond  
 The ridge to Kapo-wairua,<sup>3</sup>  
 To see the house of Nga-uma<sup>4</sup>  
 And have my head anointed  
 With the oil of Koinga<sup>5</sup> fish,  
 Caught by Hura there outside,  
 Amidst the tribe of Ati-Kuri<sup>6</sup> dreamt of,  
 Enough then, let it cease  
 The love that troubles me.

THE END.

Notes:—<sup>1</sup> Heke was Hongi-Keepa's sweetheart, probably the lady that caused all the trouble. <sup>2</sup> Kiri, short for Takiri, otherwise Titore the Nga-Puhi chief. A place near the north Cape. <sup>4</sup> Nga-uma, Hongi's son. <sup>5</sup> Koinga, a kind of shank fish with a spike on the dorsal fin. <sup>6</sup> Ati-Kuri = Ngati-Kuri.



NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,  
AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,  
WITH ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-  
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED  
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

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BY ELSDON BEST, OF TUHOE-LAND.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

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HERE follow a few supplementary notes pertaining to war, which have been obtained since the previous article was compiled.

AVENGING A DEFEAT.

It sometimes occurred that a war canoe (*waka taua*) would be made for the special purpose of avenging a defeat sustained by the tribe. We have already given an illustration of this. When such a canoe was finished, an expedition would be sent forth in order to slay a person of some adjacent tribe as a *koangaumu*, or human sacrifice, to *whakamana* the canoe and the task of its crew, *i.e.* : to give prestige to the foray or expedition, to ensure success. A canoe made for this purpose is termed a *waka takitaki mate*. And, in the days that lay before, the members of this tribe would taunt the tribe from which the sacrifice was taken, in this manner : You were slain as a *koangaumu* for my canoe.

In like manner, a human sacrifice was made in the case of a special house built in order to avenge a defeat.

Now, in regard to the above canoe, it does not follow that the warriors who go in her to avenge a defeat or murder, will attack the enemy. Not at all. The Maori of yore had a much simpler and safer way for equalizing matters. For instance, they may proceed on this wise. They board their new war canoe and paddle forth until they reach the coast of the land occupied by the people who defeated them, or slew one of their number. Here the expedition ends, for

they simply lie off the land and *whakatikoki* the canoe, i.e., they cause the canoe to cant over towards the land inhabited by their enemies. "*Heoti ano! Kua ea te mate. Kua hoki mai.*"—That is all. The defeat is avenged. The warriors return. This simple method of obtaining revenge I would earnestly recommend to the Hague Conference.

*Hoa rakau.* A good specimen of this charm may be seen in Sir George Grey's "Polynesian Mythology," in the story of Hatupatu.

#### WEAPONS.

I am informed by an old chief of the Tuhoe tribe that the sling was sometimes used in fighting, for casting stones. Probably it was but little used, as no mention is made of it in accounts of old time fights.

The *tārōwai*, a war weapon of old, appears to have been the *pourhenua* under another name, according to the description of it given me.

In a sanguinary fight at O-tumutu, at Rua-toki, between Tuhoe and Ngati-Awa, one Mano-hunuku of the former tribe fought with his favourite weapon, a famous *taiaha* named Whaitiri-papa, with which he slew two men. Hence the name of that weapon was given to the fight, and also to the land on which it took place.

Regarding the *tapu* which lies upon a battlefield where blood has been shed. Many of Ngati-Rongo were slain by Tapoto's little surprise party at Maringi-a-wai, some five generations ago, and that place remained *tapu* until Te Kooti, of infamous memory, sent a man to take the *tapu* off.

*Pokapoka.*—When Tuhoe and Te Whakatohea were at war, a party of the latter, under Hine-auahi, a fighting chief, came to Huka-nui and slew about thirty of the former, including the chief Te Paenga. A hole was dug to mark the spot where Te Paenga fell.

#### DESCENT FROM TE PAENGA.

Te Paenga  
Moenga  
Tama-ruru II.  
Hona  
Te Roau  
Te Pou-whare  
Nga-paki (now living)

When the war party of Ngati-Irawharo and others under Tuki-kauri, Mauri, Te Umu-ariki (of Tuhoe) &c., marched to the East Coast, a child named Rewiri (of Ngati-Awa), father of Tiaki, was one of the party, he being carried often by his father, Parera. In the defeat which overtook the *ope*, this child was captured and kept by the

enemy. Some years later, Ngati-Awa heard that the child was still living, hence Tama-hewa, his uncle, trudged off to the East Coast and induced the captors of the child to let him take him home. He gave a *patu pounamu* in exchange for him.

When Taka-moana, of Te Karake, was slain at Opokere, his liver was utilised as a bait for a hawk trap (*tahiti kaahu*). This sort of thing often led to long continued feuds among the Maori, but the spirit of revenge was so strong that such acts were frequently committed.

*Taharua*.—We have seen that Takarehe was slain by one Tama-hape, at Ruatoki, who, with his daughter, made a truly square meal off that hapless gentleman. But Ngati-Awa, Ngati-Pukeko, and Warahoe, objected to having their friends eaten in that manner, hence they rose in arms and marched to attack Tuhoe at the Ohae *pa*. On nearing that old time fort, the party hid themselves in a clump of *tutu* shrubs near the Oro-mairoa creek, while their scouts were sent out. Now one Rangi-tupu-ki-waho, a member of the war party, was a friend or relative of some of the garrison of Ohae, and hence wished to warn them of the coming trouble. So he raised his head above the bushes, and a quick-eyed Tuhoean sentry caught sight of the *kotuku* plumes with which Rangi's head was adorned. Thus warned, the garrison sent a party out, unperceived, to ambush the attacking force; the bulk of the garrison manned the defences. The invaders attacked in three different columns simultaneously, but found themselves assaulted in rear, and were eventually beaten off. So much for the work of the *taharua*.

Te Whanau-a-Taupara heard that there was trouble toward. So they located themselves within the Matai *pa* at Wai-hora, where they were joined by some of Nga-Potiki from Wai-kobu. The fort was besieged by a force of Rongo-whakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. This was about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The siege began just after the *kumara* crop was planted, and was not raised until the crops were fit for eating. Poriro, one of the garrison, sallied forth one day, and engaged in single combat with Mou, chief of the attacking force. Mou caught his opponent by his long hair and was taking him away, when a sister of his captive attacked him and struck him down with a stone. The attacking force spent much time in collecting wood, which they carried to the fort and threw it in heaps, that they might make a huge fire and so destroy the palisading. But the defenders did not let it accumulate. They set fire to it and manned the fighting stages in order to prevent the enemy from putting the fire out. The hapless warriors on the *puwhara* were almost suffocated with the smoke, hence one of them acquired the name of Kapo-auahi. There was a *taharua* among the garrison whom the

investing force called to to come out of the fort and join them. The garrison were afraid that he would inform the enemy how short their food supplies were becoming, so to make sure, they killed him. Dead men, they argued, could tell no tales. About this time the fell epidemic known as the *rewharewha* made its appearance, and struck down both besiegers and besieged. Thus the siege was raised. But the survivors of the garrison were so weak that they could not tend their sick, or procure food, and so had to send to Ngai-Tamatea to come to their assistance.

**EFFECT OF AN INSULT.**—While one Whakauika was strolling past the O-a-moa pa at Waihora, one fine morn, he was cursed by a lady named Rangi-rehua for having crossed her garden. In revenge, he returned with a party and attacked her people, drove them away, and took possession of the land.

**Tohunga taua.**—The head priest of the *tohunga taua* class of the priesthood was the most important priest of the tribe. He alone might perform the rites pertaining to the cutting of the hair of the sacred first-born member of a family of note. This ceremony was performed at the *wai kotikoti* (syn.: *wai whakaika*).

**Amorangi.**—As observed, this was an emblem of an *atua*, carried by a priest in the van of a marching war party. At page 85 of Sir George Grey's "Maori Proverbs" is the following:—

"Te amorangi ki mua  
Te hapai o ki muri."

Rendered as—"Every one should be in his place; in a march of troops the priests with the gods are in front, the bearers of provisions in rear of the army."

Another old-time *whakatauki* of this district is—"He toa taua, he toa e waia; he toa ahu whenua, he toa tuturu." This is as given to me, but probably the word *waia* should be replaced by *waea*. Another is, "He toa taumata rau"—Bravery has many resting places, one man gains distinction to-day, another to-morrow.

**TREATMENT OF WOUNDED PERSONS.**—When a man was wounded, a bone broken, or bruises received, the priest would proceed to *takahi* the patient, *i.e.*—he would, as his patient lay upon the ground, place his left foot upon his body and repeat the charm termed *haruru*:—

"Haruru ki tua  
Haruru ki waho  
Haruru ki runga ki tenei tangata."

After which the priest would repeat the charm known as *hono* for a fractured bone, or the *whai wera* if a burn.

KARAKIA HONO.

"Tao ka tu  
Ka tu ki hea?  
Ka tu ki runga  
Ka tu ki waho

Ka tu ki te nana nui o Rangi  
 Ma wai e mimi ?  
 Ma tahito e mimi.  
 Ma wai e mimi ?  
 Ma te atua e mimi  
 Taku kiri nei  
 Taku kiri tapu  
 He kiri ka toetoea  
 Ka hahaea ki te taha o te umu  
 Hai !  
 Ka toro te kiri era  
 Ka mahu te kiri ora  
 Mahumahu akuanei  
 Mahumahu apopo."

The priest placed his left foot on the body of his patient, because that is the *waewae tapu* (sacred foot). The *manea*, or supernatural power of the priests foot, will render the charm effective. The *manea* is the salvation of man. Its influence is very great.

In the case of a cut or slight wound the sufferer would simply urinate on it. This is said to prevent a wound from becoming inflamed, or the part from swelling. Abrasions were often treated by bathing with the sap of a plant named *mārūrū* or *kopukupuku* (*ranunculus plebeius*), which causes a smarting sensation when applied.

*Tiwha*.—During the expedition of Te Whakatohea to Poverty Bay, one Hangarau, a chief of that tribe, visited the Whanau-a-Taupara people at the O-tu-hawaiki *pa*, where he was slain. His head was cut off, dried, and sent to Hou-taketake, of Ngati-Ira, who carried it to Te Kani-a-takirau, of Uawa, as a *tiwha* to Te Aitanga-a-Hauti tribe, whose assistance was wanted in fighting the Whakatohea.

At page 25, vol. ix., of this Journal will be found an account of some peculiar items in regard to war.

*Matakite*.—During the above-mentioned period of trouble at Turanga a man of Te Whanau-a-Taupara, named Te Noti, who had been enslaved by Te Urewera, escaped and reached Makihoi, a Ngati-Potiki settlement at Turanga, where he found 500 Whakatohea encamped. He overheard these people arranging plans to attack the adjacent forts. So he slipped away and went to Pa-whakawiri, near which place he saw a man snaring birds. Noti, not taking any chances of being slain by his own tribesman, crawled up behind the fowler and caught him in his arms. His captive called out his name, Kuhukuhu, upon which Noti sent him to warn his people. The tribes gathered at Waenga-repo *pa* to consult, and a priest said: "It has come to my knowledge that, if you build a fort at a certain place, and await the attack of the Whakatohea, you will defeat them with the loss to yourselves of but two chiefs." This was done and the invaders were beaten off, albeit the garrison did not lose the two chiefs mentioned in the *matakite*. Maybe that the gods relented.



When a force of Te Whanau-a-kai, and others, were marching to attack the Tapatahi *pa* (near Te Arai bridge, Poverty Bay), they halted in order to plan the attack, during which time one Rangitaetaea fell asleep, and dreamed that his hair was caught in a forest creeper. In pulling to free the same, he awoke. Rangi mentioned the dream, and said : "This is an evil omen ; let us return." A warrior said : "*I mahara au he tangata koe, e kao, he ika tupuhi.*"—I thought you were a man : No, you are but a lean fish. Rangi returned, but the *ope* proceeded, and sent forward seventy men to draw the garrison of the fort out into the open. But that garrison were already outside, having heard of the advance of an enemy, and laid an ambuscade for them. Thus the seventy were promptly sent down to Hades. But Rangi was alright.

Te Rito-o-te-rangi was slain at Te Mahia, for having joined a Waikato war party against Puke-karoro *pa*. Te Autahi went to Waikato to raise a party to avenge the death of Te Rito. That party marched to O-tu-pohatu *pa* at Mohaka, and thence proceeded to attack the Rangi-houa *pa*, which is situated on the low bluff at the mouth of the Wairoa river, the signal station being within the line of earth-works. The force took this *pa*, killing Tau-tahanga and others, and then attacked Whare-okoro *pa*, which was situated hard by on an islet in the Wairora river. But here the Waikato force was repelled, losing Te Morenga and others. Now, just prior to the attack of Waikato on Rangi-houa, a priest in that fort had a *matakite*. His particular god was good enough to thus warn him that an enemy would shortly attack the fort, and that the same would fall, hence it was desirable that the garrison should fall back on Whare-okoro fort and there seek safety. But the garrison did not see it in that light, and most of them declined to flee. Some of them, however, went, and there escaped the fate which befell their comrades. It is not well to despise the warning of the gods.

When the fighting men of Te Waimana, under Rehua, Haruru and others were about to march to join in the fight against Ngati-Awa at Te Kauna, Haruru dreamed that he saw Awarehe's canoe at anchor, and that he struck the bow of the canoe with his fist and splintered it. On awaking, he cried to the warriors : "Listen to me, O, Te Urewera, to-morrow Awa shall be defeated." As they truly were.

*Pa Maori*.—The *waha tieke* of a fort is the inner gateway. Passing through the main (outer) entrance, a person found himself within a narrow lane, bounded on one side by the defences of the fort, on the other by a line of palisades extending for the length of the lane. At the inner end of this lane was the *waha tieke*. An enemy endeavouring to force this passage would be obliged to run the gauntlet, as it were, and have but a poor chance of using their weapons in so

cramped a space. The Okarea *pa*, on the Wai-a-tiu, affords a good illustration of this narrow passage.

Colenso gives *awhikiri* as another name of the *kiri-tangata*, one of the palisade defences of a *pa*.

An interesting description of an old *pa* near Rotorua was published in the "Weekly News" (Auckland) of October 30th, 1902. The artificial defences were described as deep trenches, from 20 to 40 feet in depth, cut across a narrow spur, the sides of which are precipitous. In the steep slopes are many artificial caves, connected each with the other, and hewn out of the rock—with stone axes, saith the writer. One would imagine that the rock cannot be very hard. The name of the *pa* is Te Pehu, and it is said to have been a stronghold of the Tapuika tribe, who fortified it some hundred and thirty years ago.

The only instance I wot of where an underground passage was made in a fort, was at the Hui-te-rangi-ora *pa* at Ruatoki, and by which passage the famous Rongo-karae escaped when the fort fell to Ngati-Awa.

When Te Ahuru died at Te Tawhero *pa* at Ruatoki, that fort was abandoned on account of it being rendered *tapu* by the death of a chief therein.

A *Whakaarara Pa*.

"Kia hiwa ra!  
Kia hiwa ra!  
Kia hiwa ra tenei tuku  
Kia hiwa ra tera tuku  
He taua ra ka hopukia  
Kai waho kai te tātā  
E riri ana, e wheke ana  
He kokoia  
E ara—E!"

A *Whakaarara pa*

"Kai Tuhua pea  
Kai Orona pea  
He kore tangata ki tua  
Ki te kope o Tamatea  
Te hurua  
Te rawea  
Te tau mai  
E-e-e-e-i-a."

A *Whakaarara Pa*.

"Piki mai ra  
Kake mai ra  
I nga pikitanga ki Pari-maukuku  
Ka titiro iho, ka rarapa ake  
Ki to kopua wai hinu  
Māna ano ka koukou ki te wai  
Kia pai ai koe te haere ki te taua  
Ina koia e te taua  
E-e-e-i-a."

Here follow a few anecdotes illustrative of divers customs, &c., of ye olden times :—

Ngai-Te-Riu, of Rua-tahuna, had lost a greenstone *toki* and suspected the people of Te Kohuru of having stolen it. They sent an armed party to obtain satisfaction. This party, on arriving at Te Kohuru, met Te Purewa on the trail, and at once attacked him as an *ihu taua*. He was speared in several places and left for dead, but was found by Tama-hore, and recovered from his wounds. Te Hani, chief of the district, made over to Te Purewa a piece of land at Taurere-toa, where the fight occurred, on account of his blood having been shed there. He had no ancestral right to lands in that part.

When Rongo-whakaata and other tribes attacked the Mapouriki *pa*, near Ormond, one Poriro entered the fort alone and fought the garrison single-handed for some time. His brother Te Whetu, missing him, went in search and found him still fighting, but down on his knees and wounded in eight places. This is what a Maori would term an act of *whakamomori*. The famed Hine-matiaro was in the fort during the above fight.

Some singular things were done in the old fighting days. When Nga-Potiki (of Turanga) and the wandering Whakatohea were living in a fortified village at Wai-kohu, one Taniwha chose to offend Kau-moana, a Turanga chief, by threatening to cut out and eat his heart. Kau sent messages for assistance to Uawa and also to Nukutaurua, where Te Wera, of Nga Puhī, was encamped. So Te Wera came, with many others, from various parts, and the *pa* was invested. The besiegers slew all who left the *pa* in search of food. Te Awa-riki left the fort on the promise that his life would be spared. He was at once slain. The garrison were now much reduced by hunger. Te Wera and Ngati-Kahungunu resolved to save Te Whakatohea, who were in the *pa*. They therefore charged the place in a body, surrounded the Whakatohea and marched them to their own camp, where they protected them from their allies. Thus they had left Nga-Potiki in the fort, to be slaughtered. But Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki resolved to save them and so marched them back to their own camp. Hence there was no one left to kill. Ben Harris, the first European in the district, who was under the protection of Mahuika, was present at this affair. He entered the *pa* with his long boots filled with bullets, and brought out one Te Ngaue, a child of rank of Te Whakatohea, lest he be slain. This occurred in the year 1832.

It was wise to treat guests well in those days, because when the Wai-kohu natives were attending a function at the Taranga *pa*, they were given somewhat inferior food. Hence they organised a war party and came and attacked those thoughtless people, defeated them and took their *pa*.

And it is good to be able to adapt oneself to altered circumstances, and not to stand too long on one's dignity : When Tuhoe took the Pou-o-Rutake *pa* at Rua-toki, one Te Papa, chief of that famous fort, seemed to think that it was high time to cast aside his dignity. Hence he started to run away. But he had the sagacity to shoulder two eel pots before starting, in order that the pursuing party might think he was a *ware*, or commoner, and so leave him to push on in an endeavour to catch and slay the flying chief. Which is just what happened. For Te Rangi-aniwaniwa saw him, but took him for a person of no account, and so did not pursue him.

And Karetehe waxed old. He was a very old man, and feeble, when a war party of Te Marangaranga, from Kawerau, attacked his *pa* and took the same. And the sons of Karetehe put the old man in a pit, inside his house, and covered the pit over. And the victors fired that house. So the sons left the old man in the pit and fled, that they might retain life, which is sweet. Such was the end of Karetehe.

*Hou o Tu*.—When a man became noted for his knowledge, bravery, cleverness, &c., and it was deemed desirable to render him *tapu*, i.e., to dedicate his qualities to certain labours or purposes, the *hou o Tu* rite would be performed over him. That is to say, the *kawa* known as *Hangaroa* would be *houa*, or placed, upon him. “*Ka kitea tetahi tangata mohio, kaha, ka houa taua tangata ki te hou no Tu. Ka tapu taua tangata. Ka houa a Hangaroa karakia ki runga ki a ia.*” He will then possess great *mana*, or prestige. During this rite, the priest plucks a hair from his own head and places it, together with a leaf or twig of the *karamu* shrub, upon the head of the subject.

The expression *whana turu* seems to apply to a defective, half-hearted *kokiri*, or charge, in fighting. When the column charges, at the cry of “*Kokiri ! Kokiri ! Kokiritia !*” some charge on, while others hang back.

The peculiar term *kai rakau* implies bravery, and is said to have originated in the custom of claspings the long spears of the enemy in the arms, a process described by the word *okooko*. This act would give others an opportunity to rush in and use their weapons with effect. Such acts were performed by men of noted courage.—*Koina hoki te kai okooko i nga rakau a te hoariri.*

The peculiar short, quick, trotting movement of a column in the *unuunu* movement prior to a war dance (*tutu waewae*) is described by the term *tārā*, the word *toi* not being used for this motion.

The following expressions denoted certain methods of fighting, &c., although I have no explanation of them :—*Huia-upoko*, *takitaki-a-manu*, *hiwi-maire*, *rua-tapuke*, *kura-horahora*, *wha-raupo*, and *timu*.

The word *whākau* was sometimes used as = *karapoti* = to surround in fighting, but usually to the drawing of a fishing net.

*Whakarewha.* = To glance sideways; often used as a signal, as for instance, a mute proposal to persons to turn upon and slay a person present.

*Riri aupaki.* = To charge up a slope at the enemy. The terms *aupaki* and *tupaki* are used to denote a sideling, slope of a hill.

The *hirihiri*, commencing—

“ Kotahi koe ki te matamua  
Kotahi koe ki te manuka  
Kotahi koe ki te pouahi,” &c., &c.,

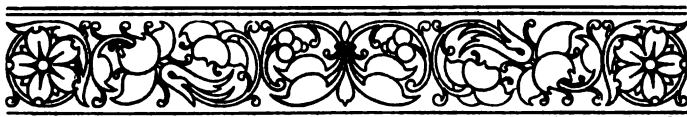
was often used in order to discover the cause of *hauhauaitu* in a fighting man. When so seen, he would be cured by a first born female of a family of rank—*ka tomo ki raro o te tapairu*, for which see *ante*.

*Marangai areare* (or *maranga i areare*?) denotes the lifting of a weapon so high that the user's adversary has a chance to run in underneath the same and deliver a blow. “*He marangai areare kai waho,—omakia!*”

*Taupaeapae.* = A party of fighting men who assemble at a given place in order to await the arrival of an enemy, not an ambushade. Or to await the time for an attack. *Paepae* is the verb. “*Ka hara mai te ope a Taraia. Ka tae te rongo ki a Tuhoe, ka whakatika mai, ka whakaekea e ratau a Te Takatakanga, he taupaeapae, ara he whakaeke, he tiaki, i te hoariri, e paepae ana i te ope.*” Taraia's war party was on the way hither. Tuhoe heard of it and rose in arms. They assembled and held Te Takatakanga (a *pa* at Whirinaki), as a *taupaeapae* to await the enemy.

*Ure toa*—A term applied to a brave tribe or people. “*Na Ngati-Rau-kawa i tiki mai i te ure toa, i a Tuhoe.*”

THE END.



NOTES ON THE CUSTOM OF RAHUI.  
ITS APPLICATION AND MANIPULATION, AS ALSO ITS  
SUPPOSED POWERS, ITS RITES, INVOCATIONS  
AND SUPERSTITIONS.

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BY ELSDON BEST.

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THE singular custom known as *rāhui* constituted one of the peculiar laws, or substitutes therefor, of Maoriland. Albeit various accounts have been published in explanation of this practise, yet no description has been rendered of the various priestly functions by which the *rahui* was established and endowed with its supposed super-natural power. It is concerning this that I propose to give a brief account, as formerly practised by the Tuhoe tribe.

In regard to its uses or application, Williams says—"Rāhui, *n.*, a mark to warn people against trespassing, used in the case of *tapu*, or for temporary protection of fruit, birds or fish. *Rahui, v.t.*, protect by a *rahui*."

This is a correct definition, but there is much more to explain. There were practically two kinds of *rahui*. Certain lands or streams were sometimes put under *tapu*, on account of the death of some person on such lands. There would probably be a material token set up to denote this state of *tapu*, which would *rahui* the lands, so that no person might touch the food products thereof. Or, if a certain track were placed under *tapu*, no one would be allowed to travel by that trail, until it was reopened to traffic by means of the *tapu* being removed. A *rahui* was usually marked by means of setting up a post and attaching thereto a bunch of fern, or suspending on it a garment belonging to the chief who instituted the *rahui*. Sometimes, however, no such material token was used, but the word went forth that such a place was placed under *tapu*.

The other kind of *rahui* was for the purpose of protecting the forest products, *i.e.*, berries, birds, &c., or fish, as also sometimes cultivated crops, or fern root, or flax, or places where ochre was obtained.

This *rahui* also protected the vitality and productiveness of the land, the forest and streams; in fact it acted as a *mauri*, as we shall see anon. See this Journal, Vols. IX. and X., for a description of the *mauri* of lands and forests.

After the fall of Okarea pa (fort) at Te Whaiti, the Whirinaki river was placed under *tapu*\*, on account of the waters thereof having been tinged with the blood of the slain in that fight. Later on, a slave, named Taupoki, was slain, as an *ika tapu*, or human sacrifice, in order to take the *tapu* off the river. His body was cooked in a *hapi*, or steam oven, at Wai-kotikoti, where the Police Station now stands, and was eaten by the people. The lake known as Rere-whakaitu, near Mount Tarawera, was also laid under *tapu*, when Tionga, of Tiaki Tutu fame, and others of Te Arawa, were slain and eaten at that place.

When Wanikau, of Te Roto-a-Tara, protected the fish and birds of the three lakes of Tara, Kiwa, and Pou-kawa, he did so in the usual manner, by setting up a post on the shore of each lake, and smearing those with *kokowai* (red ochre). This effectually preserved and protected those food supplies for Wanikau, until one Mautahi, a base fellow, yea a sacrilegious ruffian, happened along one day and pulled down and burned those posts, and passed divers unkind remarks anent Wanikau and his *rahui*.

When the children of Matui, a chief of Te Whaiti, died, the stream and valley of Okahu were placed under *rahui*, i.e. under *tapu*. No post or other material sign of the *tapu* was erected, it was merely said—Okahu is *tapu* within such and such limits. Neither was this a man destroying *tapu*, the dread powers of the black art were not employed to slay any witless breaker of the *rahui*. It was simply a ban placed upon the food products of that district. The *tapu* was lifted from it shortly after the arrival of Missionary Preece, in 1847. It will be seen hereafter that another form of *rahui* is much more dangerous than the above.

A minor form of *tapu* or *rahui* was sometimes employed in order to prevent persons travelling by a certain track, i.e. from using such track. It consisted of putting some obstruction in the path, such as a log, or branches, or a garment suspended above the track. Such are the origins of the place names of Pa-kaponga, Pa-rangiora, and Pa-puweru, in this district.

The act of disregarding a *rahui*, i.e. the taking of the food products, or whatever it is that is protected, without permission, that is without asking for the *rahui* to be lifted, is a serious offence, and is termed *kai-ra-mua*. Unless a relative, such a person would probably be slain, cooked and eaten, without delay.

The expression *turahui*, or *tu rahui*, is often heard here. "*Kua tu rahuitia te wai*," i.e. the stream has been *rahuitia* or placed under *tapu*.

Of course it requires an influential person to establish a *rahui*, more especially the kind which is endowed with magic or supernatural powers, powers deadly to the meddlesome. A chief or priest would

\* Hence no one might use the waters of that river, or take fish therein.

set up the *pou rahui* (*rahui post*), because it would need to be done by a person of influence, or rather a person possessing *mana*, which term means more than our word influence.

We will suppose that such a person is setting up a post, as a material token of the *rahui* he is about to establish. Before erecting the post, he recites—

“ He rokiroki,  
He penapena,  
He rakai whenua.”

He then puts up his post, setting it firmly in the ground, and then attaches the *māro* to the post. This *māro* is often a few fronds of the *kiwīkwi* fern. He then makes a pass with his hand over the earth, as if scoring it (*katahi ka hahae i te kahu o te whenua*). This is the *waro rahui*, the imaginary charm or pit in which shall perish all those who interfere with the things protected by the *rahui*. Our priest then proceeds to “sharpen the teeth of the *rahui* that it may destroy man,” by repeating the following (which possibly may be incomplete)—

“ Tangaroa i putia  
Tangaroa i haea  
Tangaroa i kungia  
Kia koi ou niho  
To kai rakau kia pai,  
Kia koi  
Muimui te ngaro  
Totoro te iro.”

These words are quite sufficient to destroy man, *i.e.*, if he interferes with what has been protected by the *rahui*.

The performer then takes the *māro* off the post and adds to it a stone, and these are endowed with the supernatural power of the *pou rahui*, which magic power it was imbued with through the invocation of the priest. The stone and *māro* seem to be the material representation of the *whatu* of the *rahui*, *i.e.* of the kernel, the true power, the life destroying, magic power of the same *rahui*. Such material tokens are termed *kāpū*. In the words of an old native friend of mine, the *kapu* is the imaginary semblance of the *tauru* (head) of the *rahui* post. The hand of the priest plucks at the top of the post, as if detaching some part thereof, bringing away nothing material, but only the *ariā* of the post.

The *māro* and stone are taken away and carefully concealed at some distance from the post, lest they be found, and rendered harmless, non-efficient, by some enemy. Another bunch of leaves, a false *māro*, is attached to the *rahui* post, in order to mislead any prowling person of evil designs. But that false *māro* is of no account, it has no power whatever. It has not been *hoaina*, *i.e.* no incantation has been recited over it to render it effectual in protecting the fruits of the land and their vitality, or in destroying interlopers. It has no teeth, as my informant put it.



We will suppose that some person is desirous of finding the *kapu* of the *rahui*, in order that he may destroy its magic powers, and so render it harmless. He will endeavour to *whakaaho* or rouse the *kapu*. He repeats the following, as he prowls around in search of the *kapu*:—

“ Whakaarahia ki te papa tuatahi  
 He kari maranga hake.  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuarua  
 He kari maranga hake.  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuatoru  
 He kari maranga hake  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuawha  
 He kari maranga hake.  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuarima  
 He kari maranga hake.  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuaono  
 He kari maranga hake.  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuawhitu  
 He kari maranga hake  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuawaru  
 He kari maranga hake.  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuaiwa  
 He kari maranga hake  
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuangahuru  
 He kari maranga hake.”

The seeker of the *kapu* then repeats :—

“ E oho ! E oho Rua !  
 E oho te Pu !  
 E oho te More !  
 E oho te Take ! &c.”

“ Should I hear that some person has meddled with my *rahui* (*i.e.* has committed a *kai ra mua*), I go to the *kapu* and *turuki* it, that the person may die.” My informant states that *turuki* means to rouse, to awaken, to stir up, the *kapu*, that it may do its work of destruction, it has gone to sleep and needs stirring up. The term *turuki* seems to be applied only to the *kapu* of a *rahui*, when it is intended to destroy life. The term *whakaaho* is used when a *kapu rahui* is stirred up or strengthened in order that it may restore the productiveness of lands, &c. When it is seen that the productiveness of land, forest or water, has decreased, *i.e.* birds and fish are not plentiful, or trees do not bear well, then the caretaker of the *rahui* will fetch the *kapu* from its place of concealment, and bear it to the *ahi taitai*, a sacred fire much used in olden times in rites connected with the forests and waters, and their productions, with first fruits ceremonies, and rites performed in order to retain the vitality, health, vigour, &c., of man, lands, birds, and fish. The *kapu* is taken together with the *mauri* of the land, &c., (see this Journal Vol. X.), to the *ahi taitai* and there the *taimai* rite is performed over them, and invocations repeated, in order to restore and retain the productiveness, health, welfare, &c., of the food products, as also of the land and people.

The *ahi taitai* is an excessively *tapu* fire. It is kindled for the gods alone, and by friction. The priest, having kindled the fire, stands wand in hand, and repeats the following :—

“Taitai! Taitai! Taitai!  
Te kau nunui, te kau roroa  
Te rupe tu, te rupe pae  
Pekepeke hauaitu  
Te manu waero rua  
Te hau e tu nei  
Taitai!  
Ma ira a tu, ma ira a pae  
Pekepeke houaitu  
Te hau e tu nei.”

This is the *taimai* invocation, or incantation, by which the fire is rendered *tapu*. It locates the gods in that fire, for purposes of destruction, or of salvation.

Other fires would be kindled in order to lift the *tapu* from the rite, the food for this purpose would not be cooked at the *ahi taitai*, that fire being for the gods alone.

The other sacred fires kindled for the purpose of lifting the *tapu*, are as follows :—

The *ahi tuakaha*—for the priest only.

The *ahi marae*—for the *ati a toa* (young warriors)

The *ahi ruahine*—for the first born of important families, and for the *ruahine* (women employed to take off *tapu*).

The *ahi tukupara*—for the bulk of the people.

In some cases, *mana tangata* (personal influence, prestige) alone served as a *rahui*, without any post being set up, or any rite being performed. If such a *rahui* was disregarded, then witchcraft might be resorted to, in order to punish the offenders.

The expression *varo rahui*, mentioned above, is one of those singular idioms so frequently met with in the Maori tongue. A native explained it to me in this manner—A pit is dug, in order that any person who attempts to take the food that is protected by the *rahui*, may descend into that pit and meet death. It is the pit of death. Not that any real pit is made, that is merely an expression, a simile. The magic spells of the priest are the real pit.

An influential person would sometimes *rahui* an article which he desired, simply by attaching to it a fragment of his clothing, or some such object. This would prevent any other person from interfering with it. For our illustration of *rahui* see this Journal, Vol. V., p. 47.

There were probably, in rare cases, human sacrifices made to give power, prestige, effect, to a *rahui*.

When Ngati-Whaoa slew Koroua at Otaketake, on the Paeros Block, that hapless knight's head was cut off and stuck on a *rahui* post erected to prevent people digging fern root at a certain place on the

said block. Some time after that, a genial member of Ngati-Whaoa took the skull and planted a *taro* therein, to produce food for his child, who was given the name of Nga-Taro, from that circumstance.

A place at O-tu-tauria, on the Pokohu Block, where Ngati-Pou used to obtain *kokowai* (ochre) was protected by a *rahui*.

Some five generations ago, two members\* of Ngati-Patumoana tribe named two rocks in the Waireka River after themselves, to serve as a *rahui*. Those rocks are near the Korotaha fort.

Another *waro rahui* was a stone named Tu-mata-whereo, lying in the Rua-tahuna stream, below Kapiti. It was instituted in order to protect the products of the surrounding lands.

Streams were often protected by *rahui* in order to prevent the fish thereof being taken out of season. In a modified form this custom still obtains at Rua-tahuna.

In former times a *rahui* would often be instituted by the priest performing the rite at a sacred fire, which he would kindle by the world old friction process. Should any one interfere with the articles so protected, he would assuredly be taken ill, i.e. afflicted by the god of the priest who manipulated the fire and its attendant rite. Such a person would go to a *tohunga* (priest, shaman, wise man) in order to be cured. That priest would say—"Your complaint is a fire." The patient would reply—"Yes, I disregarded the fire of so-and-so."

*Rahui* posts were sometimes carved with the usual grotesque designs employed by the Maori.

Tukuha, of Ngati-Apa set up a *rahui* post at Te Rau-tawhiri at Whirinaki, which, I believe, still stands there. When he wanted to preserve the eels of that part of the Rangitaiki river, he would suspend one of his old garments on the post, and every one would then know that eels might not be taken. The same chief put up a *rahui* post, which he named after his daughter, Te Kiri-tapoa, at the Wheao stream. The same chief once placed a *rahui* on the eels of the river on account of a remark made concerning his own clan—"Waiho a Ngati-Hui hai kai ma nga tuna o Rangitaiki." (Let the Ngati-Hui people be as food for the eels of Rangitaiki).

When Tionga, of Te Arawa, was slain by Tuhoe at Puke-kai-kaahu, the victors cut off his head and smoke dried it, after which they brought it to Te Whaiti and suck it up on one of their bird snaring trees to guard the same. Hence the descendants of Tionga are known as Tiaki Tutu—those who guard the *tutu* or bird snaring tree.

A grove of *puhou* (*tutu*) known as Ure-takohekohe, at Rua-toki was formerly protected by a *rahui*, lest the berries be taken by persons having no right thereto.

Here endeth my notes on the custom of *rahui*.

\* These persons were Tahu and Rua-moko.



## TUTAE-POROPORO, TE TANIWHA I PATUA E AO-KEHU, I WHANGA-NUI.

— — —  
NA WIREMU KAUIKA.  
— — —

KO tenei taniwha, ko Tutae-poroporo, he ika no te moana—ara, he mango. Tenei te take i taniwhatia ai taua ika : akuanei ka haere teteahi tangata no Ngati-Apa ki Whakatu, ko Tu-ariki te ingoa o taua tangata, tona kainga kei Rangi-tikei. Ka tae ki Whakatu, katahi ratou ko etahi tangata o reira ka haere ki te moana ki te hi ika. Heoi, kua kai mai te mango ki te matau a taua tangata ; ebara i te mango nui, he mango iti rawa, he kuao. Heoi, kihai i patua e taua tangata, engari ka mahara kia waiho hei mokamokai māna.

Heoi, ka hoki mai te tangata ra, a Tu-ariki, ki tona kainga, ki Rangi-tikei; ka mauria mai e ia tona mokamokai, ka tae mai ki Rangi-tikei. Katahi ka whakanohohia e te tangata nei tona mokai ki roto ki tetahi puna, ko Tutae-nui te ingoa o taua puna. Hanga rawatia nga paepae o te puna, ka oti. Katahi ka hoatu tona mokai ki roto ; ka karakiatia hei taniwha. Ka mutu ka noho, ka roa, nawai ra i iti taua mango nei, a, kua nui-haere, a, kua pena me te tohora ; kua haere hoki i roto i te awa o Tutae-nui, puta atu hoki ki te awa o Rangi-tikei, ka hoki ano ki tona nohoanga, kua nui hoki tona nohoanga. Ko te mahi hoki a tona ariki e haere tonu i nga ra katoa ki te titiro, ki te whangai, ki te karakia i nga karakia taniwha. Heoi, kua tino mohio taua taniwha, kua tino nui hoki.

Akuanei, tera tetahi ope-taua na Whanga-nui kei te haere mai. Tae mai nei ki Rangi-tikei, rokohina mai te ariki o te taniwha nei, ara, a Tu-ariki ; patua ana e Whanga-nui, ka mate, mauria ana ki Whanga-nui tao ai. Katahi ka noho te taniwha nei, ka roa ; kaore ano tona rangatira i tae atu. Katahi ka haere ki te hongihangai i nga wāhi e haere ai tona ariki, heoi, kaore rawa i kite. Katahi ka tino mohio te taniwha nei, kua patua tona ariki e etahi iwi ; kua tae hoki te tohu ki a ia. Katahi ka tangi te taniwha nei ki tona ariki.

Ka mutu, katahi ka haere te taniwha nei ki te kimi i te iwi nāna i patu tona ariki. Ka haere i roto i te awa o Rangi-tikei, ka puta ki te moana nui, i Raukawa, katahi ka hongī te ihu ki te tonga, kaore! Ka hongī te ihu ki te hauauru; kua rongo i te haunga o tona ariki. Katahi ka haere; ka tae ki te ngutu o te awa o Whanga-nui, ka hongī; kua rongo i te haunga o tona ariki, kua mohio na Whanga-nui i patu tona ariki. Katahi ka tomo ki roto ki taua awa ki te ngaki utu mo tona ariki. Ka noho ki Okupe, i te puaha o te awa o Whanga-nui, ka roa, ka kore pea he tangata e tae atu ana ki reira hei patunga māna, katahi ka haere i roto i te awa o Whanga-nui, ka ahu ki runga o taua awa, ka tae ki Te Paparoa—he taeke kei runga o te awa o Whanga-nui—ka noho ki reira taua taitahae nei. Kahore i tino roa ki reira, ka mahara, kei te kino ano tera nohoanga ōna, katahi ka hoki ano ki waho, ka tae ki Purua, ka noho ki reira, Heoi, katahi ka mahara katahi rawa tona kainga pai ko tenei.

Heoi, ka noho ka roa; katahi ka hoe mai nga waka o runga o taua awa ki waho, ka tae ki te wahi i noho ai taua nanakia nei, katahi ka whawhatia mai; pau katoa i a ia te kai—kakahu atu; meremere atu; parawai atu; aha atu; katoa nga mea a te Maori, haere katoa atu ki roto ki te kopu o taua nanakia nei—ka pena tonu tāna. Tera nga tangata kua mahue atu ki nga kainga te noho mai ra me te mahara, kua tae ki te wahi i haere atu ai. Kaore! kua pau te kai e taua nanakia. Pena tonu; ka haere o tena hapu, ka pau ano i taua nanakia nei te kai.

Heoi, ka whakaaro nga tangata o nga hapu i haere ra, ara, nga mea i mahue atu ki nga kainga, kia haere ratou ki te wahi; akuanei pea kua patua e etahi iwi ke atu. Katahi ka utaina nga waka, ka hoe; he nui nga waka, akuanei, ko etahi o nga waka ki mua, ko etahi ki muri ano e hoe atu ana. Akuanei ka tata nga waka o mua ki te wahi i noho ai te nanakia ra, katahi taua taniwha ka whakatika mai ano he tohora e pautu ana i te moana; te ngaru ano he ngaru moana. Heoi ano, kua kite atu nga waka o muri, ka hoe era waka ki uta, kua mohio atu he taniwha, ka oma atu nga tangata ki runga i nga maunga, ka whakarerea atu nga waka. Ko nga waka i mua ra, mate katoa nga tangata o runga. Heoi, katahi ka mohiotia koia nei ano e patu nei i nga ope tuatahi e ngaro nei.

Katahi ka haere atu te hunga i oma ra, ki uta, ki te korero atu ki nga kainga katoa o runga o taua awa kia kua rawa he tangata e hoe i roto i taua awa, me whakarere te noho i nga kainga e tu tata ana ki te awa o Whanga-nui, o Manga-nui-te-ao, o Tānga-rakau, o Ongarue; me haere nga tangata ki nga wahi e kore ai taua nanakia e tae atu, ara, ki Muri-motu me etahi atu wahi. Heoi ano; ka mahue ake te noho i roto i te awa o Whanganui.

Katahi ka kimi ritenga taua iwi, me pehea ra e mate ai taua taniwha nei i a ratou. Katahi ka mea atu a Tamāhua-rererangi ki a ratou, "Kotahi te tangata i rongo i a au; he toa taua tangata ki te patu taniwha. Ko Ao-kehu te ingoa, tona kainga ko Wai-totara, tona pa ko Puke-rewa." Katahi ka mea mai te iwi, "Me haere koe, ki te tiki i taua tangata i a Ao-kehu—mehemea e kore e taea e ia te haere mai ki te patu i taua taniwha"—ara, i a Tutae-poroporo. Ka mea atu a Tamāhua, "E pai ana!"

Katahi ka haere atu te tangata ra ki Wai-totara, kua tae. Kaore i kua rongo katoa nga tangata o Nga-Rauru, o Ngati-Ruanui, o Taranaki, ki taua nanakia, ki a Tutae-poroporo. Heoi, katahi a Tamāhua ka ki atu ki a Ao-kehu. "I haere mai ahau ki a koe. Tena oti a Te Ati-Hau, kua mate i tetahi taniwha, kei roto i te awa o Whanga-nui e noho ana. Kua mahue nga kainga tuturu, kua haere noa atu nga tangata ki nga wāhi e kore ai e taea e taua nanakia nei." Katahi ka mea atu a Ao-kehu. "Ae! Kua rongo atu matou," Kua mohio tonu hoki a Ao-kehu i haere atu a Tamāhua-rererangi ki te tiki atu i a ia hei patu i taua taniwha. Ko Tamāhua, he hunaonga ki a Ao-kehu, i moe i te tuahine o Kauika, i a Raka-takapo; hei mokopuna ki a Ao-kehu a Raka-takapo. No Whanga-nui a Tamāhua, no Wai-totara a Raka-takapo. Heoti; katahi ka ki atu a Ao-kehu ki a Tamāhua, "Maatu! Hei apopo au tae atu ai. Engari e tae koe; kua e takahia te taha o te awa o Whanga-nui." Heoi, ka hoki a Tamāhua.

I muri i a Tamāhua, katahi ka karanga atu a Ao-kehu ki tona iwi, kua hei tuku kia marama e haere ana. Heoi, ano; ka moe. Kaore ano i haehae te ata ka whakatika te iwi o Ao-kehu ra, ka haere; tona hokowhitu. Ka mauria e Ao-kehu ona rakau—a "Tai-timu," a "Tai-paroa." Ko aua rakau, he mira-tuatini. Katahi ka haere a Ao-kehu me tona taua, ka tae ki Whanga-nui, ara, ki Totara-puku; rokohanga atu i reira a Tamāhua e noho ana me tona iwi. Katahi ka mea atu a Ao-kehu, "Kei whea rawa te wāhi i noho ai te nanakia nei?" Ka whakahokia e te tiaki-whenua, "Kaore i mamao. Ka kite koe i te hiwi ra, ko Taumaha-aute, tera kei raro iho." Ka mea atu a Ao-kehu ki tona iwi, "Tikina tapahia mai he rakau, kia rite ki a au te roa, ka tarai hei waka mōku, ka mahia ano he taupoki." Katahi ka mea mai te hunga-whenua, "Taihoa ra e mahi, kia maoa mai he kai." Ka ki atu a Ao-kehu, "Ka taria marire e kai, kia mate ra ano i a au tera nanakia ka mahi ai he kai."

Heoi ano; kaore i roa te mahinga i te waka kua oti, me te taupoki; houhou rawa i nga kohao hei hereherenga. Ka oti, katahi ka karanga atu a Ao-kehu ki te iwi katoa, "Ki te tuku ahau e koutou ki te wai kia tere haere, me haere koutou ma runga i nga hiwi titiro iho ai ki au, mo te pau atu ahau ki roto ki te puku kopu o Tutae-poroporo.

Engari taku kupu ki a koutou, kia pena ake nga niho o "Tai-timu" rauh ko "Tai-paroa" e ngau ana ki runga ki ona tuatara, a, e maroke ona kauae ki uta." Heoi nga kupu a Ao-kehu katahi ka tango mai i ona rakau, i a "Tai-timu" rauh ko "Tai-paroa" ka kuhu ki roto ki tona waka, katahi ka hereherea ki nga kohao i werowerohia. Ka oti, ka pania ki te uku a wāho, kei puta atu te wai ki aia. Ka oti, ka pai hoki, katahi ka tukua ki te wai; ka tere te waka o taua maia nei, ara, a Ao-kehu; ka haere hoki te iwi katoa ma runga i nga hiwi titiro haere ai. Na wai a ka tata te waka ra, ki te nohoanga o tera nanakia. Ehara! kua rongo te taniwha i te kakara o tona kai, katahi ka whawhatia mai; horomia atu ana te tangata ra me tona waka ki roto i te kopu o taua taniwha. Kua kite iho hoki nga tangata i haere ra ma uta i te whawhatanga mai a taua taniwha. Heoi, ka hoki te nanakia nei ki tona nohoanga; no te mohiotanga o te tangata ra kua tae te taniwha ra ki te rua, katahi ano ka timata te tangata ra ki te karakia i nga karakia patu taniwha, whakamaia hoki kia rewa te taniwha ki runga o te wai, kia pae hoki ki uta. Ko te karakia tenei, ara, ko te karakia whakamoemoe i te taniwha:—

Ko au! ko au! ko Tu! he ariki!  
 Ko au! ko Tu!  
 Ko tou ariki i runga nei,  
 Ka whanatu au ki te kura-winiwini i raro nei,  
 Ki te kura-wanawana i raro nei,  
 Ki te pipipi i raro nei,  
 Ki te potipoti i raro nei,  
 Ko koe, koia rukuhia, koia whaia,  
 Ki te tuapapa o tou whare,  
 I tu ai to iho,  
 I tu ai to tira,  
 I tu ai to mauri,  
 I herea ai to kaha ki a au,  
 Ki a Rangi-nui e tu nei,  
 Whakaruhia! whakamoemoe!  
 O—oi!  
 Ko au, ka whanatu ki o tuatara,  
 E riri mai na, e nguha mai na,  
 Titia! titia, te pou pou o to manawa,  
 Titia te pou o to iho,  
 I tu ai koe, i rere ai koe,  
 Ka titia ou niho, e tetea mai na,  
 Ou tuatara e riri mai na,  
 Ka moe! ka ruhi ē!

Ehāra! katali ka karakiatia te karakia hapai, ara, whakarewa ki runga; koia tenei —

Te tuapapa i raro nei, maiangi ake,  
 Kia au te toka i raro nei,  
 Maiangi ake ki runga nei,  
 Kia au ki to kauhou i tu ai koe

I rere ai koe ki te mokopu-o-rangi,  
 Ko koe, koia, hikitia,  
 Ko koe, koia hapainga  
 Tangi te to, hiki! ē! ē!

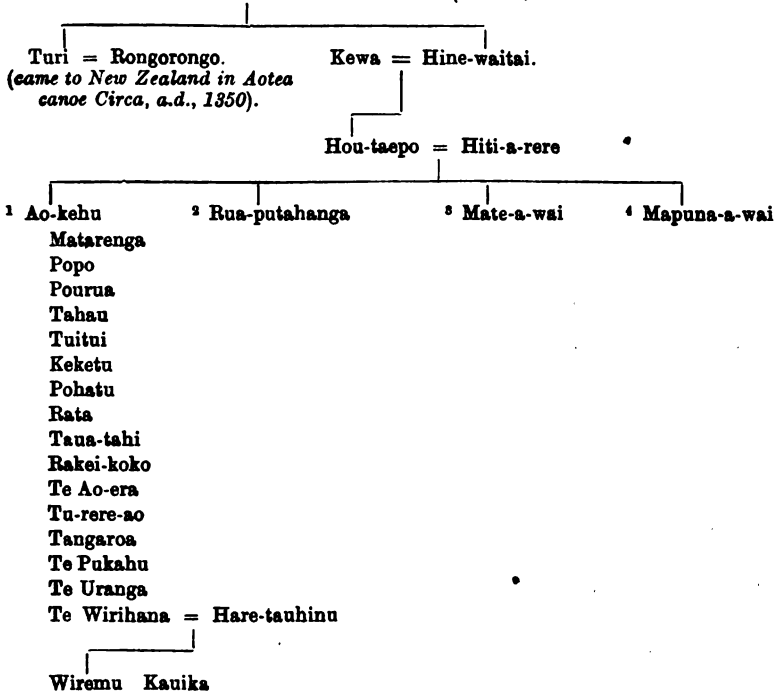
Ehāra! Rewa ana te taniwha nei ki runga, ka pae ki te kongutu awa o te awa o Purua. Heoi, katahi ka tapatapahia mai e nga tangata ra nga herehere o te waka o te maia ra, ka puta mai ki waho i roto mai i te kopu o te taniwha ra. Heoi ano; katahi ka tapahia ake te puku ki ōna maripi, ara, ki "Tai-timu," ki "Tai-paroa."

Heoi ano: Ka kite iho nga tangata i runga i te pa, ara, i Taumaha-aute, katahi ka haere katoa ki te kotikoti i to ratou ito; rokohina te tangata, te wahine, te tamariki, i roto i te kopu o te taniwha ra. Heoi ano; ka mauria nga tupapaku ki roto ki te pa i Taumaha-aute tanu ai. Ko te taniwha ra, tapatapahia hei kai ma nga manu o te rangi me nga ika o te moana.

Heoi ano: Ko nga korero o te patunga i tenei taniwha; ka koa hoki te iwi o Whanga-nui ka mate a Tutae-poroporo; katahi ano ka hoki a Whanga-nui, ki to ratou awa, ara, a Whanga-nui, me o ratou kainga.

Na! Ko Ao-kehu; na te teina o Turi, na Kewa; ka haere mai nei i runga i to raua waka, ara, i "Aotea," haere mai nei i Hawaiiki a noho ana raua i Patea. Ko te whakapapa tenei o Ao-Kehu:—

PURUORA = HUNGAMEA. (Both lived in Hawaiiki,  
i.e., Raiatea Island.)





TUTAE-POROPORO,  
THE TANIWHA SLAIN BY AO-KEHU AT WHANGA-NUI,  
NEW ZEALAND.

BY WIREMU KAUIKA, TRANSLATED BY S. PERCY SMITH.

**T**HIS *taniwha*, Tutae-poroporo, was originally a fish of the sea, that is, a shark. The following is the reason it became a *taniwha*: At one time a man of the Ngati-Apa tribe, whose name was Tu-ariki, and who dwelt at Rangi-tikei, went on a visit to Whakatu (Nelson). Whilst there he and others of that place went to sea to fish. A shark took the hook of that man; but it was not a large one, indeed quite a small and young one. The man did not kill it, but decided to make a pet of it.

After a time Tu-ariki returned to his own home at Rangi-tikei, bringing back with him his pet. The man placed his pet in a spring of water called Tutae-nui, and made proper sides to it and properly completed it. He then commenced his *karakais* to turn his pet into a *taniwha*. This ended, he waited a long time, whilst the *taniwha* grew, and it eventually became as large as a whale, and used to go down the Tutae-nui stream to the Rangi-tikei river, and then back to the spring, which had become large. Its master used to visit it every day to see how it was getting on and to feed it, as well as to recite his *karakias* over it, such as were used for *taniwhas*. At last the *taniwha* fully understood, and had become of great size.

About this time there came into the Rangi-tikei district a war party of Whanganui, which found the master of the *taniwha*, i.e., Tu-ariki, whom they killed, and carried his body back to Whanganui to cook it. The *taniwha* waited a long time but his master never came (as usual). It then started off by the ways its master used to frequent, trying to scent him; but he discovered nothing of him. He then felt quite sure that his master had been killed by strange people, because a sign had come to him; and then the *taniwha* lamented his master.

After this had ended, the *taniwha* started in search of the people who had killed his master. He went down the Rangi-tikei river to the ocean, at Rau-kawa (Cook's Straits) and there sniffed the winds of the south—with no result. He then sniffed the winds of the west,

and recognised the scent of his master. So he started off; he came to the mouth of the Whanganui and again sniffed, and the scent of his master was stronger. He now entered the river in order to avenge his master. He remained at Okupe, at the mouth of the river, for a long time, but because probably there was no one there to kill, he went up the Whanganui river, right up to Te Paparoa, which is a rapid in the upper part of the river, and there the monster stayed. But he had not been there long when he came to the conclusion it was not a suitable place, so he came back again as far as Purua (just opposite the town of Whanganui, under the Shakespeare Cliff) and there found an excellent place (for his purpose),

He remained there for some time, until some canoes from up the river came paddling down, right to the place where the monster was, who seized them and swallowed them—with their clothes, *meremeres*, fine mats, and all—all such as a Maori possesses—all went into the stomach of the monster. This was his constant custom. The people of the villages inland whence the victims had come, thought their friends had long arrived at the place they were bound for. But not so; they had been eaten by the monster. Thus it continued; other tribes came down, they were all eaten by the monster.

After a time the people who had remained behind at the villages came to the conclusion to go in search of their friends (as no news came of them), for perchance they might have been killed by some other tribe. So they loaded their canoes and started, a great number of them. They arranged that some canoes should go on ahead, the others following at a distance behind. As the first canoes drew near to the place where the monster dwelt, he arose like a great whale spouting in the ocean, making waves like those of the sea. When those behind saw all this they paddled ashore, for they now knew that it was a *taniwha* (who consumed their friends), and fled to the mountains, abandoning their canoes. Those who had been in the advance party were all killed and eaten. Thus it became known to all who it was who killed their friends.

The people who had fled went away inland to inform all the villages on the river, and tell them not to allow any one to paddle on the rivers of Whanganui, Manga-nui-te-ao, Tānga-rakau, or Ongarue; but that all should remove to places inaccessible to the monster; that is, to Muri-motu and other places. And thus it came to pass, occupation of the Whanganui river ceased (for a time).

The people now bethought themselves as to how they could compass the death of the *taniwha*. Tamāhua said to them, "I have heard of a man who is a great warrior and skilled in slaying *taniwhas*. His name is Ao-kehu, of Wai-totara, and his *pa* is Puke-rewa." The tribe

replied, "You must go and fetch that man Ao-kehu; perchance he will come and slay the *taniwha* for us," that is, Tutae-poroporo; and Tamāhua replied, "It is well!"

So the man proceeded to Wai-totara, and on his arrival, Behold! all the people of the Nga-Rauru, of the Ngati-Ruanui and of the Taranaki tribes had already heard of the monster Tutae-poroporo. Tamāhua now said to Ao-kehu, "I have come to you because all of Ati-Hau have been consumed by a *taniwha* that dwells in the Whanganui river. The homes are left, and everyone is scattered to places where the *taniwha* cannot get." In reply Ao-kehu said, "Yes! we have heard." Indeed Ao-kehu had easily divined the object of Tamāhua-rererangi's visit—that he came to fetch him to slay the *taniwha*. Now, Tamāhua was a son-in-law to Ao-kehu; he had married the daughter of Kauika, named Raka-takapo, who was a grand-daughter to Ao-kehu (according to Maori custom), Tamāhua was of Whanganui, Raka-takapo of Wai-totara. So Ao-kehu said to Tamāhua, "Arise and go! To-morrow will I be there. But when you get back, do not tread on the banks of Whanganui." Then Tamāhua returned.

After Tamāhua's departure, Ao-kehu called his people together and told them not to let it get light in the morning before they started; and then they slept. Before the first streaks of dawn the people started, seventy in number. Ao-kehu took with him his two weapons named "Tai-timu" and "Tai-paroa," which were *mira-tuatini*.\* They travelled on till they came to the Whanganui river, at Totara-puku (close to the Ara-moho Railway Station), where they found Tamāhua and his people waiting. Ao-kehu then asked, "Where is the place where this monster dwells?" The people of the place replied, "It is not far off; you see the ridge there—Taumaha-aute? (on top of Shakespeare's Cliff). It is just below." Turning to his people, Ao-kehu said, "Cut and fetch a log, as long as I am, and dub it out as a box for me, and make a lid to it." The people of the place urged, "Presently to work! after some food has been cooked." But Ao-kehu replied, "We will wait and eat after I have slain that monster there."

It was not a great while before the box was completed, together with its lid, and holes bored to tie it on. And when this was done, Ao-kehu said to all the people, "When you have set me afloat, all of you go to the ridge and look on whilst I am swallowed into the belly of Tutae-poroporo. But my word to you is, it will be but a moment after "Tai-timu" and "Tai-paroa" begin to bite his spines, that his bones will be drying ashore." Such were the words of Ao-kehu, and

\* A kind of saw, with teeth of the shark inserted along both edges. Used formerly in cutting up human joints for the oven.

taking up his weapons he got into his box ; the lid was tied on, and the holes plastered with plastic clay, so the water might not get in. On completion, the box of the warrior was launched on the water, whilst the people ascended the ridge to look on. After a time the box drifted down to the lair of the *taniwha*. And then ! he recognised the sweet scent of his food ; he seized the box and swallowed both it and the man, which descended to the depths of his stomach. Those who had gone inland to look on saw the *taniwha* swallow the box. The monster now retired to his lair ; and so soon as the man knew he had got there, he commenced his powerful *karakia*, such as are used in slaying *taniwhas*, and to cause them to rise to the surface so they may drift ashore. This is the *karakia*, that is, the spell to cause a deep sleep :—

'Tis I ! 'Tis I ! 'Tis Tu ! a lord !  
 'Tis I ! 'Tis Tu !  
 Thy lord above here,  
 Advancing to the fearsome demon below there,  
 To the awesome demon below there,  
 To the maelstrom below there,  
 To the stinging power below there,  
 'Tis thou, that is dived for, that is followed,  
 To the foundation of thy dwelling,  
 Where rests thy seat of strength,  
 Where stand thy spines,  
 Where rests thy very soul,  
 (In vain) thou bindest me with thy powers,  
 By the great heavens that stand above,  
 Be exhausted ! Be overcome with sleep !  
 O—oi !  
 'Tis I that advancest to thy spiney back,  
 That in anger appears, that rages there,  
 Transfix ! transfix the support of thy heart,  
 Transfix ! the pillar of thy strength,  
 That supports thy life and generates thy actions.  
 Transfixed be thy teeth, that gnash and grind,  
 Thy spiney back with rage appearing,  
 Sleep then ! Be exhausted ! O !

This ended, the lifting-spell to cause the monster to rise to the surface was repeated. Thus :—

The solid foundations below there ; rise up !  
 Firm as the rock below is,  
 It shall rise up here above.  
 Firm as is the supernatural power thou trustest in,  
 Thou shalt rise to the daylight surface,  
 'Tis thou that is upraised !  
 'Tis thou that is uplifted !  
 Resounds the hauling ! Be lifted ! O ! O !

Behold ! the monster floated on the surface, and drifted ashore at the mouth of the Purua stream. Now the men came down and cut the lashings of the box, and forth came the warrior from the stomach of the *taniwha*. Then he proceeded to cut open the belly with his knives (*maripi*), that is, with "Tai-timu" and "Tai-paroa." Now, when the people dwelling in Taumaha-aute *pa* saw this, they descended to help in cutting up the object of their revenge (*ito=uto*), and there was found within the monster, bodies of men, women and children. These were carried to the *pa* at Taumaha-aute and there buried. The *taniwha* was cut up and left as food for the birds of the air and the fish of the sea.

Enough ! Such is the story of the slaying of this *taniwha*. Glad indeed were the Whanganui people at the death of Tutae-poroporo, for they were able again to occupy their river and their homes.

Now, as to Ao-kehu, he was a descendant of Turis' younger brother Kewa, who both came here in their canoe, the "Aotea," from Hawaiki, and settled at Patea. This is genealogical descent from him to the present day. (See the original).

NOTE :—Both Turi and Kewa, besides many others, arrived in New Zealand from Raiātea, Society Islands, circa 1350. If we may believe the legend, the Whanganui valley was thickly populated even in those times, thus affording additional evidence of the presence of people here long before the great *heke* of 1850.—Translator.



## ON THE SURVIVALS OF ANCIENT CUSTOMS IN OCEANIA.

—  
BY JOSHUA RUTLAND.  
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**D**URING the Sultan of Johore's recent visit to Australia, a description of His Majesty's golden teeth, set with brilliants, went the round of our newspapers. For the truth of this description I am unable to vouch, but it was probably, in the main, correct, the wearing of golden teeth or of golden tooth covers being of very ancient Oriental custom.

Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, who returned to Europe in 1295, after 25 years' absence in China and other parts of the far East, has left the following description of the province of Kardandan, the modern Yun-nan :—

“ Proceeding five days' journey in a westerly direction from Karazan, you enter the province of Kardandan, belonging to the Dominion of the Grand Khan, and of which the principal city is named Vochang.

The currency of this country is gold by weight, and also the porcelain shells. An ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver, and a *saggio* of gold for five *saggi* of silver, there being no silver mines in this country, but much gold, and consequently the merchants who import silver obtain a large profit.

Both the men and the women of this province have the custom of covering their teeth with thin plates of gold, which are fitted with great nicety to the shape of the teeth, and remain on them continually. The men also form dark stripes or bands round their arms and legs by puncturing them in the following manner: They have five needles joined together, which they press into the flesh until the blood is drawn, and they then rub the punctures with a black colouring matter, which leaves an indelible mark. To bear these dark stripes is considered as an ornamental and honourable distinction.

When the natives have transactions of business with each other, which require them to execute any obligation for the amount of a debt or credit, their chief takes a square piece of wood and divides it in two. Notches are then cut on it, denoting the sum in question, and each party receives one of the corresponding pieces, as is practised in respect to our tallies. Upon the expiration of the term, and payment made by the debtor, the creditor delivers up his counterpart and both remain satisfied."

Marsden, in his history of Sumatra, first published 1788, after commenting on the natives filing and staining teeth, says:—The great men sometimes set theirs in gold, by chasing, with a plate of that metal, the under row; and this ornament, contrasted with the black dye, has, by lamp or candle light, a very splendid effect. It is sometimes indented to the shape of the teeth, but more usually quite plain. They do not remove it either to eat or sleep.

From relics found in various parts of Europe, archæologists have concluded that during the stone period the inhabitants of the region tattooed, but it is evident, from the way that Marco Polo speaks of the tattooing, which he found in vogue amongst the most civilised peoples of Asia, that the custom had died out in Asia before the thirteenth century.

Speaking of the Kangigu province, probably Cachar, he tells us both men and women have their bodies punctured all over, in figures of beasts and birds, and there are among them practitioners, whose sole employment it is to trace out these ornaments with the point of a needle, upon the hands, the legs and the breasts. When a black colouring stuff has been rubbed over these punctures, it is impossible, either by water or otherwise to efface the marks. The man or woman who exhibits the greatest profusion of these figures is esteemed the most handsome.

Of the various kinds of mutilation practised by rude people to make themselves attractive, tattooing affords the greatest scope for artistic display. This probably accounts for its survival amongst people so far advanced in the art of dress as the Chinese and Japanese. That it was considered an emblem of rank, is shown by the following passage in the journal of Ralph Fitch, who visited Burma 1586: "The Bramas, which be of the king's country (for the king is a Brama) have their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselves, made black with certaine things which they have. They use to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile, or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them, but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the king's kindred. These people weare no beards. They pull

out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for the purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haire grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another and pulleth out all the rest, for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haire out as soone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked, both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs."

Sir Joseph Banks has left the following interesting account of the New Zealand Maori, at the time of Cook's first visit:—"Both sexes stain themselves in the same manner with the colour of black, and somewhat in the same way as the South Sea Islanders, introducing it under the skin by a sharp instrument furnished with many teeth. The men carry this custom to much greater length; the women are generally content with having their lips blacked, but sometimes have little patches of black on different parts of the body. The man, to the contrary, seems to add to the quantity every year of his life, so that some of the elders were almost covered with it. Their faces are the most remarkable. On them, by some art unknown to me, they dig furrows a line deep at least, and as broad, the edges of which are often again indented and absolutely black. This may be done to make them look frightful in war; indeed, it has the effect of making them most enormously ugly, the old ones especially, whose faces are entirely covered with it. The young, again, often have a small patch on one cheek or over one eye, and those under a certain age (maybe twenty-five or twenty-six) have no more than their lips black. Yet, ugly as this certainly looks, it is impossible to avoid admiring the extreme elegance and justness of the figures traced, which on the face are always different spirals, and upon the body generally different figures, resembling somewhat the foliages of old chasing upon gold and silver. All these are finished with a masterly taste and execution, for of a hundred which at first sight would be judged to be exactly the same, no two, on close examination, prove alike, nor do I remember ever to have seen any two alike. Their wild imagination scorns to copy, as appears in almost all their works. In different parts of the coast they varied very much in the quantity and parts of the body on which this *amoca*, as they call it, was placed, but they generally agreed in having the spirals upon the face. I have generally observed that the more populous a country, the greater was the quantity of *amoca* used. Possibly in populous countries the emulation of bearing pain with fortitude may be carried to greater lengths than where there are fewer people, and consequently fewer examples to encourage. The buttocks, which in the islands were the principal seat of this ornament, in general here escape untouched; in one place only we saw the contrary."



Tattooing is still practised by many Oriental people, but nowhere do we find it carried to the length described by Marco Polo, excepting in Polynesia, and even there the custom is fast disappearing owing to European influences.

Westermarch, in his "History of Human Marriage," shows how dress evolves from ornament, the rudest type of ornaments being mutilations such as tattooing, cicatrising, circumcision, &c., and that the object of these mutilations was to provoke sexual desires,

Some years ago I showed a Croiselles Maori Ling Roth's edition of "Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania and New Zealand," in which there is a good illustration of a Maori profusely tattooed on the thighs and lower part of the back. After carefully examining this picture my friend remarked, "I wouldn't like to have my face tattooed; but I would give a pound—yes, I would give two or three pounds—to be tattooed like that fellow." Perceiving he was really in earnest, I enquired the reason why, and was told, "The women do like to see a chap tattooed that way." He then went on to tell me that natives of the North Island tattooed like the illustration, occasionally visited the Croiselles; and excited the admiration of the women.

We can thus see that amongst the natives of the Pacific tattooing still produces the effect for which it was intended.

The pieces of wood used by the people of Yun-nan in Marco Polo's time for registering bargains are still in vogue amongst the natives of New Guinea. Rev. James Chalmers, in a very graphic account of a trading voyage along the coast, says:—"One of the *lakatois* has begun disposing of cargo. All the pottery belonging to a man is arranged on the beach, and into each two small pieces of wood are put, and when finished the owner returns along the row, takes one piece out, and the purchaser follows, taking the other. Both parties tie the tokens carefully up and put them away in a safe place, then the purchaser's family and friends come and carry away the pottery. When the time arrives for the *lakatoi* to return, the purchaser and all his friends set to work to get the sago required—one bundle of sago for each piece of wood. When the sago is finished he sends for the Motuan, who enters the sago-house with his parcel, counts the tokens, and then counts the sago, and if all is right he then carries them on board; if one or more bundles are short, there is a lively disturbance."

This primitive way of trading reminds us of the ancient commerce thus described by Herodotus:—"The Carthaginians further say that, beyond the pillars of Hercules, there is a region of Libya and men who inhabit it. When they arrive among these people and have unloaded their merchandise, they set it in order on the shore, go on board their ships and make a great smoke; that the inhabitants, seeing

the smoke, came down to the sea and then deposit gold in exchange for the merchandise, and withdraw to some distance from the merchandise; that the Carthaginians then, going ashore, examine the gold, and if the quantity seems sufficient for the merchandise they take it up and sail away; but if it is not sufficient they go on board their ships again and wait. The natives then approach and deposit more gold, until they have satisfied them. Neither party ever wrongs the other, for they do not touch the gold before it is made adequate to the value of the merchandise, nor do the natives touch the merchandise before the other party has taken the gold."

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## MAORI AND EGYPTIAN TATTOOING.

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THROUGH the kindness of the "Otago Witness," we are enabled to reproduce some pictures showing the similarity of the tattoo marks in some women of Assouan, Upper Egypt, and the ordinary *kauae* or chin tattooing of Maori women. Figures 1, 2, and 3, are Egyptians, figure 4 is a Maori woman, though her face, generally, is scarcely the Maori type.

We also reproduce from the same source a picture of a tattooed Maori head in Major-General Robley's celebrated collection, which is an excellent specimen of the fully tattooed face (*moko-tukupu*) as it was to be seen 50 years ago, but now disappeared for ever. The "Otago Witness" adds:—

The London correspondent of the New Zealand Times says:—"General Robley, the well-known authority upon Maori art, sends me a sketch that he made of the Assouan villagers now on view themselves at Earl's Court. The sketch shows that the married women of this tribe far up the Nile are tattooed in a manner remarkably similar to that in which the Maori women used to be tattooed, namely on the lips and chin, and now and again on the forehead. I am trying to persuade General Robley to follow up this clue, and at the same time to take in hand a comparative study of the tattooing of all primitive races. The results might probably be surprising in the dominion of ethnography. I forgot to mention that General Robley has found on some of the earlier Egyptian mummies certain ornamental designs which have hitherto been considered purely Egyptian, but he finds that they are identical with some of the most ancient Maori patterns."

We hope General Robley will take the hint given above and follow this out, as it will probably throw light on the question of the intercourse between the ancient Polynesians and the Egyptians in ages long past, which, from other things seems probable—not, we think, that there is an ethnic connection between the two races, but that there has been intercourse and mutual interchange of customs and ideas, probably when the Polynesians occupied India.











## POLYNESIAN ORIGINS.

BY EDWARD TREGEAR.

**T**O those who know the almost infinite difficulties of the subject, it appears bold, even to temerity, to endeavour to throw light on the subject of "The Whence of the Maori." After studying the question for years, I by no means approach any discussion of it with the light-hearted confidence of absolute ignorance. I know some of the immense difficulties, the absence of written records or of monumental inscriptions, the maze of baffling and imperfect traditions, the delusions of linguistics, the fallacies of customs-comparisons, the phantoms of genealogy; or, to speak more precisely, I have found what numerous traps are to be found in such valuable aids to knowledge as tradition, customs, language and genealogy. I have, however, also learnt that the most imperfectly equipped of enquirers will, if in earnest and devoted to his subject, help on the enquiry, if only by inducing those who know better to enter the arena in refutation, and that the real foe of knowledge is "the Superior Person" of merciless criticism, who is without sympathy for the enquirer stumbling in darkness towards the light. This is said in diffident excuse for writing on a subject which will probably engage the attention of students centuries hence, students a million times better equipped than we are, but without our opportunities for enquiry among the survivors of the Polynesian people themselves.

In this paper the subject of the absolute "cradle-land" of the Polynesian (Maori) people will not be approached. This land of ultimate origin was probably in South-Central Asia, but it may have been in Lithuania, or by the shores of the Caspian Sea; wherever it "may have been" it was, as I believe, in that locality wherein those branches of the Indo-European family now occupying North-Western Europe had their birth. The above statement must remain a mere assertion, a personal impression, so far as this paper is concerned. My present effort will be made in an endeavour to get light as to certain intermediate dwelling places, known as Hawaiki, Havaii, Avaiki, &c., between the *vagina gentium* and those other local South Sea Hawaiki which Mr. S. Percy Smith is so exhaustively investigating.

In Mr. Smith's book "*Hawaiki*" (First edition—p. 48) occurs the following passage, which I have taken as the text for this paper:—



"Avaiki te Varinga, or Atia te Varinga, was the country in which Polynesian mankind originated. . . (p. 72). Atia was a country in which the rice grew, and the name Atia te Varinga may be translated 'Atia-the-be-riced,' or where plenty of it grew."

Guided by this expression of opinion I have endeavoured to ascertain the ground of its probability, and have arrived at the following conclusions:—

(1) That Hava (Hawaiki), Vari (Varinga), and Atia were names of cultivated grain.

(2) That the grain-names probably passed into names of cultivations, and were remembered as localities.

Before attempting to trace the names of Hawaiki, Vari, and Atia through their different disguises, and to the extremities of their apparently fantastic developments, it may be as well to note the persistence among the Maoris of the idea that Hawaiki was a wonderfully prolific and food-producing country. A common exclamation in New Zealand, when an old native saw a very flourishing crop, was, "Ah, this is Hawaiki-food; or, This is Hawaiki the prolific" (*E, ko Hawaiki kai tenei*), and there is an old adage, "Hawaiki was the country where food grew wild" (or profusely, without trouble) *Ko Hawaiki te whenua e tupu noa mai te kai*. Another saying is "Hawaiki is the land where the sweet-potato grows spontaneously among the fern." *Hawaiki te whenua e tupu noa mai te kumara i roto i te rarauhe*. I may remark here that in the South Seas, among the many Avaiki or Savaii, there is no place wherein the *kumara* grows without cultivation, so the reference must be to some other localities than these.

Finding among the Maori poetry gathered by Sir George Grey (p. 81) a similar allusion to the abundance of food in Hawaiki, I referred the passage to Mr. Smith for an independent translation. The passage is as follows:—

*Ka toi au ki Hawaiki  
Ki te kai ra, i rari noa mai,  
Te raweketia e te ringaringa.*

Mr. Smith translates thus:—

I will away to Hawaiki  
To the food there plentifully given,  
Not touched (produced) by hand."

\*Mr. Smith has kindly added the following notes—

(a) *Toi*, only used in old traditions, and implies distance, almost unattainable. "*E tama aku, i puta mai ra koe i te toi ki Hawaiki*." "My child, thou comest forth from the distant (ancestors of) Hawaiki." (Old song.)

(b) *Rari*, plentiful; that grows spontaneously. It is not applied to cultivated food, but to wild kinds. This is the meaning given by the Urewera; *he huhua noa mai no te kai, he makuru noa mai, tona tikanga*. *Makuru*, to fall off when ripe, is only used for fruits.

(c) *Ki te kai ra*. The food well known to be there (as emphasized by *ra*.)

PART I.  
PHILOLOGICAL.

IN the course of this enquiry I must present to the reader long lists of words very tiring for anyone but a student of language to peruse. I wish however to make this first part of the subject as exhaustive as the limited means at the disposal of an Antipodean writer can effect, and to leave no collateral branch untouched. To do this there must, I fear, be repetition, with constant return to the main line of research, and although I have made every effort to try to handle the mass of material with lucidity of result, it cannot even be approached without hard work for the reader as well as the writer.

The narrower scholars among the ranks of philologists will certainly condemn me at the outset for daring to compare words in inflected with those in agglutinative or monosyllabic languages. My answer is that I am dealing with absolutely prehistoric words, or roots of words, having their origin in ages so remote that in common honesty they can no more be claimed as Aryan than as Semitic or Turanian. Of such words, though not used in my argument, *Mata*, the eye or face, is an example. In different forms it is common to Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Malaysia, Japan, India, Persia, and Arabia. *Mate*, sick or dead, is another such a word, used all over Oceania, and still extant in England as *Matt* the dead surface of silver or of a photograph, in opposition to a bright or polished (living) surface, as it also is when we say "Check-mate!" "the Sheikh is dead!" from the Persian, but originally probably Arabic.

Of such words I shall here confine myself to three, viz., *ava*, *bara*, and *vari*. Their common root is *FA*, and they all will be proved to mean grain, water, mud.

The root *FA* became vulgarised in its posterity-words, as in almost all cases was sure to happen, that is, it gathered the *R* sound as a final. I say, vulgarised, because we at once recognise it as such when we hear the final *a* in the Cockney and other degraded forms of pronunciation. *Maria* becomes *Mariar*, *Eliza* is *Elizer*, etc., and it is this deteriorating effect which made the *FA* (*fah*) sound into *FAR*.

I need hardly say to anyone acquainted with consonantal changes in dialects that with more or less regularity of variation, *F* *V* *B* and *P* are substituted one for the other. In Polynesian, the Maori *papa* a board, is the Tongan *baba*, a board; the Tahitian *pure*, worship, is the Fijian *bure*, a temple; the Samoan *pula*, to shine, is Fijian *vulavula*, white. In English, purple, fury, and bride are all on the same root, *BUR*; fan (Latin *vannus*) and wind on the root *WA*. Whether the digamma sound be properly *F* or *V*, it certainly varies, perhaps through *PH*, into *P* and *B*—if not in classical writings, then in the practical uses of diverse races of men, world-scattered, but still wielding the verbal stone-axes of their ancestors.

## HAWA

(On the root *FA* or *VA*, as *va*, *vara*, *ava*, *awa*, *fafa*, *vaha*, etc.)

In Sanscrit *yava* means barley, but in the Vedas it was applied not only to barley but to wheat and to grain in general, as *yavana* also was to wheat.\* That the word *yava* or *java* had a much wider application than to barley, or even grain in general, may be adduced by a note of Professor Max Müller's, on Rig Veda,† in which he says, "*Yavasa* is explained by Sayana as grass, and Wilson's Dictionary gives it as meadow or pasture grass. Greek *ζέα* (*zea*) is likewise explained as barley or rye, fodder for horses (sec 1, 91, 18), *gavah na yavaseshu*, "like cows in meadows."

Thus we find that *yava* in its compounds extended so widely as to include almost any cultivated crop. In that very pure Aryan dialect, the Lithuanian, *java* remained as corn, but the Zend (Ancient Persian) *yava*, fodder, and *yara*, barley, became the modern Persian *jav* (or *gar*) barley, while the Sanscrit *yava* was parent of the Hindustani *jau*, barley, so that the word became distinctive of a particular grain as time went on. The Lithuanians also had *javai*, wheat in general, the plural of *javas*, the grain of wheat; from this arose the name of their goddess Jawinne, who presided over cereals. With modern Persian *jav* and *gar* we have the Tirhai (Cabul) *zav*, but in the Ossete *yau* and *yer* it passes to millet. The Sanscrit *yava* for rice appears in *yavagu*, rice-gruel. The Japanese kept the word *awa* for millet, and *awa mochi*, bread made from rice and millet. The Canarese have *jave* and *javi* for barley, and *jave* also for broken or pounded rice offered to a sick person, but introduce the *S* sound in *save*, for millet (*panicum miliaceum*). The sibilant keeps its ground in the Burmese *saba*, rice, *sabaji*, a rice-basket—the latter is the equivalent of Polynesian Savaii or Hawaii. The Burmese form shows the point of transformation from the grain to the field in which the grain grew, so that we get the Malay Islands' words *sabah*, *sawah*, and *java*, for a wet rice field. Here also we meet the idea of "wetness" as well as "field," subjects which I shall pursue further on, but will return awhile to the "grain" section of the word *ava*. Before doing so the remark may be made that in the Malay change of *sava* or *hava* from "grain" to "rice-land" there is reason to suspect historical influences, for it was then that the *saba* or *sava*, an irrigated field, became prefaced by *pari* or *padi* (i.e., paddy, rice in the grain), which shows that a new word has superseded *java*, for grain, and left *pari-sawah*, an irrigated rice field.

Pictet states that the Latin name for oats, *avena*, is on this root, and instances the Anc. Slav., *ovisu*, *ousa*; Polon., *owies*; Illyr., *ovas*;

\*Pictet. Les Aryas Primitifs. III., 333.

†Rig Veda Sanhita. Vol. I., p. 71.

Lith., *awiza* : Lett., *ausas*, as examples, referring it to the Sanscrit root *AV*, to be loved or rejoice, whence *ava*, nourishment ; *avas*, *avana*, satisfaction, rejoicing ; and *avasa*, which is exactly the Russian *ovesu*, pasturage, victuals. To the same root belong the Persian *ava*, nourishment, and *aba*, bread—in Cabul *ave* and *au*. (I shall show further on that to refer to this class the Maori *au-au*, a basket of seed potatoes, is not so far-fetched as it may seem). If this assertion of Pictet's is true it will at once appear that originally *avena* was not oats, but any grain or food, and this bears out the contention that *ava* (*yava*, *java*, *sava*, *saba*, etc.) was not originally barley but “a cultivated crop,” becoming later “grain,” and then particular kinds of grain. The Teutonic name for oats also strengthens this idea, because “oat” Ang. Saxon, *ata*, *ate*, belongs to *etan*, the Gothic, *itan*, “to eat,” and may have originally meant any comestible.

We will refer (under the part treating of *vari*, rice) to rye and farina. The name of wheat appears to have been given to that cereal as “the white” grain. (Pictet, l.c. 328.) Gothic, *hveits*, white, and *hvaiti*, *hvaiteis*, wheat ; Ang. Saxon, *hviz*, and *hwaizi*, etc. It is not quite certain that the Gothic *hveits* answers directly to Sanscrit *cveta*, from the root *çvit*, to be white, for the latter requires a Gothic *th*, and a *d*, for the Anc. German. But by the *çvit* we find *qvīd*, *qvīnd*, to be white. It may be noticed (for what it is worth) that beside the Greek *ζέα* (*zea*), which was once barley or millet, and is now maize, the Maori *tea*, “white,” forms a curious coincidence with the other grain words, and the Polynesian *whiti*, “to shine,” may have some radical connection with “white.” *Tea*, “white,” in Niuē is *tsea*, very like *zea*.

It has been shown that *ava* (*sava*, etc.) passed into the idea of “wet” and “wet land.” There was evidently from very ancient times, and spread over wide geographical limits, one of those primitive sounds we call a root, having the value of *AV* or *VA*, and meaning water ; a watercourse ; to flow, etc. The Gaelic *abh*, water ; Welsh *aw*, a fluid, flowing ; Irish *abh*, a river, *abar* a marsh, appear curiously like the Macassar *aba* a flood, Mangarevan *ava* a channel, Maori *awa* a river, a stream, *awa-keri* a ditch ; Anc. German *awa* and *owa*, water, stream, river. The Gothic *ahwa*, water, is apparently related to Latin *aqua*, water, and may not be on the same root, as it appears in Anc. German as *aha*. The Persian *aw* and *ab*, water, is said to belong to the Sanscrit and Zeud root, *AP*, water, but *aw* more closely resembles the Maori *au*, a rapid in a river. The Maori *au* is in Samoan *au*, a current at sea ; in Tahitian *au*, a current, and the same in Marquesas, Futuna, etc. Therefore if *au* bears such striking affinity in sound and sense to the Persian *aw*, water, and Cymric *aw*, fluid, it is not impossible that Maori *au-au*, a basket of seed potatoes (the Maori had not grain) may represent the Cabul *au*, bread, and the Persian *ava*,

nourishment. When secondary as well as primary meanings coincide it is strange indeed if there is no common derivation. In the Tagal (Philippines) *baba*, a current, and Bicol *baba*, a flood, current, we have apparently the full word in this connection, the duplicated root, *VA-VA*. The Sanscrit *sava*, water, introduces the *hav* or *sav* variety of correspondents. Japanese have *sawa*, a marsh; *sawasawa*, the sound of flowing water; *sarayaka*, fluent; *savate*, damaged by water; *sawari*, the menses of women. Mota (Banks Islands) has *sawa*, to run on as a fluid advances; *sawarasu*, to run as a fluid; Formosa *sabba*, a river; Fijian *sava-ta*, to wash: *sawana*, the sea-side; Miriam (Torres Straits) *sab*, a sponge; Murray Island *sab*, sponge; Tonga *avaava*, porous, spongy. The author of Sunda (Java) Dictionary, Mr. J Rigg, considers that *sawah*, a wet rice field, means, etymologically, "by means of inundation."

If the Sanscrit *sava*, the juice of flowers, is allied (as is accepted) to the Gothic *sairs*, the sea, and the Irish *sabh*, saliva, it may be on the root *SU*, but seeing also that Sanscrit *sava* means water and juice, it is not unreasonable (if unorthodox) to compare the Indian dialects of East Nepal viz., Kiranti, Waling, Runchenbung, and Dungwali, in all of which the word *chawa* is used for water. But the root *SU*, from which in English come the words suck ("to imbibe, especially milk."—Skeat) and soak; Latin *succus*, juice; Gaelic *sug*, to suck, and *sugh*, juice, is surely purest in its formative words, when expressed by the Polynesian and Malay forms. Consider the Tongan *huhu*, to suck, the breasts; *huhua*, milk; Maori *u*, the female breast; Malay *susu*, the breasts, milk; Brumer Islands *susuga*, the breast, the nipple; Efatese and Maloese *susu*, milk, the breast; Niue (Savage Island) *huhu*, milk, the breast. If Skeat correctly places "sap," the juice of plants, under the root *SU*, then the roots *SU* and *SAV* are interlocked in some way, for the Sanscrit *sava*, the juice of flowers, and Irish *sabh*, spittle, appear more likely to be related to *SAV* than to *SU*, while the Sanscrit *sunā*, a river, may be distinctly held to be on the root *SU*, to distil, to express juice.

Before leaving the consideration of *ava* (*sava*, *hawa*, *sawah*, *saba*, etc.), as water, water-course, ditch, etc., the point must be studied as to the relation it bears to *ava* as "down; downward; sloping," etc. The Sanscrit *ava* means "down," and is often used as a prefix in compound words, as in *ava-kleda*, trickling, descent of moisture; *ava-kshar*, to cause to flow down upon; *ava-gam*, to descend; *ava-sara*, descent of water; *ava-seka*, irrigating. The use of the word in this sense has extended even beyond what is reckoned as Hindustani influence, for we have not only Javanese *bawah*, down, Malay *bawah*, down, Sasak *bawah*, under, down, Bima (Sumbawa) *awa*, beneath, under, down, but Malagasy *ava*, lower down, as applied to any part of

a country towards which the water flows. It is easy, however, to understand that either sense of *ava* could be the parent of the other, viz., water flowing downwards, or the downward direction in which water flows.

If we now leave *ava* as water, we can pursue the words as "soil" in *sawah* or *saba*, as it appears in the Sundanese *pare-sawah*, rice on irrigated lands. When relating to land, however, it generally seems to carry the meaning of limited portions of land, of soil "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined." It passes from the idea of water (even of the sea) to that of narrow beds, or of ditch and boundary between cultivations, and thence to any opening, crack, or fissure, even to that of the human mouth.

In a compound word of Marovo (New Georgia), viz., *puava*, meaning soil generally, and in the Telugu *ava*, low ground outside a village, the exceptions to the idea of limit appear, but even here the Telugu has *avadhi*, a border, limit, boundary. The Japanese *sawa*, a valley between two hills, *awai*, the space between two things (*c.f.* Tongan, *awai-ihu*, the nostril), with the Malagasy *sava*, made roomy (as if by clearing things out of the way), seem to agree with the innumerable Polynesian forms which make *ava* or *ava* an opening in the reef, a haven, crevice, etc.\*

This, however, leads us to the point that the *va* in *ava* should be duplicate (i.e., *vava*), for the word is really only a form of *va*, "space," and the Maori *ava*, river, is such in relation to its flowing between banks as a watercourse. The Maori *va*, a definite space or interval (in time or distance), becomes *wawa*, a fence, a palisade, and coincides with Samoan *va*, a space between; Hawaiian *wa*, a space between two objects; Tongan *ra*, the space between two objects, *vava*, distance; and Mangarevan *vava*, to be torn or rent apart. The Maori *wa* forms compounds such as *wae*, to divide, *wahi*, to divide, etc., but in this connection the most peculiar is that of *waha*, the mouth of a person, the mouth of a hole, even so close to our own idiom as *wahapu*, the mouth of a harbour. *Vaha* has the same meaning of "mouth" in almost all Polynesian dialects, passing, evidently, from this sense to that of speech, the voice, noise, etc. We have Maori *wawa*, to make a loud noise; Rarotongan *ra*, gossip; Marquesan *va*, to speak; Aniwa and Mel. Futuna, *fafa*, the mouth; Futuna, *vava*, tumultuous cries.

\*Marquesan *ava*, a strait, a sound. Uvea, *ava*, a harbour entrance; Samoan *ava*, an opening in the reef, a boat passage. Tongan, *ava*, an opening, an orifice, hole, ditch, crevice; a passage for vessels; hollow; *ava ava*, full of openings. Tahitian, *ava*, a harbour entrance; *ava ava*, a small opening in the coral reef. Hawaiian, *awa*, an entrance between two reefs; *awawa*, a valley; the space between the branches of a river; the spaces between the fingers of the hand, and between the toes of the feet. We meet the word outside Polynesia, as in the New Georgia dialects, where *sangawa* means a reef-passage.

The Hawaiian *waha*, a mouth, to dig a ditch, shows that it must be a ditch for running water, if we compare Sanscrit *waha*, a flowing current; Sunda *wahagan*, the bed of a river; and the Maori *awaha*, an eloquent speaker, where the governing idea is certainly "fluent";\* the Sanscrit *vach*, speech (alluded to in Part II.), is probably one of the Asiatic forms of the word. The Tagal or Bisaya *basa*, to speak; Kayan *bacha*, to read; Malay *basa*, to speak, *bahasa*, speech, *bacha*, to read; Javanese, *wacha*, to read, etc., are all referred by scholars to the Sanscrit *vach*.

It may be urged that the Sanscrit *vaha*, *vahati*, *vahini*, river, and *vahasa*, a watercourse, cannot be connected with the root for speech, but are derivatives of *VAH*, to carry, to bear (as in Zend *raz*, and Latin *veho*), and that therefore many of the words I have quoted as on the root meaning mouth, or fissure, may properly be on the "carry" root. If this should prove to be the case, I may urge that there is no European word so distinctly on the root of *VAH*, to carry, as the Polynesian verb *vaha*, to carry. (Tahitian, *vaha*; Samoan and Tongan, *fafa*; Hawaiian and Maori, *waha*, etc.) The Malay and other dialects having *bawa*, to carry, are acknowledged, or presumed to be borrowed Sanscrit, yet they are not so near the root sound as the Polynesians are. Nor is the Sanscrit *avani*, river or course of river; *avishi*, river; Irish *abann*, river, nearer to the root *AV*, to go, than the Maori *awa*, river. If "goer" or "carrier" is the original meaning of *ava*, then the argument of my paper must be transposed; but these ancient roots *AV* and *VA* (as *ava*) have been so made one by time, that their progeny are inextricably mingled and connected. I will not here touch the vexed question of *Yavana*, as Greek, or as a foreigner. It needs a paper to itself.

We must not forget that Colenso (who published the A part of his Maori Dictionary), gives us valuable meanings for *awa*, besides those of river or ditch. He says that *awa* means the dry abandoned bed of an old river; a long hollow in a plain; a dug trench; a raised plot or bed in a garden. *Awaawa* means a rivulet; brook; a narrow valley; the trough of the sea between waves; furrows in a field of ploughed land; a long groove cut or carved in anything. It is evident that these Maori meanings of watercourses, furrows, garden-beds, etc., show that properly *awa*, a river, was not a "wild" river, but water tamed and harnessed. So also in compounds of *waha*, mouth; while *waiwaha* means a furrow, *tawaha* means a garden-bed. In Mota, where *vava* means to speak, *vasa* (Polynesian *vaha* or *waha*) appears in *vasa*

\* That the Maoris gave to an eloquent speech, as of one who speaks the language well, the idea of "fluent" is proved by the saying—as applied to the above—"Me te wai e rere ana," "Like flowing water," was the speech of So-and-so.—EDITOR.

*niu*, a narrow space; *vasa leg*, to irrigate; an irrigated place; and these may even be connected (through the idea of "limit") with *av*, to fence, to pile—as stones for a fence, that is, the enclosure of cultivated land, just as the Canarese *avarana* means the enclosed space round a house; the garden.\*

A remarkable and interesting thing happens in regard to *ava* in the sense of a crevice or rift. In Maori it is the name for the female *vulva* (*pudenda*), just as the Polynesian *vaha* or *vasa*, the mouth passes into the Maloese *uasa*, *pudendum muliebre*. Then, further, the Samoans use *ava*, as a wife, and *avaga*, to marry. In Futuna *avaga* is a spouse, marriage; in Niuē *avaga* is copulation. In Tonga (probably through the idea of "cajolery") *avaga* means to be in love with; to bewitch; to be possessed by an evil spirit. The dictionary issued by the French missionaries in Tonga says boldly *avaga* "caresses used to obtain something; a marriage between a person and the devil." In this extraordinary phase of development we will leave our simple word *ava*, a crevice, a fissure, to look after itself. But still more strange the Moriori (Chatham Islands) give us our whole original word *hawaiiki* as meaning "a woman"; "a woman's menses."

Having seen that *awa*, or *ava*, means over a huge geographical area, grain, water, water-course, wet-land, soil, and garden bed, we will now turn to its last direct metamorphosis, viz., as dirt, mire, filth.

The Sanscrit *sava* means a dead body, a corpse, and the compounds of this form of *sava* all pertain in some way to corpses. The Telugu *savamu*, a corpse, and the Sunda *sawau*, fits, convulsions, tranced, apparently dead, may be akin to the Sanscrit, but the Japanese *sawate*, stained with water, smirched, apparently gives the key to the Polynesian. Samoan *sava*, filth, ordure; *savasava*, besmeared with dirt; Marquesan *hawa*, dirty, fouled; Maori *hawahawa*, to be smeared; Hawaiian *hawa*, to be daubed with filth; defiled. The Hawaiian leads on through *hawali*, a kind of slimy, sticky fish, to the Paumotuan *faka-havari* (*faka* = causative prefix), to defile, or profane. (The Tongan *haha*, fetid, bad-smelling, as applied to the dead, may or may not be connected.) The Maori *haware*, spittle, Futuna *savalea*, spittle, show signs of being compounds both of *hawa* and *ware*, but can better be considered under *vari*, rice. That they are so compounded is strengthened by the Hawaiian *hawawa*, foolish, ignorant, and the Tongan *faha*, a fool, equivalent to *ware*, or *vare*, a fool, a low ignorant fellow, and joined in Hawaiian *hawale*, lying, deceitful.

\*Connected with *va*, space, and *vaha*, the mouth, a fissure, etc., are the Polynesian words *kowha*, to split (*ko-fa*), etc., the original root being *FA*, not *VA*.



There is a faint proof of *ava* being a name for some forgotten thing or place in the Mangarevan *ava* which not only means a passage, a canal, but "lost, gone, absent, slipped from memory." In the causative form, *aka-ava*, to lose, to reject, to absent oneself, to mislead, to misguide, and in *avaroa*, one who has been altogether lost sight of, one who remains in a distant place, we have perhaps a reminiscence either of grain or the land once tilled. In Fiji *yava* means not only a cluster of fruit, as of cocoanuts, but also "distance," two curious ideas to be expressed by one word. Perhaps Avaiki, which means in Mangareva "a very deep place; a place often mentioned in old songs; Hades," may be connected with this meaning of *ava*, lost, forgotten, absent from sight, as it is the Avaiki or Hawaiki of the Pacific, the under-world of Rarotonga and Mangaia. The Sarawak name of Hades, viz., Sabayan, may be connected with this Savaii or Avaiki.

#### PARA.

The next word requiring examination is *para*. This is not an ancestral place-name, but the root is *PAR*, a variant of *VAR* (properly *VA* or *FA*), and needs consideration so as to thoroughly grip the connection between *ava* and *vari*.

*Para* has nearly the same variations as *ava* or *saba*. Just as in India barley was called *yava*, so in Iceland and Scandinavia it was known as *barr*. In Persia *bar* is barley, and from the grain is made *barah* beer. The Gothic (sup.) *baris*, the Ang. Saxon *bere*, only meant barley, but in Celtic dialects the root took wider range, for the Irish *bar* meant wheat, and the Welsh *barlys* (*bar-llys*) is "the bread-herb," for *bara* was bread in Welsh and Armorican, and *bar* was bread as well as wheat in Irish. In Gaelic *barr* meant a crop; the harvest; corn. It is supposed that the Persian *bar*, barley, which also means nourishment in general, fruit, etc., is related to the verb *burdan*, in Sanscrit *bhr*, to bear, nourish, sustain, whence *bhara*, *bharana*, that which nourishes. It thus became a general name for grain-food (as we saw that *yava* or *ava* also did), and if the Skt. *bhara* is the real form then it coincides with the Latin *far*, bread-corn (whence English *farina*, etc.), which denoted not only the great spelt, but all kinds of cereals. Whether, however, it is exclusively an Indo-European word is extremely doubtful, for the Hebrew *bar*, wheat, and the Arabic *burr*, wheat, are borrowers or lenders if they are not in the family bond. It is far more likely to be a common pre-historic and universal word than a loan from one race to another.

The Sanscrit *palāla*, millet; straw; the stalk of sorghum, and *pala*, straw, appear to compare closely with Malagasy *farara*, a corn pipe; *fararano*, harvest, and *farara-nonakoho*, the commencement of rice harvest. The word seems to have been known in Japan as *vava*,

rice-straw, or any straw, and in these cases has assumed mostly the idea of the stalk, and not the grain of cereals. We may note, however, that among rice-eating peoples the word is in use for rice in the grain, and yet not for growing rice. The latter is usually "paddy" (*pari, pare, padi, vari*, etc.), while the grain itself is *para* as in Murut Tuisan *bara*, Javanese *baras*, Bugis *warasa* and *barasa*; Malay, Sulu, Sarawak and Malanau, *bras*. Probably the word *para*, or *bara*, lingers in the Canarese *paramanna*, "milk boiled with a mixture of sugar and rice and considered delicate food," as we saw that *jave* in the same language meant pounded rice offered to a sick person. With these we may compare the Futuna *palasi*, to bruise, to reduce to powder, and with the Canarese *paramanna*, the Maori *paramanawa*, refreshment. Maori has many words of this class founded upon *para*, such as *para-ngungu*, to roast; *parakaraka*, a kind of sweet-potato; *parareka*, a potato; *paranohi*, to place in an oven and cover with hot stones, as in Mangareva *parara* means to cook wrapped-up food on the top of a native oven. In Maori *para* by itself is the name of a large fern, part of the bract or root of which is eaten. Mr. S. Percy Smith says:—"The word *kaipara* is generally translated 'to eat dust or chips,' but a much more reasonable meaning is found if we suppose the *para* here to refer to the fern (*Marattia salicina*) of that name, and the bulbous root of which was considered a delicacy." The writer quotes an old adage: *He aha to kai? He para to kai, ka taka nga hua o te whakairo*, translated as "What is your food? If *para* is your food, the pattern of the tattooing on your face will move," supposed to express delight. If sacrifice was not offered to the goblin (*taniwha*) Parahia, the *kumara* and other crops would be blasted.

The Sunda (Java) *parab*, food, victuals; *paraban*, to feed; Samoan, *palasia*, to eat to satiety; to be surfeited; Lampong, *para*, an offering of food or betel (Maori *parapara*, a first-fruits offering of birds); Tahitian, *para*, a species of root eaten in time of scarcity;\* Fijian *bala bala*, a kind of palm (*Cycas revoluta*) the heart of which is eaten in time of scarcity, may all be grounded on the radical meaning of *para*, food.

Remembering that the word *baras* (or *bras*) applied to the rice in grain by rice-eating peoples, would probably receive other meanings among people who do not now eat grain, we may, perhaps, consider the probability of transfer. Words seldom die, they only shift meanings. Probably a key-word is the Canarese *phala* fruit (also Sanscrit *phala*, a fruit), which combining *pala* and *hala* (*para* and *hara*) shows the radix on which we started, viz., *FA* or *PHA*. The Samoan *fala*, the pandanus or screw palm; Tahitian *fara*; Hawaiian *hala*; Mangarevan *hara*; Niuë *fa*; Malay Archipelago *harassas*, all

\* Identical with the Maori *para-tawhiti* fern.—EDITOR.

mean the pandanus, whose fruit is edible, and often the only means of subsistence in islands where other food is scarce. Even in Maori, where *whara* means a mat (a remembrance of the other pandanus *fara*, the thatch-tree) there are compounds which show *whara* to be a food-word, e.g., *whara-kai*, to taste food. *Fara* or *fala* is applied in Oceania to other food trees than pandanus. The Tahitian *farafara*, a kind of mountain plaintain; *afara*, another kind of plaintain, also a species of bread-fruit; Hawaiian *hala*, the pine-apple; Futuna *palakisa*, a banana tree and its fruit; Lampong *pala*, the nutmeg tree; Benia *hala*, the gourd fruit; New Georgia *nosara* and *nohara*, the coco-nut, all these show that the meaning of *fala* (*phala*) is fruit or edible fruit. Perhaps the Ponape *par*, a sprouting coco-nut; a soft spongy mass; explains the transference most clearly (see Christian, "The Caroline Islands," p. 840). The Sanscrit *vara-da*, the root of yam, and *vara-phala*, the coco-nut tree, are almost certainly related to the above words, while *bala* is the coco-nut itself. To show the same system in regard to *ara*: at Ysabel the banana is called *jau*, the Hindu name for barley; in the Louisade Arch. *taro* is *yawa*, while at Mokil and Pangelap it is *saua*, and in Ponape *chaua*. In Fiji a bunch or cluster of fruit, such as of coco-nuts, is *yawa*.

Here we must diverge for a short space to consider the *B* to *M* letter-change. This is an exceedingly common transfer of sound. In Celtic we have the Gaelic *Maria* and Cornish *Varia*, the Gaelic *Mhor* and the Manx *Vhor*; in Latin *tumeo* and *tuber*, *glomus* and *globus*; in Maori *maheno*, untied, is also *paheno*; and the Samoan *malemo*, to be drowned, is the Maori *paremo*. This change is acknowledged by all philologists, and it appears to argue a primitive indeterminate letter, in which the sound of *p* or *b* was always with something of *m* before it, as in the Bau dialect of Fiji, where all sounds written with *b* are pronounced *mb*, for instance, Bau as *Mbau*.

If, therefore, we find a series of words in which *m* probably stands for *b* or *p*, they may throw light on the subject. It is possible that the Hindustani *barah*, a homestead, may be related to Zend *vara*, an enclosure; a garden; Sanscrit *vara*, space, room; encompassing, surrounding; desirable; a kind of grain (*bdellium*), and be explained by Malagasy *vala*, a border as of rice ground, the wooden fence of a pen, a partition, and the Holontalo (near Celebes) *vala*, a fence; Telugu *vara*, a term or limit; *valayamu*, an enclosure. So just as we saw that *ara* grain had as one of its forms the Maori *awa*, a garden-bed, so *para*, grain may have as one of its forms the Maori *mara*, a plot of ground under cultivation; a farm. The word is Polynesian generally, as in Samoan *mala*, a new plantation; Marquesan *mala*, a garden; Hawaiian *mala*, a garden; Tongan *maala*, a garden; Mangarevan *mara*, cultivated ground, and Malagasy *mamala*, to make a

fence, to set up as a habitation—this latter being on the Malagasy root *rara*. Perhaps the Oceanic name of the sweet potato, viz., *humara*, *umara*, *kumara*, *uwala*, etc., may mean “the garden-plant,” or cultivated yam (*ur-mara*), since *uri*, *ubi*, *ufi*, etc., is the general name of the yam in the Pacific. Max Müller, speaking of the *AR* root (whence “Aryan”), says that it probably left the Sanscrit *urvara*, “field,” for *ar-rara*, but in Zend *urvara* meant the produce of the field, what it grows, rather than the field itself, the Latin *arvum*. If so, the Motu (New Guinea) *rara*, to grow, to be born, is of significance. In the Pelew Islands the sweet potato is called “the yam of the westward,” *theb-el-barath*, generally supposed to refer to Malay Barat and Sanscrit Barata, i.e., Southern India.

From *mara* grows out the consideration of a very interesting word, viz., *marae*, for the Tongan *maala*, a garden, has as a repeated form *maalaala*, clean, cleared of weeds and rubbish, and so compares with Tahitian *marae*, which means both cleared of rubbish as a garden and the sacred place formerly used for worship. The Maori *marae*, an enclosed space in front of a house, and the central space of a village, also has the meaning of an oven made sacred after a fishing expedition, and so keeps something of the old idea of religious obligation. So, too, the Mangaian *marae*, a sacred enclosure, is extended as *maraerae*, cleared of weeds. In Mangareva *marae* is a sacrifice, an offering to the gods, first-fruits; and in the Paumotus *marae* is a temple. I think that these words continue, though perhaps as borrowings, in the Melanesian-Futuna *marai*, a public house, Mairu *mari*, a village, Domari *mari*, a village, Bierian *kamali*, a public house, a village, Bakian *komeli*, a public house, a village, Malekula *hemir*, a public house (c.f., the Russian *mir*). Of course by public house is meant a house common of entry to all.

The initial letter of the word appears to shift back into the *p* or *b* sound as it is traced westward. Raluana *pal*, a house, Sanguir and New Britain *bali*, a house, seem to introduce Malay *balai*, an audience hall, a reception room; Lampong *balaj*, the rice house of a village. Ilocan *balay*, house, Sunda *balai*, an ancient and sacred spot for making offerings and prayers. Rigg (Sundanese Dictionary, 84), says of these *balai*:—“They are frequently found on mountain tops throughout the country, and are often still held in some degree of awe by the natives.” Rigg connects the word with the Sanscrit *bālā*, pure, fit to be offered, and says that it is strange this Sanscrit word should have found its way into the Pacific, as *malai*, a place of religious observances. I am strongly inclined to think, however, that the Lampong *balaj*, the communal store-house of rice, is the origin of the religious idea. Probably the store-house of a tribe was made sacred to preserve it from theft or defilement (as the *kumara* house of the Maori

was made *tapu*), and the sacred house would grow into a central temple. *C.f.*, Sanscrit *bali*, an offering of rice, grain, &c., to the gods. There is however confusion between these words for "house" and "religious space" for the forms alternate between *marai*, *mari*, and *pal*, *bali* and *fale*, the latter being the undoubted Polynesian *fale* or *fare* (Maori *whare*) a house. The Fijian, Aurora and Florida *vale*, a house, show that (like *mara*), *vale*, or *vale* is only a form of *vare*, an enclosure or protection, so that both *marae* and *fare* are probably on the root F A or V A with which we started, in the sense "to cover, to protect," as a cultivation or habitation.

Before we leave the *p* or *b* change to *m*, we should also consider the Polynesian words for "honey." It is said that the Maori *miere*, honey, Hawaiian *mele* and *meli*, honey; Rarotongan *malie*, honey, and Mangarevan *mere*, honey were all given to the Polynesians by missionaries or explorers as borrowings from the Latin *mel*, honey. There is no proof of this, and since the Polynesians could have easily pronounced the English word (as *hant*), it seems unlikely that English visitors would everywhere insist on a Latin word. It is on a par with the absurd notion advanced by Pratt and others, that the Samoan *filo*, twine or thread, was a word introduced from the Latin *filum*, a thread, when the Samoans themselves had the variant *milo* (*f* to *m*), and the other Polynesian dialects had *filo*, to twist, spin; *hiro*, to twist thread; *miro*, to spin, twist thread, &c. There was no necessity whatever for the Polynesians to accept the Latin word *mel*, for a sweet substance that was strange to them; they already had the word in the Tongan *melie*, sweet, delicious, sweetness. This latter word compares with Samoan *malie*, agreeable, with Mangarevan *marie*, good, *merie*, beautiful, &c.

Pietet says that the Greek *meline* (μελίνη), Latin *miliun*, Cymric *miled*, Anglo Saxon *mil*, Alban *meli*, all meaning "millet," are on the same root as *mel*, honey, and that it signified sweet, pleasant food (as we saw that *ava*, nourishment, was referred to the Sanscrit root *AV*, to be loved, to rejoice). He says, also, that the Sanscrit *madhuka*, sweet, is the name of one kind of millet, and derived from *madhu*, honey, as the Latin *panicum*, millet, is on the same root as the Sanscrit *panasa*, the bread-fruit tree, viz., the root *PAN*, to praise. But the Sanscrit *madhu*, honey, is related to Greek *methu* (μέθυ), intoxicating drink, and to the English "mead," a drink made from honey. If so, then we must not forget that, as in Aryan languages *MAR* or *MAL* means to grind or rub, to kill, etc., so also in Maori *maru* means crushed, bruised; Moriori *maru*, maimed; and *malu* in many Polynesian dialects has the sense of soft, gentle, easy, calmed, pacified, etc.,\* thus showing *maru* or *malu* to be on the same root as *marie*, *malie*, *melie*, sweet, soft, delicious, as above quoted. The word *mara*, as we have

\*As it does in Aryan dialects, where *mol-lis*, soft; Greek *mal-akos* (μαλακός), soft; Latin *mola*, a mill; English "mellow," are all on this root *MAL*.

before shown, means in Maori, a cultivation, but it also means prepared by steeping in fresh water, and thus appears to show that though an important meaning of the word *mar* or *mal* was "bruised," "crushed," it was also a word for wet or water, as it was in the European words, *mare*, *mere*, *mer*, etc., for sea, marsh, and mire. The Hawaiian *malu*, quiet, also means wet, soaked in water; the Niuē *faka-malu*, is "water," "to moisten." The Sanscrit *mad*, to be drunk, originally meant to be wet; and the Aryan root *MAD*, to chew, once meant the same, viz., to be wet (Skeat's Ety. Dict., p. 789). Is it therefore unreasonable to suppose that it was the bruised and steeped grain, the *mil*, *mel*, or "millet," that as *madhu* or *methu* became mead, and as *bar*, barley, and other grain when steeped gave *bara* and *bere*, beer? It also suggests the idea that fermentation in such beverages might at first have been set up by chewing the grain, as *ava* (*kava*) root is chewed in the South Seas to make a slightly intoxicating drink. If so, it is another link between *barak* (*para*), and *ava*,\* and is strengthened by the Tongan verb *faka-pala*, to cause to ferment.

After this long digression we will return to the direct study of *para*. We have seen that it meant barley, wheat, and grain—that it was probably applied to fruit when grain was lost sight of, and we will now consider it further as wet, wetness, and wet land, just as we did in the case of *ava*. The Irish *bar*, the sea (evidently a variant of *MAR*, Latin *mare*, the sea, etc.), forms *barrag*, scum, grease on the surface of water, and compares with Irish *barr*, scum, grease. The Sanscrit *palala*, mud, mire; *mala*, sediment, dregs; Zend, *vara*, rain; Latin, *palustris*, *paludus*, a marsh; Irish, *pol*, mire, dirt; Telugu *parra*, a swamp, marsh; *parratou*, to flow as water; *pallu*, low ground; Macassar *parro*, alluvium; resemble Tongan *palapala*, muddy, miry; Samoan *palapala*, mire, mud; Maori *para*, sediment; impurity; water made muddy by a land-slip: *para kiwai*, silt, refuse from a flood; *parangeki*, rubbish brought down by a flood; *parawhenua*, a flood; etc. In Nukuoro *para o te langi*—"para of the heavens"—is rain. The Tahitian *para*, manure, dung, rotten vegetables, shows how the word has taken one direction as "decaying matter," while the Duke of York's Island (New Hebrides) *pala*, water; Sunda *bar*, pouring out; Malagasy *paratra*, dripping, leaking; Samoan *palavale*, to liquify, aqueous, and Epi, *barama*, a stream, appear to denote that the sense of "wet" passed into that of "water." Perhaps the Telugu *varava*, a channel of supply to an artificial lake; *varu*, to be strained of water, as boiled rice; *varudzu*, the ridge or dam dividing one piece of irrigated ground from another, show that the water was "tamed water," as *ava* was.

*Kava*, however, is, I believe, on the root *KAU*, to chew, but the words have grown together too many centuries for dissociation to be possible. I return to this further on.

*Para* in the sense of muddy, boggy, divides into several lines of direction, viz., (1) soft, ripe, mellow; (2) suppurating, ulcerated; (3) bedaubed, smeared, painted; (4) rotten; (5) spittle, or mucus.

Belonging to (1) we have Hawaiian *pala*, to cook soft, to ripen and be soft; *palalalo*, soft, rotten, as bananas; Rotuma *parapara*, soft; Whitsuntide Island *madamada*, soft\*; Mangarevan *para*, ripe, matured, herbs or leaves dried in the ground; *aka-para* (*aka* is a causative prefix), to ripen fruit in the earth, to prepare breadfruit, etc., in water; *parakai*, the remains of paste or porridge (*maa*) sticking to the leaves or wrappers; *kopara*, remains of very ripe fruit crushed on the ground; Samoan *palasi*, to drop down, as over-ripe fruit; Tahitian, *para* ripe, as fruit; particles of food adhering to a vessel or the hands; Maori *para*, turned yellow; Rarotongan *tapara*, to blanch, as bananas by burying them in the ground.

The idea of soft ripe (1) leads to that of (2) suppuration. Maori *para*, affected with pimples; *wharaki* (*faraki*), an inflamed sore; Tahitian *para*, come to a head as an abscess; Hawaiian *palapu*, anything soft enough to run, as matter from a boil; Malay *barah*, an abscess or boil; Lampong *barah*, a furuncle; Futuna *pala*, ulcerated, putrid; Samoan *pala*, corruption, *palapala*, a sore, ulcer; *papala*, a sore, ulcer, sufficiently show this meaning.

In the sense of (3) bedaubed, smeared, painted, we have the Hawaiian *hopala* (for *hoo-pala*, i.e., *whaku-para*), to daub, paint; *kapala*, to blot, daub or stain; *hoo-pala*, to anoint, daub; *palahea*, dirty, besmeared; *palaki*, to smear over; to whitewash a wall. Tahitian *paraparai*, to daub or besmear repeatedly.

To (4) i.e., "rotten" belong Samoan *pala*, to rot, to be rotten; corruption; Maori *para*, rotten, turned to dust; *paranga*, excrement; *parapara*, dirty matter; *parakoka*, refuse of flax; Hawaiian *opala*, refuse, letter; *palani*, to stink; Tahitian *para*, rotten vegetables, &c.

To No. 5 (slimy; saliva) &c., Maori *para*, semen; Mangarevan *kopara*, a young squid or octopus; Hawaiian *palahe*, soft, slimy, as mucus from the nose; Samoan *palavale*, aqueous (*vale*, spittle). Sanscrit *mala*, dregs mucus, filth. Why *para* in Maori means "ardour; courage," is shewn by its Sanscrit congener *bala*, force, vigour, semen virile: gum.

Besides these meanings of *para*, we have another important one in Maori, viz., "to fell bush," but this form of the word can be better explained further on under *rari*. It may, however, be said here that there is a distinct relationship between the idea of "division" and "cultivation" under *para*. This is perhaps best shown by pointing out that Maori *maramara*, a chip, splinter, small piece; Samoan *malamala*, chips of wood; small pieces of fish; Tongan *malamala*,

\* Cf. the Aryan root *MAD* to chew, formerly "to be wet."

chips of wood; lumps of fish; Fijian *mala*, a chip; Mangarevan *maramara*, firewood; Paumotuan *maramara*, a piece, a portion; *kamara*, a particle, all point to the conclusion that *mara* in the sense of plantation or garden meant a portion separated and divided off. This is strengthened by the Maori *marara*, separated; *hapara*, to split; Motu *parara*, split; Malay *balah*, to hew in two; to split; cleft, fissure; Java *marah*, to divide; Hawaiian *mamala*, a small piece of any substance broken off from a larger; Malagasy *mamala*, to make a fence (*vala*, a border, as of rice ground); Paumotuan *varavara*, separated; Telugu *vara* a term, limit. Zend *rara*, an enclosure; Lampong *vara*, a buffalo pen; Persian *parra*, a border. The important part of the comparison is that it shows that *para* (*bala*, *mara*) as division, cleft, compares with *va* or *ara*, as cleft, fissure, separated, &c.

In placing Maori *para* on the root *PAR* or *PAL* (subsidiary root of *VA* or *FA*) it should not be forgotten that not only *para* but *paru* means mud, muddy, etc., and that *paroparo* is withered, decayed, plainly showing, through *para*, *paro*, *paru*, that *par* is the common stock.

Moreover, by a lengthening of the vowel *a* it acquires the sound of *u*, so that *pal* becomes *pul*, or *pur*. In this connection the Maori *purapura*, seed; Samoan *pulapula*, a slice of yam to plant; Hawaiian *pulapula*, the tops of sugarcanes cut for planting; Tahitian *faa-purara*, to scatter (as in sowing seed); Fijian *bulabula*, yam-sets; *vuravura*, the shoots or suckers of the sugarcane, show the same change which caused the Aryan *far* or *phal*, grain, to become the Sanscrit *phul* and *phal*, fruit. The Fijian *bura*, to emit semen, compared with the Maori *para*, semen, and Sanscrit *bala*, semen, shows that the original idea was seed, and that the "scattering" of seed altered into "planting" out sets of yam; sugarcane, etc.

To return briefly to the Maori *para*, to fell trees, clear bush, etc., it may not be unreasonable to show that it has connection with original cultivation of grain. Mr. Rigg, author of the Dictionary of Sunda, writing of *Seri*, the divine protectress of the rice-fields, says that *seri* is a mystical name of paddy (rice in the field), and that *seri-wanadi* was the primitive rice brought to Java, supposed to have come from Mesir or Egypt. He explains *wanadi* as *wana*, a forest; *di*, milk coagulated by means of an acid; thus "coagulated milk of the forests," from the rice having been originally planted in a piece of forest cleared for that purpose. Seeing that in Maori *para* is to fell trees, in Malay *balah*, to hew in two, and in Macassar *papara*, to pare, to chop down, there may be (and it is only a suggestion) connection with Icelandic *par*, to pare, even if the English *pare* and French *parer* are from the Latin *parare*, to prepare, to deck, for they all bear the sense of "to get ready, to trim, to prepare," as the ground of the forest clearing was prepared for planting.





## WALLIS, THE DISCOVERER OF TAHITI.

BY MISS TEUIRA HENRY.

**I**N regard to the article entitled "Who discovered Tahiti?" written by Mr. George Collingridge in the September number of the JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY of the year 1908 he is supported in his views by the best authority that that honour assuredly falls to the English navigator Wallis, as is easily shown.

Owing to the careful investigation among English and Spanish authors, by the late gallant officer, Mr. X. Cailliet, Lieutenant de Vaisseau and Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur, who was thoroughly acquainted with the Society and Paumotu Islands, from long contact and official dealings with them, the question has been satisfactorily solved, and Tahitian children are taught from French books that the English navigator Wallis was the discoverer of Tahiti. And by the kind permission of Mr. Cailliet, we are permitted to produce the following translations of extracts from his learned essay entitled "*Iles découvertes par Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, du 21 Decembre 1605 au Mars 1606, dans sa traversée du Callao a l'Ile Gente Hermosa,*" which was published officially by the French Government for the benefit of their navy:—

He explains that the course that Quiros took was hard to trace, as it was taken at a time when the art of navigation was in its primitive stage. Nautical charts by Mercator did not come in until the year 1680; Halley's octant only appeared in 1731; Napier's logarithms, invented in 1614 and perfected by Briggs, Gellibrand and Gunter, came in use in 1633; scientific clocks, by Huygens, only date from 1667 to 1675; and the chronometer, invented by John Harrison, came into notice in 1759.

For these reasons, Mr. Cailliet remarks, one can understand how it was that Mendana, the Spanish explorer, after having discovered the Solomon Islands in 1567, was unable to find them again on his second voyage in 1595.

The works bearing on the subject of his investigation, he says, are interesting from more than one standpoint, and they throw out

the patriotic impartiality of their authors. English writers attribute to Quiros the discovery of Tahiti, while the Spanish geographers render Wallis the honour of this discovery ; but the glory of Quiros does not remain less brilliant.

Duncan, who wrote an essay taken from the work called *Universal Biography*, tome 86, in the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, and from other serious works on the ancient explorations, says that turning to the N.W. on the 9th February, 1606, Quiros saw in the east, latitude  $18^{\circ} 40'$ , land which was named *Santa Polina*, and on the 10th he discovered Tahiti, which he called *Sagitaria*.

Findlay, in his "*South Pacific Directory*," states that, on the 10th February, 1606, the Spanish saw in rainy weather, a low island, the point of which extended S.E., and was covered with palm trees. To this island Torres and Torquemada do not give any name, but in the list of Quiros it is called *Sagitaria*. But in a letter written from Manila by Luis Vaes de Torres, one of the navigators just referred to, who sailed under Quiros, he states that that island was in latitude  $10^{\circ} 30'$ , that it was entirely low, and partly covered with water (*San Pablo* probably), and that from thence they continued their course to the N.W., passing latitude  $16^{\circ} 30'$  and onwards to  $10^{\circ} 14'$ , but he does not mention the other three islands, *Decena*, *Sagitaria* and *Fugitiva*, noted by his fellow navigators as we shall soon see.

In the *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Madrid*, October 1882, Mr. Beltran y Rospide published a critical essay on the discovery by Quiros of the four islands in the Tuamotu Group, named *San Pablo*, *Decena*, *Sagitaria*, and *Fugitiva*, which he affirms geographers have confounded with Tahiti of the Society Islands, discovered by the British ; and the documents which throw light upon his subject are the records of the voyage of Quiros in the journal of the expedition, written by Gonzalès de Leza, and MS. by Luis de Belmonte, archival secretary of Quiros.

Mr. Beltran y Rospide says that after discovering several islands of the Tuamotu Archipelago between parallels  $25^{\circ}$  and  $18^{\circ} 30'$ , Quiros encountered, on the 10th February, 1606, the first inhabited island, to which he gave the name of *La Conversion del San Pablo*. The Spanish were received kindly by the natives, and they lingered there two days. And on February 12th, 18th and 14th, respectively, they sighted three other islands which they named *Decena*, *Sagitaria* and *Fugitiva*.

In regard to these islands Gonzalès de Leza, under Quiros, says in his journal that they saw on the 12th February, lying five or six leagues north of *San Pablo*, an island which appeared to be small, and which they avoided approaching. This was *Decena*. At noon the following day they sighted *Sagitaria*, about 20 leagues N.W. of

San Pablo, but could not approach it because of the wind, which varied N.E. and E.N.E. And then appeared Fugitiva, a large island, at daybreak on the 14th, five leagues east of them, *which in appearance resembled the others*. They could not tell whether these islands were inhabited or not.

Of them, Belmonte, the archivic secretary under Quiros says, that as soon as those of their number who visited the Island of San Pablo had returned to their ship, the captain wished to heave to for the night, so as to remain on the side of the island where the people were, but his plans were overruled by the pilot, who said it would be preferable to go before the wind, which varied from E. to N.E., and they accordingly did so. The following day they passed an island which they could not approach, and named it Decena, and it was the same with two others which they sighted further on the two following days, the nearer one of which they named Sagitaria, and the further one Fugitiva. They found themselves in latitude  $10^{\circ}$  at this juncture.

This conscientious dissertation, says Mr. Caillet, is a ray of light thrown upon the course taken by Quiros from the 10th to the 14th of February, 1606, for it proves clearly that the four islands seen by that navigator, between parallels  $18^{\circ}$  and  $14^{\circ}$  South, are in the Tuamotus. It fixes almost to a certainty their respective positions, and it cites Hao (La-harpe of Bougainville, or Bow-Island of Cook) as the island responding to that given by Leza and Belmonte as La Conversion del San Pablo.

As a result of his investigation, Mr. Caillet makes the following remarks:—

According to Torres, La Conversion del San Pablo, which the Spanish visited, is a low island partly covered with water. It therefore does not resemble the "Queen of the Islands of Oceania." The Spanish sighted the other islands within five or six leagues of their ship, and had any one of them resembled Tahiti, they would have been struck with the appearance of its lofty, fantastic mountains, rendering it so different from the others of their discovery. But according to Leza, all these islands, even to Fugitiva, resemble each other. In the Tuamotu Archipelago, to which belong the first islands seen by Quiros, are divers islands from Hao,  $18^{\circ}$  to Rangiroa  $15^{\circ}$ , the situations and nature of which are almost identical with those given by Leza and Belmonte, as the four islands named San Pablo, Decena, Sagitaria, and Fugitiva, which are the object of the learned essay by Mr. Beltran y Rospide.

In addition to the above concise dissertation, we may note other statements in the records of the Spanish explorers that serve to concentrate the light upon the subject.

The Island of San Pablo, visited by them, had a prominent point extending S.E. which was covered with coconut trees, and this is like Hao, but does not agree with the appearance of the S.E. coast of Tahiti, where stands the great headland of Taiarapu, rising to an imposing height from the sea. It had a sandy isthmus covered at high tide with the sea, and there was no fresh water anywhere to be found in its vicinity; the Isthmus of Taravao, uniting the peninsular of Taiarapu to Tahiti, is hilly ground, and not sandy along the shore on either side, as graphically though briefly described by Lady Brassey in her book of travels in the "Sunbeam." It is mostly a spacious tableland, two miles wide and rising 45ft. across the centre, above the sea level, well watered and luxuriant, and on either side are rivulets flowing into the sea. They found no anchorage for their ship; on either side of the isthmus and all around Tahiti, are safe harbours protected by a friendly reef. And they had to go in search of native people and found but few, which was unlike the experience of Wallis, Bougainville, Cook, and other navigators, who were soon surrounded with canoes and a great many people. Therefore the Island of San Pablo cannot be Tahiti.



## KAKAHI-MAKATEA PA, LOWER WAIRARAPA.

RELATED BY MAJOR TU-NUI-O-RANGI.

AFTER the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe had settled down in lower Wairarapa for some years, and in the days of Te Popoki, grandson of Rakai-rangi, who came with the others in the three canoes from Heretaunga, disputes and troubles arose from time to time, and amongst them the following, which is interesting as illustrating some of the customs of the Maori of old. Near Lake Pou-nui, situated in a hollow on the lower spurs of the Rimu-taka mountains, are the remains of an old *pa*, still in excellent preservation, named Kakahi-makatea,\* which was the home at the period of this story, of Te Akitu-o-te-rangi, a chief of considerable power and influence, and of high rank. It was the custom in those days—indeed, for many years after—for chiefs of distinction to call upon neighbouring *hapus*, generally more or less related, to either come and work his forests to procure birds or his streams to obtain fish, etc., or otherwise to procure them from their own preserves, and present them to the particular chief who had initiated the proceedings. There was nothing in this that implied any sense of subserviency in those who supplied the products (*mau*) of the forests; they did not hold the position of *rahi* or serfs, such as conquered tribes did, but were free men as much as he to whom the products were given.†

From his *pa* at Kakahi-makatea, Te Akitu-o-te-rangi had sent his messengers round to the neighbouring people, asking them to comply with custom and supply preserved birds for his use. Amongst those who engaged in the work were the people of Te Popoki, who are known at this day as Ngati-Rakai-rangi, being the descendants of Rakai-rangi

\* In a stream not far from this *pa* was found some 30 years ago an old *taiaha* of extraordinary size, showing that its owner must have been a very powerful man to wield such a weapon. It was about half as long again as the ordinary 5-6 foot *taiaha* and broad in proportion; the carvings on it were still plainly to be seen, though evidently the weapon had been there many ages. It was cut down to ordinary size by an old Maori, and used as a *taiaha* for many years. It is not known what became of it.

† Whilst this was the custom it would seem to imply a sort of tribute to a high chief—a recognition of his position as a leading one in his tribe.

mentioned above. Te Popoki had seven sons and two daughters, and it was in their time the *hapu* designation was adopted. So the people gathered to the forests to catch birds—pigeons, *kakas*, *tuis*, etc. On a certain amount having been collected—ten, *tahā*, the story says—the people started off for Kakahi-makatea to deliver the proceeds of their work. It took them some days to reach the *pa*, the birds being carried on their backs. On arrival the whole of the cases were placed in a *tahua* or row, such as is customary in presenting food, and then Te Akitu was sent for to receive the present. The chief man of the party then arose to make a speech presenting the food, explaining that a certain case contained his own contribution. Te Akitu then advanced and uncovered the top layer of leaves, etc., and examined the contents, finding the case quite full. This was the usual custom. The same course was pursued with all the others, all being full, until he came to the last, which was little more than half full. This belonged to a man named Whakatoittoi. Now, a full case was the proper thing to present. To offer less was to *whakahawe*a or despise the recipient.

Te Akitu returned to his *pa* whilst preparations were made for a feast to be given to the donors. He then sent for his *toa* or warrior, explained to him that one of the cases was wanting in quantity, and told him to act in the usual manner. This man, taking his weapon, went down to the camp of the donors and told Whakatoittoi that Te Akitu wanted to see him. The former could not conceive what he was wanted for, but on the whole felt pleased that so great a man should want him, thinking perhaps Te Akitu was about to present him with a garment or some other present. So he followed the warrior until they arrived near the *pa*, when the latter turned on him and brained him. His body was then cut up, and the deficiency in Whakatoittoi's case was made up with his own flesh. Such was the custom, and consequently no attempt to avenge his death was made.

Some time passed, and then Te Akitu decided to visit some of his relatives in the north. He took with him a party of his own warriors as a bodyguard. One night they arrived at Te Popoki's village and were received with the usual welcome. Te Popoki placed before his guests dried kumara (*kao*) and preserved *korau* (*kao-korau*), besides a dish (*papa*) of preserved birds (*huahua*). After the guests had satisfied themselves Te Akitu said to Te Popoki, "I shall return in a few nights' time; keep the remains of the birds which we have not consumed until I return." Then he departed on his way.

After the party had gone Te Popoki called his sons and people together and said to the former, "Eat the remains of the birds. It is not right that I should be left to guard food. Eat!" So the sons fell to and consumed the remains of the birds. As the time for Te Akitu's return approached Te Popoki seems to have had some doubts as to the

light in which the former would view his conduct. So he told his people they had better remove from their village for a time to the forest. As they reached the other side of the valley they saw a tall dead tree standing. "Set fire to it," said Te Popoki. This was done; then the people moved on. Again they saw another tall dead tree, which was also set fire to. Then the party dispersed to their haunts in the woods.

The day after they had departed from the village, Ahine-kohai, which is near where Gladstone now is, Te Akitu returned from his visit, to find no one at home and the fires quite cold. "Where can the people have disappeared to?" thought he, as visions of passing the night without food passed before his mind. One of the young men had by this time ascended a hill near the village, from whence he descried the smoke from the first burning tree. On hearing this Te Akitu ordered them to move on to the smoke. Arrived there they saw only the burning tree, but soon after discovered the second one further off. Again they proceeded to this second tree and found nobody, only the burning tree. Said Te Akitu, "This means mischief towards us; my sons, let us get home to our *pa*," which they did, arriving in due course.

Now, in those days the Ngati-Rakai-rangi and the Ngati-Hika-wera had a standing quarrel over a certain *pua-manu* tree on which they used to catch birds. It stood exactly on the acknowledged boundary, but both claimed it. Soon after the adventure related above Ngati-Rakai-rangi set their traps in the disputed tree, and secured the season's crop of birds. Naturally this angered Ngati-Hika-wera, and when the next season came they placed their snares in the tree very early. On visiting the tree Ngati-Rakai-rangi saw the snares, climbed up, threw them down and smashed them. They then looked for foot tracks, discovered them, and followed them, eventually coming on a man of Ngati-Hika-wera, whom they killed.

Ngati-Hika-wera were now aroused, but feeling themselves not strong enough for Ngati-Rakai-rangi, and having in mind the little disagreement between the latter tribe and Te Akitu, sent a messenger, Te Rangi-hauta, to them for assistance. The overtures were received with joy, as was always the case, and a war-party started at once for Te Popoki's home. On arrival they found the *pa* abandoned by all except four men, the people being engaged away from their *pa*. Of these four men two escaped to the woods, whilst the other two (one named Turu-kokopani) were caught and killed. The opportunity was not lost, for Te Akitu's daughter had arrived at the age at which her lips and chin ought to be tattooed\* (*taanga-ngutu*), and in all cases

\* In this district there is no invariable rule as to the age at which a woman is attooed. Sometimes it is before marriage, sometimes at the time of marriage, generally the former.

where the lady to be operated on is of high rank a human victim was sacrificed to the gods, and his body eaten. It was to this purpose that the two men were devoted.

No great time elapsed after the killing of the two men when Ngati-Rakai-rangi started out on the warpath to obtain some satisfaction for their two men killed. Advancing into Te Akitu's country, they came across a man (Te Pourewa) and a woman (Piri-o-kaea) of his *hapu*, whom they at once knocked on the head, and carried the bodies back to their home in order to use them for a somewhat similar purpose to that to which Te Akitu had put the others. At this time a child of . . . a chief of the tribe, named Tama-i-hikoia was about old enough to begin to walk, and according to ancient custom ought to receive a name (*tuatanga*). This, like the tattooing of a high-born girl, required the sacrifice of a human victim, and it was to this purpose that the bodies of the man and woman were put.

The two tribes having each suffered equally, this ended their enmity.

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When a young boy first goes into the forest with his companions to kill birds, catch *kokopu*, etc., the first-fruit of his prowess, whatever it may be, is brought home to the priest, who then offers the bird, etc., to the god with *kurakia*, after which it may be eaten by the boy.

When a tribe secures a success in battle, the first slain of the enemy has his heart torn out, which is then taken to the priest, who offers it to the god (*whangai-hau*), then touches the lips of the first-born male child of the tribal chieftain, in order that he may acquire ferocity and be a warrior.





## THE NEW MAORI DICTIONARY.

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**W**E are glad to announce that the Government have met the application of the Society—referred to on page 187, vol. xii.—in a liberal spirit and have undertaken to print the dictionary. There is thus every chance of securing a really good dictionary of the Maori dialect of the Polynesian language. Several of our members are contributing from their stock of words not shown in existing dictionaries.

Mr. H. C. Carter, one of our members, supplies the following additions to the list of published dictionaries printed in the foregoing article :—

23. *Grammaire et Dictionnaire de la Langue Maorie, Dialecte Tahitien, Suivi de l' Histoire et de l' Evangile de St. Marc, en Tahitien et en Français, par Mongr. Janssen, Eveque d' Axieri, Paris, Maisonneuve et Ch Leclerc 1887. p.p. : 78, 96, 114.*
24. *Dictionnaire, Samoa-Français-Anglais, et Français-Samoa-Anglais, Précédé d' une grammaire de la Langue Samoa, par Le P. (ère) L, Violette. Missionnaire Apostolique à Samoa, Paris, Maisonneuve & Cie. 1879, pp. xciii., 468.*
25. *Kurze Anleitung zum Verständniz, der Samoanischen Sprache. Grammatek und Vokabularium, von Dr. B. Funk, Berlin, 1898. Ernst Seigfried Wittler und Sohn. pp. 6, 82.*
26. To the above may be added "A Hawaiian Grammar" by Lorrin Andrews.



## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS'

### POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

THE Council met on April 16th, 1904—Present: Messrs. Kerr, Newman and Skinner.

Correspondence was read from Sir Joseph Ward acknowledging receipt of following resolution:—"That this Society desires to express its great appreciation of what Sir Joseph Ward has done in the way of aiding the publication of the dictionary of the Maori language now being prepared by Rev. H. W. Williams."

Mr. J. H. Parker was elected a member of the Council.

The Council met on the 21st June, 1904—Present: Messrs. Corkill, Kerr, Fraser, Newman, Parker and Skinner.

Correspondence was read from the British and Foreign Bible Society, thanking this Society for having placed it on the honorary list of membership.

The following new members were elected:—

- 357 Professor J. McMillan Brown, Canterbury College, Christchurch.
- 358 James M. Peebles, Glenavy, South Canterbury.
- 359 M. H. Gray, A.R.S.M., F.G.S., F.R.C.S., Lessness Park, Kent, England.

Books, &c., received since last issue of the JOURNAL:—

- 1570 *Transactions N.Z. Institute*. Vol. xxxv.
- 1571 *The Melanesian Languages*. Dr. Codrington (from the Author).
- 1572 *Ninth Report Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*.
- 1573-4-5 *The American Antiquarian*. Vol. xxv., 2-3-4.
- 1576-81 *La Géographie*. Vol. vii., 5-6; viii., 1-2-3-4.
- 1582 *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*. Deel. lvi., 1904.
- 1583 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Deel xli. 2-3, 1903.
- 1584 *Tijdschrift voor Indische, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Deel xli., 6.
- 1585-6 *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Vienna*. Band xxxiii., 1, 2, 3, 4.
- 1587-8-9 *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Tome xiv. 2, 3, 4.
- 1590-1-2 *The Geographical Journal*. Dec., 1903; Jan., Feb., 1904.
- 1593-4-5 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. Vol. xxxv., 1-2-3.

- 1598 *Proceedings Royal Geographical Society of Australasia*. S. A. Branch, vol. vi.
- 1597 *Rock Carvings of Hawaii*. By A. F. Judd.
- 1598 *Proeve eener Ned : Indische Bibliographie*. Supplement 2. 1903.
- 1599 *Dagh-Register, Casteel Batavia*. 1676.
- 1600 *De Tjandi Mendoet, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap. 1903.
- 1601 *Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*. Vol. iv., 4.
- 1602-3-4 *Na Mata*. Dec., 1903; Jan., Feb., 1904.
- 1605-6-7-8 *Science of Man*. Nov., Dec., 1903; Jan., Feb., 1904.
- 1609 *Annual Report Australian Museum*. 1902.
- 1610 *Australian Museum, Memoir IV*.
- 1611-12 *Records Australian Museum*. Vol. v., 2, 3.
- 1613 *Internationales Centralblatt*. viii., 5, 1908.
- 1614 *Pipiwharauoa*. No. 71.
- 1615-16-17-18 *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*. Vol. iv., 33, 34, 35, 36.
- 1619 A parcel containing—*Bulletin ; Société Africainne de France*, No. 1, 1888; *Revue Orientale et Americana*, Tome ii, 5, 6, 7, 8. 1978.
- 1620 *Dictionary of the Language of Mota*. Dr. B. H. Codrington (from the Author).
- 1621 *Journal American Oriental Society*. Vol. xxiv., 1.
- 1622-3-4 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Nov., Dec., 1903; Jan., 1904.
- 1625-6 *Revue de l'Ecole, d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Feb., Mar., 1904.
- 1627 *Australian Museum, Memoir IV. Trawling Expedition, H.M.C.S. "Thetis."*
- 1628-9 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. March, April, 1904.
- 1630 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*. Deel xlvii. 1 and 2.
- 1631-2 *The American Antiquarian*. Vol. xxv., No. 2; vol. xxvi.
- 1633 *The Tokyo Imperial University Calendar*. 1903-1904.
- 1634 *President's Report, University of Montana*. 1902-3.
- 1635 *Bulletin University of Montana. Summer Birds of Flathead Lake*.
- 1636 *The Geographical Journal*. March, 1904.
- 1637 *La Géographie*. January, 1904.
- 1638 *Science of Man*. March, 1904.
- 1639-40 *Na Mata*. March, April, and May, 1904.
- 1641 *The Polynesians and their Plant-names*. H. B. Guppy (from the Victoria Institute).
- 1642 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. xxiv., 2nd half.
- 1643 *Fauna Hawaïensis*, vol. i., part iv., *Vertebrata*.
- 1644 *Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution*. June 30, 1901
- 1645 *De Java-oorlog, 1825-30, door P. J. F. Louw*. Derde Deel, 1904.
- 1646 *Dagh-Register, Casteel Batavia, 1647-1648*.
- 1647 *Memoirs of Arii Taimai, Paris, 1901*. (From Tati Salmon, Tahiti).
- 1648 *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1903*.



## POLYNESIAN ORIGINS.

(Continued.)

BY EDWARD TREGEAR.

### VARI.

WE now approach the most important word of all, viz., *vari*. We have seen how the root *FA* or *VA* developed into *FAR*, *PAR*, *BAR*, etc., and it seems to have acquired peculiarly the meaning of "rice," as it went eastward under variant forms of *vari*, *pare*, *padi*, etc. To the westward it was much more uncertain, and partakes of the general haziness of all grain names which seem applied indifferently, or locally (as in *ava*), to wheat, oats, millet, barley, etc. Skeat supposes an original Gothic *baris*, barley (from *barizeins*, made of barley), which may be one of the forms of *vari*, and he also places the Sanscrit *vrihi*, rice, under an Aryan root, *WARDH*, to grow. Pictet (III., 343) says, "One may infer that *vrihi* was originally the name of another cereal, perhaps wheat generally, applied by Indians to rice, and to rye by European Aryans. This is indicated by the way that among the Slavs the word for rye passes to wheat, and that the Lith. *ruggiei* means both." He considers that *vrihi* or *vrh* is the root, for *vrddhi*, with the sense of "growing, increasing"; Persian *barz*, grain, wheat, compares with Sanscrit *brh*, *bark*, and the Thracian name for rye.

#### RYE.

Anc. Thrace., *βριζα* (*briza*)  
 Turk., *arysh*, *aresh*, *irash*  
 Wagoule, *orosh*, *oroz*  
 Eniséen, *oros*, *arysh*  
 Russ., *roju*  
 Polon. Bohem., *rez*  
 Illyr., *rasc*

#### RICE.

Afghan, *urishi*  
 Persian, *orz* (c.f. Arab., *urz*, *uruz*)  
 Greek, *ὀρυζα* (*oruzā*)  
 Illyr., *oriz*  
 Polon., *ryz*  
 Illyrien, *ryzei*  
 Italian, *riso*  
 Arab, *ruz*

Trembling to arouse the thunders of orthodox philology, I venture to suggest that probably the nearest living relative of the Sanscrit

*vrihi*, rice, is the Malagasy *varisia*, a kind of rice, even if originally the Sanscrit itself might not have come from the form *varihia*. In Malagasy, *vary* is "rice" generally, and *varibotry*, *varidatsy*, *varihova*, etc., are different kinds of rice. Whether the insular position of Madagascar has allowed the isolation and perpetuation of a word that has on the continent of Asia perhaps dropped its vowels *a*, and turned *varihia* into *vrihi*, it is difficult to prove, and equally hard to disprove, but from all the grain-words on *bar* and *far* which we have already quoted it appears most probable that *vrihi* was once *vari* or *varih*. That the ancient Aryans, before they left their primitive home, were acquainted with rice is unlikely, but it is quite possible that among them a word was in use for grain, as *varis*, that became the *baris*, *faris*, etc., of Western cereals, and the *vari*, rice, of Eastern cereals.

*Vrihi*, rice is not mentioned in the Rig Veda, but is spoken of in the Atharva Veda. Compounds of it are *vrihi-bheda*, Panicum Miliaceum; *vrihi-rajika*, Panicum Italicum; *vrihi-kancana*, a kind of pulse, Ervum lens, or hirsutum.

As distinctly "rice" the following list may convince:—

Malagasy	<i>vari</i> , rice	Macassar	<i>pare</i> , rice in husk
Telugu	<i>vari</i> , paddy (rice in crop)	"	<i>bae</i> " "
Bima	<i>fare</i> , paddy	Kyan	<i>pare</i> " "
Kolo	<i>pare</i> , paddy	Punan	<i>pare</i> " "
Lampong	<i>pari</i> , a rice field	Brunei	<i>padi</i> " "
"	<i>pari sabah</i> , an irrigated rice-field	Malinau	<i>padai</i> " "
Java	<i>pari</i> , rice in husk	Matu	<i>padai</i> " "
Sasak	<i>pare</i> " "	Kanowit	<i>padai</i> " "
Malay	<i>padi</i> , paddy	Murut	<i>padass</i> " "
Sarawak	<i>padi</i> " "	Dali Dusun	<i>parai</i> " "
Sunda	<i>pare</i> " "	Ida'an	<i>parei</i> " "
Sibuyan	<i>padi</i> " "	Bisaya	<i>parei</i> " "
Pakatau	<i>pari</i> " "	Laro	<i>pade</i> " "
Sea Dyak	<i>padi</i> , rice in husk	Sadong	<i>padi</i> " "
		Sulu	<i>bai</i> " "
		Maldiva	<i>bae</i> , cooked rice

This list, comprehending dialects of the Philippines, Borneo, Java, the Malay Islands, Madagascar, and Southern India, sufficiently shows the strong hold the word still has among the rice-eating peoples.

There are other words which not absolutely applied as names for rice, are evidently connected with *vari* (root *FAR*) as grain, e.g., the Telugu *padi*, a garden bed, while *vari* is paddy; and the Bima (Sumbawa) *pari*, to sow, to strew, where *fare* is paddy.

Mr. F. Christian, with his unflinching acumen as to philological resemblances, has pointed out that the *bae* or *bai* for rice is probably connected with the South Chinese (Canton and Swatow) *mai*, rice, and that the word may be found as *komai*, rice, in Yap and the Marianne Islands, wherein Spanish explorers found the Chamorros,

the resident natives, with rice plantations long under cultivation. The Japanese *mai*, *gemmāi*, and *komāi*, represent rice in various forms, and the Formosan *somai* and *rumai* mean rice. Here, however, we again come upon that transference of the "grain" word to other fruits (as we saw under *para*), and we find that in Ponape, Mokil, Pingelap, Lamotrek, Satawal, and Uluthi, *mai* has become the name of the bread-fruit, and in German New Guinea the bread-fruit is *bai*. The *mai* changes to *mais*, bread-fruit, in Pulawat, to *mos* in Kusaie, to *mossi* in German New Guinea (dialect), and it seems only reasonable to expect that the Japanese *mosso* and *messi*, rice, *mochi*, rice-bread, are akin to these. But the Samoan *masi*, fermented bread-fruit, when compared with *mais* and *messi*, brings the word well into Polynesian, and shows that Mangarevan *mai-mai*, fermented bread-fruit, Futuna *mai*, bread-fruit, and *masi*, fermented bread-fruit, are almost certainly related to the Micronesian *mai*, bread-fruit, above quoted as at Ponape, etc. As to this idea of fermentation, I would point out that the Eromanga *ne mara* and Ponape *mar*, for fermented bread-fruit, resemble the words which (as *bar*, barley, beer; *mara*, crop, etc.) have been quoted in regard to fermented beverages, under *para*.\*

The singular likeness of the word *mais* to Indian corn or maize (*zea mays*) would be looked on as a coincidence too childish to be called a comparison if it was certain that there was no possibility of Oceanic words having reached America, but there are too many arguments to consider on that point merely to pass over the suggestion with a sneer. Whether the word maize belongs to Hayti or not (it was probably not of Hayti only) it is certain that the sweet potato, the *kumara* of New Zealand, was known in America as *cumar*.†

\*If Maori and Hawaiian had the word *masi* for the (fermented) bread-fruit, it would appear in those dialects, which do not use *s*, as *mahi*, and in Hawaii *mahi* means a cultivation, planting food, etc., just as in Maori *mara* means a cultivation, and *mahi* is to work. If *pai* was ever known in Maori as a "rice-word" (for *mai* or *bai*) it now means "good," (Salayer *baji*, good; Lariki *mai*, good), and probably forms one of the class of words derived from the root meaning to "love, praise, nourish; pleasant food," as we saw that *ava* did, and *para* also on certain lines of meaning. The Maori *reka*, sweet, *rekareka*, pleasant, is almost certainly the Malay *renga*, the Sugar-palm.

†I have already said that it is not impossible that the word *zea* (once the larger millet, and now *zea mays*) might be connected with Maori *tea*, white, since wheat, and other grain, was named from "white." It is not even certain that *kaanga*, the word the Maoris use for maize, was introduced with the grain itself. If *kaanga* is used instead of the English word "corn," the *ng* sound is not necessary. Moreover, the Maori had his own word *kano* for "kernel, a berry," etc. (*kakano*, a seed, pip, as in Mangarevan *kano kano*, a grain, berry, etc.), whilst "corn" and "kernel" are with us on the same Indo-European root. The name of grain could survive without the thing itself; in Polynesian Islands, where the dog had been long extinct the name *kuri* was kept traditionally, and was re-applied on seeing the animal. *Kaanga* seems curiously like the *kangu* and *kanku*, Sanscrit names of millet, introduced into China about 2800 B.C., but known immemorially in other parts of Asia and of Europe.

Having seen that *vari* (*pari*, *padi*, etc.) was a wide-spread name for rice, we will now note (as we did with *ava* and *para*) the transfer of the word to the sense of water, watery, etc. The Sanscrit *vari*, waters, streams, rivers (*varistha*, standing in water), appears to compare with Japanese *bari*, urine; Nufor (Torres Straits) *war*, water; Malagasy *faria*, a pool, *farihy*, a pool, pond, lake; Zend *vairi*, water; Mangareva *pari*, to flow, to run (said of blood); Dorey *waar*, water; Canarese *hari*, to flow as water (with latter c.f. Maori *hani*, water). Whether the Zend form *vairi*, water, grew into *vai*, water, by omission of the last syllable, or whether *vai*, water, is akin to the Sanscrit *vari*, water, but with a lost *r*, is perhaps impossible now to say, but it is certain that *vai* or *vai* is now the word in use over the whole area of the Pacific and Malay Archipelagos, except in a few islands where *ranu* or *dranu* became fashionable. Just, too, as *pari* changes to *padi*, so, in extremely ancient times, the Sanscrit form *vari*, a stream, might become Arabic *vady* or *vadi*, a water-course.

Where, however, in Oceania, *vari* held its own as meaning liquid, it acquired the character of denoting muddy liquid, mire, bog, slime, etc. Thus we find the Paumotuau *vari*, a marsh, dirt, mire; Tahitian *vari*, mud, mire; Rarotongan *vari*, mud; Mangaian *varivari*, muddy, etc. From this it passes, just as *para* did, into the meanings of soft, weak, feeble, glutinous, to smear, to paint, saliva, etc.

It is, however, not possible, in the different dialects, to make any sharp distinction between *vare* and *vari*, any more than in the existing names for rice can be found certainty whether the word should be *pari* or *pare*, or *vari*. All that is common is the root *far* or *var*. The Maori *wari*, a potato that has become watery from frost, and *ware*, viscous fluid, gummy, change senses and make compounds in other dialects. The Maori *haware* and *huware*, saliva, *mare*, phlegm, *maremaretai*, a jelly fish; Malagasy *faribava*, slaver; Mota *wali*, to form in lumps, to bubble up as fat in cooking, to harden in lumps as gum on trees; Tahitian *vari*, filth, dirt, *vare*, the matter of a diseased eye; Tongan *vare*, pus, purulent, *varevare*, glary, viscous, *vari*, dirt; Fijian *wali*, ointment, *waliwali*, oil; Mangarevan *vari*, pap or paste well diluted, *varivari*, pasty, sticky; Samoan *pala vale*, aqueous, to liquify; all these seem to show uncertainty of the final vowel. Hawaiian has both forms, *wale*, phlegm, mucus, *wali*, soft like paste; *waliwali*, soft, weak, limber.\*

Before dismissing the subject lightly it would be well to remember that the Maoris have another name (certainly pure Maori) for maize besides *kaanga*, viz., *parati*, and this may be a compound of *para* (*bara*, bread) and *ti*, the cordyline palm. The Maoris steep maize in water to induce a slight fermentation, while the Pacific Islanders make *masi* by burying bread-fruit in the ground to ferment.

\*If the Telugu, which has both *sare*, paste, gum. and *sari*, paste, are related to *vare* and *vari*, the letter change of *v* to *s* is quite irregular.

Again, *pare* in Maori, has a secondary meaning, viz., "to ward off." *Vara* has the same meaning in Sanscrit as seen in the phrase *varavana*, "warding off arrows," as applied to "armour. *Vana*, an arrow, became in Polynesian *pana*, a bow, probably because an arrow was "child of the bow."

The compounds of *vari* that imply weakness, such as Maori *ngawari*, soft, kind, pliant; Tahitian *avari*, in a convalescent state, as a sick person; Hawaiian *navali*, sickly, feeble, *owali*, flexible; Tahitian *tavari*, soft, pulpy; Paumotuian *gavarivari*, to soften, to stagger, pass further to the sense of weak in intellect, foolish. Japanese *wari nai*, foolish; Malagasy *varivariana*, half-witted, bewildered, *kavaly*, a pretended fool; Tongan *vale*, ignorance, a fool, foolish; Futuna *vale*, a fool, ignorant, stupid, *vavale*, imbecile; Tahitian *vare*, to be deceived; Hawaiian *wale*, slobbering as an infant, *walewale*, to deceive, entrap, tempt, one set apart as defiled (note the coincidence with the Tongan form of *ava*, viz., *avaga*, to bewitch), *valiwali*, weak, faint; Maldive Islands *bali*, weak from sickness: Fijian *vale*, uselessly idle. In Maori *ware*, ignorance, *kuware*, a low-born man, stupid, *wareware*, forgotten, forgetful, *whaka-ware*, to beguile, mislead; Samoan *vale*, folly, worthless, inactive, *valea*, ignorant, *valevale*, fat, young, childish, *meavale*, the common people, anything vile or bad; Macassar *wali*, shameful, dishonest; Mangaian *vare*, to forget, *varea*, to be deceived. Mangarevan *ture-vare*, very ignorant; Sikayana (Stewart's Island) *faka-warea*, a fool. All these are words which, based on *var* as liquid or watery, pass to the meanings of weak, foolish, drivelling, vulgar, bad in intellect, or inferior of station. Curiously, however, they confirm the direct connection between *vari* and *vai*, as "water," by carrying the same secondaries, as may be seen in Tongan *vaivai*, weak, frail, helpless, imbecility; Maori *whaka-wai*, to beguile (c.f. *whaka-ware*, to beguile); Samoan *vaivai*, loose, as a rope, weak of the body, near death; Mangarevan *vaivai*, soft, humid. The Marquesan *vaiwai*, covered with coco-nut oil, and Fijian *waiwai*, coco-nut oil, are evidently related to Fijian *valiwali* oil, and probably with the original idea of softening, making pliant, pleasant, agreeable, as anointing material (*wali*, ointment).

Nor are the meanings already assigned to the root *FA* or *VA* (*FAR* and *VAR*), as crevice, fissure, division, etc., wanting to *vari* or *bari*, more than to *ava* or *para*. The Telugu *bari*, a line, boundary (*vari* in this dialect is paddy); Hawaiian *pale*, a fence-line, a division, *palepale*, to separate, *palena*, a boundary; Japanese *wari*, to split, divide, a crack fissure, *ware*, to be split, rent asunder, divided; Malay *palih*, to divide in two, *parit*, a ditch; Canarese *bai*, a crack, a crevice, the mouth; Holontalo *barisi*, a row, line; Sarawak *parit*, a ditch; Sunda *parigi*, a ditch; Dandai *parigona*, a ditch; Sanscrit *vali*, a line



or fold in the skin, a wrinkle; Malagasy *faria*, a small bank, the boundary of a rice field, *faritany*, a boundary, landmark; all these are signifying division. In the last quoted word, *tany* means earth soil, and is possibly related to the Melanesian *tana*, earth, land, and the Macassar *tana*, a rice field.

So also, as *para* lost its meaning of "grain" and became "fruit," *vari* lost its meaning of "rice" and became "fruit," etc. We have not only the Buka (Solomon Islands) *wali*, the coco-nut itself, where the coco-palm tree is *niu*, and Mota (Banks Islands) where *vari* is a kind of yam, but the Toaripi (New Guinea) *fare*, fruit, Motu Motu *fare*, fruit, and then, according to the before-noted change, it becomes Omba (New Hebrides) *wai*, fruit, and Quatvenua *wai*, fruit.

We saw that *rare* or *rari* meant gum, exudation, mucus, paste, etc. It passes through this stage to mean smear, to daub, to paint. Just as *para* became to daub, paint, so we find Tongan *vali*, paint, to smear; Tahitian *varihia*, to be smeared with dirt; Tanna *tafali*, paint; Malay *palit*, to smear, to streak or lay on with the fingers; Futuna *ralivali* and *ravali*, to paint the body; Canarese *bali*, to put on as whitewash or pigment, to smear the floor of a house with cow-dung and water; Samoan *vali*, to paint, whitewash, plastered.

These words bring us to an interesting letter change of *l* (or *r*) to *n*. It is well marked in Polynesian, where the ordinary *rima* or *lima*, five, becomes Tongan *nima*, five, and in Hawaiian where *lima* and *nina* both mean soft. But in Maori, instead of *wari* (*rari*) or *pari*, to paint, we get *pani*, to paint, and in Mangarevan *pani*, to anoint, to oil; Samoan *pani*, to dye the hair. As in Samoan *panupanu*, to be daubed, smeared, compares with Maori *paruparu*, mud, and Manga-revan *paru*, spittle, etc., it shows that *pani* and *panu* are really on the *VAR* root (*FA*) with the other derivatives such as *pare*, *rari*, etc.

The connection of *pare* or *fare* with the Polynesian *fare* (or *whare* or *vale*), a house, is probably in its sense of enclosure, as in Zend *vara*, an enclosure. To the root *var*, to cover, overspread, is referred the name of the Sanscrit deity, the Heavens, as *Varuna*, the "All-encompasser." The Maori *whare* shows that (read with sister dialects) the idea is "to hang over, to cover, a sheltered enclosed place."

So says the old song:—

Tu ake au ki runga nei,  
Ki te whare-hukahuka no Tangaroa.

Thus stand I above here  
On the foam-house of Tangaroa (the Ocean god).  
(i.e., On the curling wave.)

## PART II.

If any reader has had the enormous patience to accompany the word arguments so far, he will probably at once lay his finger on the weak spot of the theory as it at present stands. As I see it, the doubtful place is this: It may be accepted that *hava* (*ava*, *saba*, etc.) meant grain, water, and mud; that *para* or *pala* did the same thing; that *vari* did likewise; even that these words changed from the meaning of grain—no longer possessed—to the meaning of vegetables or fruits which had superseded grain as food. But where is the proof, or even partial evidence, that Polynesians knew the word *var* or *far* as rice? Absolute proof, certain as a mathematical proof, is impossible to produce when dealing with races without literature, or with only tradition to trust to. All that can be expected is that a series of probabilities should converge their lines to one focussing point, and show whether there is ground for believing that the Polynesians knew *vari* as rice. To do this I must quote from several authors.

First, I turn to Mr. S. Percy Smith's "Hawaiki." Mr. Smith, basing his opinion on tradition, quite distinct from any word-hunting, came to the conclusion that *rari* was once a name of rice. He suggests that the confusion of thought which confounded rice with mud, arose from the plant having been grown in muddy lands. He quotes a Maui legend, told in Rarotonga. It relates how the god Tangaroa "went to Avaiki-te-varinga, and dwelt there a long time. The food of Avaiki was *rari* only; that they ate. He dwelt with Ina, the daughter of Vai-takere, as a wife. The people of Avaiki had nothing to eat but *rari*; when Ina prepared food for herself and her husband she pulverised the *rari*; twelve balls—six for her husband, six for herself."

In this legend it is absurd to suppose that *rari* is to be read with its modern Rarotongan meaning of "mud." The story goes on to show how the *vari* was superseded by the *ui ara kakano* (meaning unknown), and by *kuru*, bread-fruit. Speaking of *Kahiki*, which may be meant for Tahiti, but is more probably some dim ancestral land, the poet says:—

Little by little, broken the food,  
As the birds eat little by little.

Let us proceed to try to understand why the staple food of the ancestral land—abundant and growing luxuriantly, as we set out by showing from adage and legend—should be expressed by a word now meaning "mud."—

(1) The food might have been supposed to originate in the primeval mud, the traditional source of all things.

(2) It may have been because a name for grain which was usually grown in water or on irrigated lands, was confused with the name of the soil itself.

(3) It may have been a mere verbal error, through the word for mud being like that for grain.

(4) It may have been that the grain was used as a sticky porridge, the name of which was bestowed on anything viscous, stodgy, gummy, pasty, etc.

We will consider No. 1. In the first part of the ancient Hawaiian hymn of "The Creation" (*He Kumulipo*), it is said:

At the time of the night of Makalii (*Matariki*, Winter)  
Then began the slime which established the earth,  
The source of deepest darkness,  
Of the depth of darkness,  
Of the depth of darkness,  
Of the darkness of the sun in the depth of night,  
It is night.  
So was night born.\*

Speaking of Rarotonga and Mangaia, the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill says (*Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 21)—"These people imagined that once the world was a 'chaos of mud,' out of which some mighty unseen agent, whom they called Vari, evolved the present order of things." We hear of this Vari as *Vari ma te takere*, translated by Gill as "Vari, originator of all things." But Vari dwells in Avaiki, the Spirit-land.

Whence this unheard of power?  
From the depths of Spirit-land,  
From Vari, originator of all things. (p. 239)

This Avaiki is the land to which the dead go, and it lies to the westward—over the sea.

She has sped to Avaiki,  
She disappeared at the edge of the horizon,  
Where the sun drops through. (p. 179)

Gill adds—"To this day it is said of the dying at Rarotonga, 'So-and-so is passing over the sea.'" (p. 193.)

This, as a general statement, is true of all "the leaping-places of souls" in the Pacific. The Maori "leaping-place" is at the most

\*The native poem is in the collection of the late King of Hawaii, H.M. Kalakaua I., "Na Mele Aimoku," and the translation by H.M. Liliuokalani, Ex-Queen of Hawaii, in "He Pule Hoolaa Alii." The original is:—

O ke au o Makalii ka po,  
O ka walewale hoo-kumu honua ia  
O ke kumu o ka lipo i lipo ai  
O ke kumu o ka Po i po ai  
O ka Lipolipo, o ka lipolipo  
O ka lipo o ka La, o ka lipo o ka Po  
Po wale ho—i—  
Hanau ka po.

It will be noticed that the words here used for "slime," viz., *walewale* and *wale*, are the very words we have considered interesting as once meaning grain.

northern (probably north-western) point of their islands, but that is because it lies south of the soul-track.\*

We may safely infer that it was over the sea, to the westward, that Vari was to be found, and that though in Rarotonga *vari* now means mud, the Vari referred to was some object or condition that "evolved the present order of things." From the mythical Vari the gods of heaven and earth proceeded, and the name is used as a synonym for "The very beginning," hence, as *vari* means mud, the notion that all things originated in a chaos of mud.

It is, however, in India that we get the interpretation of the riddle. Vari was the personification of the Saraswati River, and remains a river-goddess in the Hindu Pantheon. But her name, which signified "watery"—as it still does in Maori—had a far greater significance in history and mythology than it is now regarded with. The Saraswati was one of the boundaries of the original home of the Aryans (see Dobson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, p. 284), and was a sacred river to them, as the Ganges was to their descendants. Her waters were fertilising and purifying—she was the bestower of fatness and wealth, the Great Mother. She afterwards became Vach, the goddess of speech and eloquence,† but not in the primitive days of the Rig Veda—only in later times; and so, by confusion with the "cow-word" *vach* or *vacca*, she became "the melodious cow, who milks forth sustenance and water"; "the queen of the gods"; "she who yields nourishment." Originally, however, she was greater than any of the gods, for it was through Vari's sexual connection with Prajapati (the Universe), that the waters and rivers were created; a more natural view than the Rarotongan, with which Vari, in herself, originated all things, the active gods being only pieces torn from her body. But, even then, they are companioned by the Greek philosopher who taught "From water all things."‡

Although in Rarotonga and Mangaia Avaiki is regarded as the Spirit-world,§ in New Zealand it is much more commonly spoken of as a far-off place, still in existence. Here and there, however, in song, proverb, and legend, there accrues some reference showing that to the Maori, Hawaiki was also the Spirit-land, the place of ghosts. Best

\* And because it was the nearest land to that from which they came.—EDRROB.

†See philological part of this paper (under *awa*) for *vaha*, the mouth, speech, etc., being Sanscrit *vach*.

‡In a Maori genealogy in my possession, Wariwari is given as third in descent from Tiki (the Creator; or, as some say, the first man created); in Samoa Fali appears as "one of the children of the First Parents" (Turner's "Samoa," p. 222).

§But only in the sense that Spirits of the dead returned thither, i.e., to the Father-land.—EDRROB.

quotes a proverb in regard to the company of the dead: "When we bid farewell to a dead person, we say, 'Farewell! Go to Hawaiki, to the Po-wherikoriko. Farewell!'" (Poly. Journal IX., 182.) In a legend, given by Colenso, it is said, "Then that boy went quickly below, to the unseen world (*reinga*), to observe and look about at the steep cliff in Hawaiki. There he expressed his admiration at the beauty of the *kumara*" (Trans. N.Z. Inst. XIII., 40).

Fornander, speaking of Hawaii, says, in reference to the word *lepo*, moist earth (in Maori, *repo*, a swamp), that the proverb, *Ua hele i ka wai lepolepo*, "he has gone to the moist earth (or muddy water)," is used in mention of a dead person, in the sense "return to the dust of which he was made." The body of man was made of red mud (*lepo ula* or *alaea*), and the spittle of the gods. So, perhaps, as man was first made in Hawaiki or Avaiki, to say, "He is gone to Hawaiki" would mean "returned to dust." This Avaiki, read by the light of the words already compared (under *ava*), and in the meaning of "forgotten, absent, lost, in a distant place, no longer visible," would soon cease to be regarded as an actual locality, but would become the place to which the souls of men, "no longer seen," would naturally pass away as to their long home.

The idea that all things emerged from the primeval mud is one which is well known to classical and Oriental scholars. Sanchoniathon says the Phenicians described the beginning as a chaos of black mud; in Egypt, the Alluvial Land, nothing could be more natural than to ascribe man's emergence into being as the result of spirit uniting with the fertile mire of the Nile valley. It will be noted that (as above said of Hawaii) there was a widely spread notion that soil or dirt was the substance of which Deity created human beings. At the Banks Islands it is told, "Man was made from the red clay from the marshy riverside at Vanua Lava" (Codrington: "The Melanesians," 158). Ellis, speaking of a similar belief in Tahiti, says that out of red earth (*araea*) man was made, and that this earth was also the food of man till bread-fruit was made (Poly. Res. II., 98); so that in Tahiti, as in Rarotonga, it was believed that the bread-fruit superseded the original mud (*vari*), or dirt food.

The Maoris say of the Creator, "The mud he made into a woman for himself" (White: Ancient History Maori I., 158). Again, "An aquatic plant (*pare-tao*) growing in swamps,\* was the male procreating power which engendered the red clay, seen in landslips, whence came the first man" (White l. c. I., 154). The Hebrew legend of Adam, whose name is said to mean "Red earth," hardly needs to be alluded

\*Was this *pare-tao* (growing in damp places) named in memory of that *pare*, or paddy, still known in a hundred widely scattered localities as the name of growing rice?

to, so well is it known to us all. The idea that man was formed of dust lingered long in the Orient. Even so late as the time the Mahometan religion was born, it caused the writer of the Koran to say, "Dost thou not believe in Him who created thee of dust, and afterwards of seed, and then fashioned thee into a perfect man? But as for me, Allah is my Lord" (Sale's Koran, ch. xviii). Note, however, that there was more than dust, there was seed, and *vari* means both. So the Samoans say, "Seed-stone and Earth were the parents of men" (Poly. Journal I., 185).\*

The Polynesian idea that the shades of the dead feed on mud, worms, etc., is an old Asiatic one. That those who go down to the worm and corruption should have disgusting food is almost certain to be thought of by those of logically imaginative mind. Therefore the land from which ancestors have come, and to which our relatives go, whether Avaiki or another, is a land where people eat mud. So in the Akkadian or Babylonian legend, when Ishtar descended to the Shades to procure the Water of Life, she went to "The place where dust is their bread, and their food is mud" (Sayce: The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, p. 221). In Mangaia the souls of those who have not died in battle were taken by the goddess Miru, the hell-goddess, and fed on red earth-worms, centipedes, etc.

It must be left for scholars to express opinion, whether the idea of their ancestors (all dead people) feeding on mud is an allusion to the original staff of life being the primeval mud out of which all things came, or the mud eaten by the dead in the House of Corruption.

(2) Was the name of a grain generally grown in water confused with the name of the mud itself?

We have shown that in very many cases the same word was used for the grain, and the soil in which it grew. Since the words used for rye, barley, wheat, millet, etc., in Europe and Asia, and for rice in Asia, were all transferable (*ava, para, bara, pari, vari, etc.*), and were all connected with "water," there would seem to be a strong inference that grain was first improved from wild grasses in some warm climate where irrigation was necessary. But it should not be forgotten that probably these words originally meant, not grain, but any cultivated crop (or enclosure), even fodder (*yava*) and meadow-grass being included.

(8) Was there mere verbal confusion of the words for grain and mud through word-likeness, quite apart from the fact of lands being irrigated or not?

"In a legendary cosmogony of the Maori, given by Taylor in *Te Ika a Maui*, he tells us that in the stages of evolution, after "the conception," "the opening," etc., comes "*Ko te Pia*," "*Ko te Ware*," "*Ko te Hua*." He translates this as "The Manna" (sugar), "The Resin" (thickening), "The Fruit." If translated into Polynesian it would mean, "The Arrowroot," "The *Ware*" (rice?), "The Egg."

A similar source of mistake is so frequent during the stress of centuries on a language, that it becomes one of the most common causes of error. For instance (a homely instance), it was a puzzle to Maori scholars for some time, why the European sickle was called *toronaihi*, until it was found that the word was the corruption of a sailor-English word, "draw-knife," a tool used by whalers; whalers having preceded agriculturalists in the acquaintance of the Maori. Granting that in the coral lands and poorly watered isles of the South Seas, rice would be an unsuitable crop, the name for it would almost certainly be applied to something else, even of so apparently different a character as slime or mud, especially as words of resembling sound had always been in use for water, marsh, etc.

(4) Was the grain commonly cooked into a sticky or glutinous porridge, and the name thence transferred to any viscous, pap-like, slimy mess, eventually to mud?

In my opinion this question applies to the probable case. That grain should be ground in a mill and made into bread implies the invention of the mill or quern (however rude), and a baking oven, or some substitute for one. By far the most primitive method one can think of is that the grain should be husked by heating or pounding until crushed, mixed with water into paste, and then steamed in the earth-oven. The earth-oven (a hole with hot stones on which water is poured, and the earth banked over) is found all over the world among savages, from Dartmoor to Rarotonga, while cooking utensils, and the baking-oven, are products of far higher civilisation. It may have been noticed in the philological part of this paper that, in Mangareva, *vari* means pap or paste (*maa*, the common native food) well diluted; that *varivari* means pasty, sticky; that Hawaiian *vali* means soft, like paste. Even if we take the traditional account given by Mr. S. Percy Smith, as descriptive of the actual process, we find that *Iua*, in preparing the *vari*, made it into balls before cooking, as if it was in the form of paste. I think it highly probable that porridge was in use before baked bread, and that if *vari* meant rice in Avaiki, as it certainly did, and does in Madagascar and Southern India, it was not baked in the far-back primitive days, but was used as *masi* or *mai*, or whatever other name (all rice names) the Polynesians give to their "stir-about." That is probably why the widely-spread Polynesian word *palu*, for mud, is, in Tongan, *balu*, to mix with the hands; *balua*, to beat to a pulp; *baluji*, paste; and Samoan *palu*, to mix, to stir together with the hands.

That rice has been cultivated for ages is certain from its own inherent evidence, as in no other case could it have been developed into the more than two hundred varieties known to Eastern grain-

merchants. Howitt\* says of the matriarchal tribes of India, "It was in Asia Minor, or Northern Palestine, where they apparently first found out how to make the grasses developed into wheat and barley, good substitutes for their Indian grass developed into rice, . . . and it was in Asia Minor that they met the fire-worshipping races or Phrygia, who were worshippers of the Linga before they worshipped fire. . . . It was these phallic-worshippers, and the fire worshippers, who introduced magic and witchcraft, and added the worship of the mother Magha to that of the village-mother. It was they who are known in Indian history as the Maghadas who introduced the growth of millets into India as upland crops. They were followed by the growers of barley, who are the race from whom the Ooraons claim to be descended. . . . They are keen traders, and are so named in the Rig Veda, but the word *pani*, by which they are designated, means "avaricious" as well as a trader, and this reproach the worst specimens of the race thoroughly deserve."

This extract has many points of interest for us. There are strong traces of fire-worship (sun-worship) and phallic worship among the Maoris. Whether the forefathers of the Polynesians ever adored the phallus or not, they preserved the Indian word *linga* for phallus (penis), as we may find it in the Tongan vocabulary.† We are told by Howitt that, among the edible grains of India, rice was first known, then millet, then barley. One curious part of the extract from Maori students is that the barley-growing people were called Pani. I have shown that the word *vari* or *pari* changes into *pani*, and if we turn to legend we find that Pani was personified in Maoriland, as Vari was personified in Rarotonga and India. I have quoted from a legend of the Maoris to the effect that the sweet potato (*kumara*) grew in Hawaiki (the unseen world), that is, in the home of Vari. There is another Maori tradition that the *kumara* root was almost destroyed, but was saved by taking refuge "in the belly of Pani"—her stomach was the food-store of the *kumara*. She was the wife of Tiki, the first man, which only means she was of vast antiquity. "From Pani came the several sacred forms of words used ceremonially by the wise men at planting and harvesting the *kumara*. It was through Pani that "the *kumara* was procured for the use of man." If it be remembered that the *kumara* was supposed to be the ancestral food of (one branch of) the Maori race, and that, as I have tried to point out, it probably only meant "cultivated food" at first, the story that *pani*,

\* "The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. I., 60.

†Marriner, in the earliest vocabulary of Tongan extant, so gives it, and the French Marist Missionary Dictionary also, but the Rev. Shirley Baker, in his Dictionary, does not, probably from clerical reasons, as *linga* is a "prohibited" word.



or traders, introduced grain (*bara* or *yava*) into India becomes of interest, especially as they represented a race which is said also to have introduced the religious (magical) ceremonies, before unknown. Best says (Ancient Maoriland, p. 5) that Pani was a very ancient ancestor, and adds, "To Pani tinaku belonged the food of Hawaiki, that is to say, the *kumara*. This is the reason that that land was called Hawaiki, because of the abundance of the food there. Again (page 7) he says, *Ko te huhua o nga kai, koia Hawaiki*, which I read as "The abundance of food, that is Hawaiki." It may be noticed by students that *hawai* and *para* are given by Best (p. 9) as among the kinds of food eaten by the Maori when Hoaki and Taukata brought the *kumara* to them. The *kumara* was called *ti-male*, at Nuiē (Savage Island), as maize was called *para-ti* in New Zealand. The *kumara* of ancient times is scarcely likely to be the edible convolvulus (*Ipomœa batata*) we now know as *kumara*. Names of foods get transferred from one staple to another, and there has not yet been found a locality where the sweet potato of the Maori "grows wild among the fern."

One of the main questions we should try to settle is, "Did the Maori ever live in a land of wet moist lands, or of lands cultivated by irrigation?" There is good reason to suppose that he did so. Fornander (I., 78) speaks of the lost Polynesian Paradise, Pali-uli (again our word *pari* or *vari*) as a

Land with springs of water, fat and moist,  
Land greatly enjoyed by the god.

That the Polynesians were well acquainted with irrigation is proven by the works they executed, and remains of which are still in evidence. The water-races in Hawaii (see Smith's "Hawaiki," p. 28), the extensive ditches at Pelorus and the Thames in New Zealand, and the irrigated cultivations of Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, etc. (for growing *taro*), show that they perfectly understood the methods of leading water for growing crops.

The connection (probable) between the Hawaiki of the Maori and Java has been commented on by very many, particularly by two authorities, Logan and Fornander. Fornander goes further, and traces Hava up to Saba of the Cushites. I will not try to proceed so far backwards (at present) as this, merely adding that Howitt, speaking of these Sabans (Arabians), says, "It was not till they had reached the "wet land" of the Euphratean delta, and afterwards of the Punjab, that they learnt the religion of the fire-cross, etc. In Crawford's "Dictionary of the Indian Islands" (p. 868), under the word "Java," he tells us that the legendary origin of the name among the Javanese themselves is from the native word for millet (*panicum italicum*) "which according to them was the first food of the original inhabitants"; so that, in the belief of the Javanese themselves, the

land was named for "grain." He says further, "The name which we apply to it is correctly Jawa, and is derived from that of the principal nation which inhabits it. The word cannot stand by itself, and like many similar ones in the languages of the Archipelago, is as often an adjective as a noun. When the country is referred to, it is preceded by some word signifying "land," and when it is the people, their language, or anything else, by words having these meanings, as *Siti-Jawa*, "the land of Java"; *Wong-Jiwa*, "Javan people." On mentioning this quotation to Mr. Percy Smith, he has shrewdly suggested that the *Siti* (in *Siti-Jawa*) would in Polynesian be *Hiti*, and it may be this word which enters so largely into Polynesian locality names, such as Tahiti, Viti, etc.

Crawfurd calls attention to an "absurd and extravagant" European etymology for Java, which states that it was named from *jau*, barley, because, he says, barley does not and never did grow in Java. Respectfully, I urge that this remark misses the point. It is probable that barley did not grow in Java, but *yawa* or *jawa* was a name for "grain," not for barley only (as I have shown), and was probably introduced and adopted as meaning "grain," since *saba* is still the Burmese for rice, and *ava* Japanese for millet.

Crawfurd also notes that the ancient Chinese name of Java was *Che-po* or *Cha-po*. Whether this was the original name, before the Malay immigration, may be investigated further. It may have only been an attempt to say "Java," but *Te Po* is a name at the very fountain-head of Polynesian cosmogony.

We must not be too sure that the modern Java of the Sunda Islands is the original Java. Marco Polo refers both to Sumatra and Java as *Ciawa*. The Arabs called the islands of the Archipelago generally, *Jawa*, but the name was especially applied by them to Sumatra. Logan says that the Bugis apply the name *Jawa-jawaka* to the Moluccas. It is, however, possible that the *Hawa* (Hawaiki) of the Polynesians in Malaysia, was only a transitory stopping place, and the exact locality is not of extreme importance. What is of more consequence is, that, if the philological part of my paper is accepted, it was here that *ava* and *vari* lost their meanings as "grain" and kept only the sense of mud or slime.

Logan (l.c. 174) says of Java, "These watered lands are known by the name of *sawah* to distinguish them from the dry fields known by the names of *tagal* and *umah*." This latter word is not unknown in the Pacific, or in Europe. It is the Malay *luma*, a field, plantation, *rumah*, a house. It is the *Baju rumah*; San Christoval, *ruma*; New Britain, *luma*, etc., all meaning "house." It is also an Aryan word, our English "room," used in modern times for "chamber"; but Skeat says, "The older meaning is simply 'space,' hence a place at

table." We say, "Make room," for "Give more space." It is the Icelandic *rum*, space; Old High German *rum*, space, all (*vide* Skeat) on the Teutonic *RU-MA*, spacious. This sense of the word appears in Polynesia as Samoan *luma*, in front of, *luma-fale*, the space in front of a house, *luma-ava*, a morning meal in public. Codrington ("The Melanesians," p. 804) says, "It is not by any accident that a dry garden, as opposed to an irrigated one, is called *uma* in Sumatra and the New Hebrides." The Sanscrit *vara* also means "space," "room."

Logan (l.c. 868) writing under "Rice," says, "In Java the land is permanently laid out into small chequered fields of a perch or so each, surrounded by a dyke not exceeding a foot high, to retain the water which is frequently supplied by brooks and rivers. This is the kind of land properly known by the name of *sawah*. In Featherman's "Social History of the Races of Mankind," p. 821, he, writing of the agriculture of Battahs, says, "In the *sawas*, or marsh lands, which are artificially irrigated, the rice is first sown broadcast, in small beds, and after a growth of fourteen days the small sprouts are transplanted in parallel rows in the prepared fields, which are regularly flooded. . . . The water supply is mostly regulated by the natural conditions of the ground, with but little artificial aid; in some parts of the country, however, the fields are bordered by straight canals, which are from three to four miles long, and since the water is higher than the surface of the adjoining fields, it permeates through the banks and keeps the crop in a moist condition."

It is easy to see, from the above quotations, why the name of *ava* or *sawa* should become not only a name for wet land, for ditch, water-course, etc., but also for a line or row (of plants), for bank, fence, division, etc. What is not so easy to convey to the reader is the "squashiness" of a wet rice country; the plashing buffaloes, the inundated fields, the sets of rice planted out by men standing in the flooded fields. I would refer enquirers to that most beautifully illustrated book, "Burma," by Max and Bertha Ferrars, and ask them to note such pictures as "Ploughing Wet Ground with Buffalo," and "Putting out the Rice Plants." The authors of this work say (p. 54) "Rice in the husk is called *saba* (English paddy). The grain keeps best in the husk, and is stored in bins (*sabaji*) of bamboo wattle, smeared with clay." Thus *sabaji* means "rice-holder," and the word in the mouth of Samoans would be Savaii, which is their rendering of Hawaiki or Avaiki. Again, the authors of "Burma," say (p. 52), "The buffalo-pen is made near the house, if possible in a water-logged spot, where the animals can wallow in the mud which protects them from the bites of gad-flies and mosquitoes. . . . They frequent the streams and lagoons."

Howitt (l.c. pref. xxxiii.) remarks that Kore, the name of Corn-baby, represents the seed-grain. This Corn-baby is the last sheaf tied in the harvest-field, and Frazer ("The Golden Bough," II., 217) shows that this is a representation of Proserpine, who is in Greek called Kore, "the maiden." But Howitt also points out that, as "the seed of life," she is identical with Bahu or Bohu, the Void. Sayce says, of this latter personage (l.c. 262), that she was the great Mother-Deep, and "represented the waters of the abyss in their original chaotic state, before they were reduced to order by the creator Ea. She seems to have been the Bohu of Genesis, the Baau of the Phœnician Sanchonianton, whose Greek interpreter identifies her with the night, and makes her the mother of the first mortal man. The Semitic Bohu, however, was no deity, much less a goddess; the word signifies merely "emptiness." The Greeks and Romans continued this idea, as we may find in Diodorus Siculus (I., l.c. vii.), in which Night is personified as the source of all things—the passive productive principle of the universe.\*

Bohu, or Bau, representing "Night," is most probably the Tongan Bo, or Maori Po, the Night. The Maori cosmogony begins at Kore, "the void," and next proceeds to Po, "the Night." I consider that the words have too rational a sense in the Polynesian mind to mean anything but their most plain and direct signification. "Out of the Void, through Darkness, to Light" is the orderly and the traditional sequence. Therefore, if Bo or Po (Night) became a personage, either as "the Mother," or as "the Black Ox," or if Kore became the daughter of Ceres, and as such "the Seed-corn," these are only later growths of myth and fancy, perhaps arising from Bo also meaning "ox," and Kore, "maiden." But it is curious that *Kore*, one of the Maori "names of origin," should be used elsewhere for "seed-corn."

There is one meaning of *ava*, as used in the South Seas, which has not yet been treated of, viz., as the slightly intoxicating and fermented beverage obtained from the masticated or bruised roots of the pepper-tree (*piper methysticum*). In Tahiti it is called *ava*, in Hawaii *awa*, but it is more generally known as *kava*, and it is only called *ava* in dialects which have lost the true *k*. It is formed, in my opinion, on the root *KAV*, to chew or ruminate,† and I only introduce it in this

\*Just as Vari was to the Indians, and the "Very Beginning" to the Rarotongans. As she was really "no deity," that may account for no altars being erected to her in Rarotonga, though altars were erected to her children, the gods.

†It is not to be understood that, in any suggestion made in this article, I retreat from my former position in regard to "cow-words" in Polynesian. The Polynesian *kau*, to swim, and *vaka*, a canoe, are (as cow and vacca) part of the ancient Indo-European cattle-language, because the water-buffalo was the water-crossing and water-wallowing creature. By its aid, when living, they crossed the flood; later,

form to allow further notice of the intoxicants prepared for fermentation. In Formosa a drink named *boar* is prepared by chewing rice and barley, and with the spittle making an intoxicant. In Motu *kava* means to be crazed; in Macassar *kawa* is coffee, evidently from the Arabic *quahweh*, or Persian *qahwah*, coffee. But in Maori *kawa* means a small bed in a garden, just as *awa* does—so the *k* may be excrescent. In the South Seas *ava* or *kava* is essentially a ceremonial drink. Not only is a “*kava*-drinking” a solemn affair, but sometimes a distinctly religious ceremony. In Samoa, if sickness occurred in a family, a libation of *ava* was poured out on the ground to the honour of the gods. It was supposed originally to have come from heaven, and drink offerings were poured out in times of plenty. In Hawaii *awa* was a sacrificial offering, and a sign of worship. In Mangaia, offerings of chewed *kava* were made to Tane arua moana. In Ponape the betel-nut, for chewing, is carried in a wrapper which is called *karakava-atua*\* (*atua*, god). We have already seen, on the authority of Skeat, that the roots *MAD*, to chew, and *MAD*, to be drunk, originally had the sense of “to be wet.” Howitt (l.c. I., 479), speaking of “the men of the red race, the sons of the father-god Ra,” says that they, pushing eastward to India, “repudiated the intoxicated inspiration of the spirit-drinking prophets of the Kushite race . . . who substituted the male god Soma for the mother-moon Sina-vali.” The Polynesians certainly know the mother moon as Sina or Hina, but it is here joined with that other name of the great mother Vari or Vali. Howitt adds that the Sindhava, an ancient name of India (Sindhu is the River Indus, and from Sindhu comes Hindustan), was named for the moon-god Sin (of Babylon).

If we turn again to Howitt for an explanation of his expression “intoxicated inspiration,” we shall find a description of Indian “fire-walking” (as still practised in Polynesia), and how ardent spirits were drunk by the wizard-priests. These spirits were “made from rice fermented after it had been boiled.” It is still called in hymns *madhu*, once distilled from honey, and known to Western people as mead. At the sun-feasts the young men and women of the Ho Kol “go round successively from village to village for weeks together, drinking and dancing in each, and singing songs derived from antiquity,” a custom resembling the Areoi festivals in Tahiti. In the Ho Kol ceremonies to deceased ancestors, the offerings made were of rice to the earliest

they used the inflated hides for rafts (as they still do on the Tigris and Indus rivers), and later still the hide, stretched over bent pieces of wood, formed the coracle, and was the mother of the boat and ship. The Maori *ngau*, to chew, is the Chinese *ngau*, a cow, and the idea of “ruminant,” in the word *kau*, stretches over all Europe and Asia, except where *vak* or *vach* took its place.

\*Which is the present name for that variety of *kawa* which in drunk in Rarotonga.—EDITOR.

"fathers," and of parched barley or roasted corn to the later "fathers." The grain offered to the latter, the *parianut*, had to be bought of a long-haired man, a sign of the northern race.

In conclusion, I will deal briefly with another name of the "cradle land," besides Hawaiki and Varinga. That name is Asia or Atia. It is often mentioned in the South Seas, sometimes in connection with Vari, as Atia te Varinga, which Mr. Smith translates as "Atia the be-riced." Dr. Fraser printed (*Poly. Journal* VI., 25), in an old Samoan creation-chant, the line, "The *fono* (council) of Asia, the *fono* of Assembly," and adds in a note, "the name Asia or Atia occurs also in the traditions of the Rarotongans, for they say that their ancestor-land was in Atia." Mr. F. W. Christian, dealing with the Marquesas, also called the attention of scholars to Asia being an ancient place-name of the Polynesians. Gill ("Savage Life in Polynesia," p. 39) says that the native account of Atia was that it was "an enclosure,"\* out of which the primary gods of Rarotonga came. It thus agrees with the Zend *vara*, enclosure, the Paradise from which the original Aryans came, or wherein they once abode (see the Zend Avesta).

The word in Greek is sometimes written as Asia,† sometimes Asis. Unable in any book to which I could gain access, to obtain an etymology of "Asia," I applied for help to Professor Wall, of Christchurch College. He replied, in a letter to me, as follows: "Asia was a town in Lydia, and the name was thence extended to include the whole of Asia Minor, in 129 B.C., at the foundation of the Roman Province, and thence applied to the whole continent. The Lydian town was called Asis, and as there is a Greek word *asis* (ἄσις) meaning "mud," "slime," I suppose this to have been the origin of the town's name."

I am aware of the remarks of Herodotus (*Mel.* IV., 45) on the subject, but they were mere repetitions of hearsay, and his derivation of the word from Asia, the wife of Prometheus, is hardly more valuable than that from Asia, the wife of the Pharoah, who brought up Moses, or from Asia, the wife of the Pharoah, who "knew not Joseph."

If we turn to Pliny's "Natural History," xviii., 16, we shall find that, among the Taurini, rye was called *asia*. We have already seen that rye and rice are the same word originally, though applied differently by Eastern and Western peoples, and that it meant "grain." There is no suggestion here that the Polynesians ever knew Asia by its name as a Roman province—only that a place name of the ancient Polynesians meant both "grain" and "mud." If then *hava*, *para*,

\*See "Hawaiki," the glorious place built by Tu-te-rangi-marama.—EDITOR.

†Asia in Pindar, O. 7. 34; Soph. O. C. 694; but Asis in Æschy. Pers. 270, Supp. 547.

*vare*, and *asia*, all meant "grain" and "mud," shall we not regard it as a most extraordinary coincidence that these words should be given as the birth-place of the Polynesian race?

I do not insist that my hypothesis as to the place-names being food-names is the truth. I have in the most incomplete way (and one I feel to be distressingly feeble) presented a collection of data which may support the hypothesis. I hope the subject will receive consideration from those able to treat it, not so much in criticism as with judicial severity. Voluminous as the notes I have given are, I feel sure that there are whole fields of evidence omitted (even within my knowledge), if I could only survey them and present their valuable products to others.



## THE OCCUPATION OF WAI-RARAPA BY NGATI-KAHU-NGUNU.

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By S. PERCY SMITH.

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**N**GATI-KAHU-NGUNU is the general name of the tribe that now occupies the Wairarapa district, but there are many sub-tribes who are known by various names included within that cognomen. Roughly speaking, it may be said that this tribe occupies all the East coast of New Zealand from Cook's Straits to the Mahia Peninsula, and inland as far as the Remu-taka, Tararua, Ruahine, Kai-manawa, and Ahi-manawa Mountains, and the continuation of those ranges northwards, to Wai-kare-moana Lake. They thus occupy a much larger area, and are a more numerous tribe than any other in the Colony.

But Ngati-Kahu-ngunu have not always lived in this territory. Prior to their appearance on the scene, many other tribes—some now extinct—have occupied the same area, but have been driven out or become absorbed in the existing tribe. Some of these prior inhabitants belonged to the *tangata-whenua*, or aboriginal tribes found here on the arrival of the fleet of canoes from Tahiti and Rarotonga, circa 1850. Most of the history of these original people has now become lost in the mists of the past, though occasionally a few references to them are found in the traditions of the later occupants. Amongst these earliest tribes was the great Tini-o-Awa people, who have played such an important part in many districts of New Zealand. They take their name—"the many of Awa"—from the youngest son of Toi-kai-rakau, who was named Te Awa-nui-a-rangi, and who flourished, according to the best genealogies, about 27 generations ago. Little is known of their history in these parts, but they were a very numerous people when first the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu made their appearance in the times



of Taraia and Rakai-hiku-roa, the chiefs who led the first migration from Poverty Bay to Hawke Bay, fighting their way through the Wairoa district and on to Here-taunga (which name includes all the country around Napier, Hastings, etc.). Rakai-hiku-roa led his party from Poverty Bay, by way of Te Mahia Peninsula, and fought his way through to the Wairoa, where they were joined by a second party who had come inland from the same place, under Taraia. At the Wairoa River the people of the place—who were probably some of the *tangata-whenua* tribe of Ngati-Ruapani—refused the invaders the loan of canoes to cross the river. Upon this, Taraia and his friends engaged in some undertaking, the nature of which was forgotten by my informant,\* but which greatly excited the curiosity of the opposing people, so much so, that they manned a canoe and sent it across the river to ascertain what was going on. This canoe was captured by Taraia, who thus secured to his people a means of crossing this formidable river.

Leaving the bulk of the party with the women and children at the Wairoa,† Taraia, with a few chosen men, started on an exploring expedition to spy out the strength of the people occupying Here-taunga. At the mouth of the river now named the Esk, he found a numerous people occupying the Kai-mata and Heipipi *pas*—both of which are still in a fair state of preservation, the first situate on the hills directly south of where the Napier-Wairoa coach road junctions with the Esk Valley road, and the second on the limestone hills, about one-fourth of a mile north of the present village of Petane, and overlooking the Napier-Wairoa Road.

The people of this part were very numerous, but like all the *tangata-whenua*, not such able warriors as the descendants of the great migration of 1850. Taraia, finding Heipipi *pa* too strong to be stormed by his small force, resorted to a stratagem to cause the occupants of the *pa* to come forth, and thus give him a better chance. At early dawn a number of his warriors, dressed in their dark mats, proceeded to the beach, which is about three-eighths of a mile from Heipipi, and there laid down just at the edge of the breakers, imitating the action of seals.‡ Directly this was observed from the *pa* a number of unarmed men rushed down to secure the prey, upon which Taraia's

\*I obtained some of these particulars from Judge Mackay—probably the Wairoa incident was the "Tiekitia," Hine-kura's *haka*, mentioned in the song, *supra*. I may add that the Society hopes shortly to publish a translation of a somewhat full account of the reasons which led these people to migrate from Poverty Bay.

†It seems probable that the old Chief Rakai-hiku-roa remained with those left behind at the Wairoa, and came on subsequently with them to Here-taunga.

‡One story says *haku*, a large fish; another, a whale.

warriors arose and commenced killing the people of the *pa*. The other people of Heipipi had lined the steep seaward face of the *pa*, watching the operations below, no doubt with pleasant anticipations of the feast of seal-flesh which was to follow. On seeing, however, the supposed seals rise up, and commence killing their relatives and friends, a great shout arose, and a messenger was despatched to Tu-nui-o-rangi, their Chief, and *tohunga* (or priest), a man gifted, according to his descendants, with wonderful powers of *makutu*, or sorcery. He was lying in a little cave in the limestone rocks that strew the ground near the *pa*, which is to be seen to this day, but came forth at once, and, calling on his *atua*, Kahu-kura, exercised his powers to save the remnant of his people fleeing across the flat from their enemies. The *atua* caused flames to start up in front of the pursuers, and blast them,

thus stopping the pursuit, and by which many of them were burnt up. Such is the story told by Henare Pohio, the descendant of Tu-nui-o-rangi, and the present chief of ———— *pa*, just north of the Esk River.

Tu-nui-a-rangi

Whakapapa

Ngatata

Te Ao-maru

Rangi-rawake

Taranga

Te Arai-hua

Pukupuku

Tu-tawhanga

Henare-Pohio

Te Teira-te-Paea

Anaru-Kume

Whatever may have been the real cause of Taraia's defeat, the fact remains that he abandoned the attempt to take Heipipi, and travelled on southward with his party, until he came to the Tutae-kuri, a few miles up which river he found Te Tini-o-Awa, and the

Maru-iwi tribes, living in immense *pas*, the remains of which are still to be seen at Otarata and other places. Taraia and his friends attacked the upper *pa* and took it, and then made peace with those living in the lower *pa*.

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu had now secured a footing in the rich district of Here-taunga, and therefore sent back to the Wairoa for the women and children, and the warriors left behind. They came in several canoes, and after a fight with the *tangata-whenua* at Aro-paoa-nui, proceeded up the Tutae-kuri River as far as the *pa* of Te Tini-o-Awa. This latter people, on seeing the numbers in his canoes, imagined that Taraia had returned with a stronger force for the purposes of exterminating them. The Maru-iwi people fled northward, eventually reaching Poverty Bay, from whence they moved on over the mountains to Opotiki, thence to Te Wai-mana River, where they settled for a time, but were eventually driven out by Ngati-Awa, and migrated up the Rangi-taiki Valley, down the Wai-punga, and finally disappeared as a tribe near the place called Te Pohue, on the Napier-Taupo road—disappearing, as the old song says, down a deep chasm as they fled in the dark :—

Ko te heke ra o Maru-iwi, toremi ai ki te reinga.

(Like the) descent of Maru-iwi, who disappeared to Hades.

The story of Maru-iwi is a long and interesting one, but is not further connected with this sketch.

Te Tini-o-Awa, in their alarm at Taraia's approach, abandoned their *pa*, and fled for safety to the impenetrable forests of Tamaki, or the Seventy-mile Bush, where they settled down for a time with the *tangata-whenua* tribe of Te Tini-o-Rua-tamore, who then occupied the numerous *pas* eastward of the present town of Dannevirke, in the country known as Nga-paeruru. Te Tini-o-Awa were found dwelling there by the Rangi-tane tribe, some time later, and were driven from there, migrating southwards to Ihu-raua, Pahaoa, etc., in mid-Wairarapa.

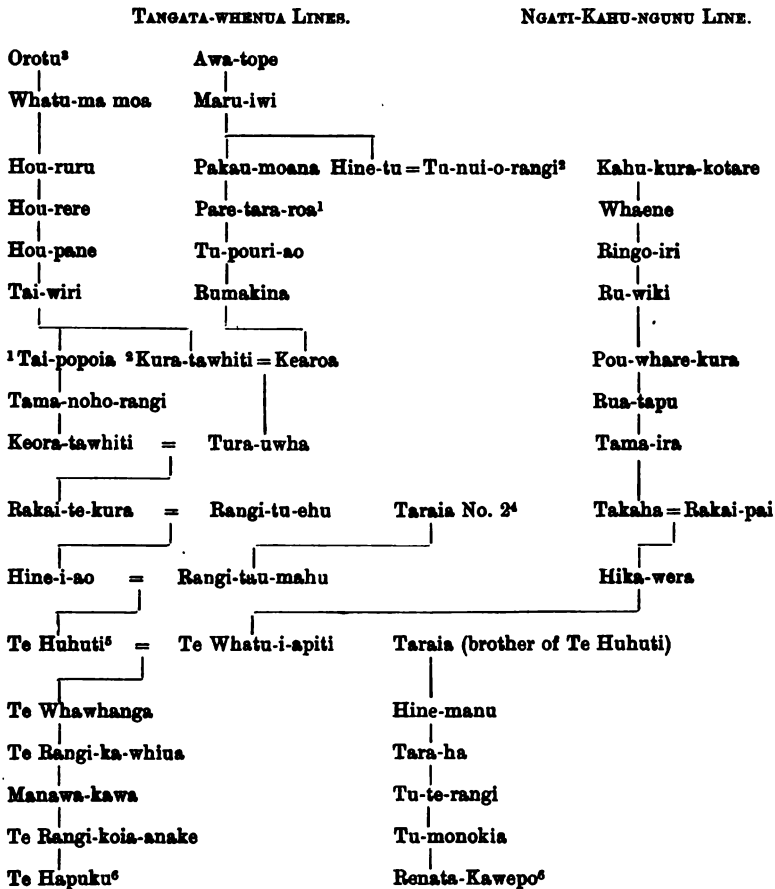
Through causes with which I am not acquainted, this wandering tribe again moved southward, and occupied the country around Te Kawakawa, or Cape Palliser, where their *pas* may still be seen. From this time onward their history is lost, but it is probable that many crossed the Straits to the South Island. The present names of the *pas* near Te Kawakawa are said to have been given by the subsequent irruption of Ngati-Ira, a Northern tribe from Poverty Bay, and who were in occupation of Port Nicholson at the time of the Patu-one-Tuwhare expedition of 1822-23.

It is probable that the numerous remains of stone walls to be found along the eastern shores of Palliser Bay, were the work of Te Tini-o-Awa. They are more extensive than anything of the kind to be found in New Zealand, and were raised apparently as the boundaries of cultivations.

Te Huhuti, the lady who emulated the feat of Hine-moa, is said to have been a sister of Taraia, but not, I think, of Taraia the conqueror. She swam across Te Roto-a-Tara lake, to her lover Te Whatu-i-Apiti, as related by Sir George Grey, in his "Nga Mahinga."

It is not easy to fix the date of Taraia's and Rakai-hiku-roa's invasion of Heretaunga, as the genealogical tables exhibit great discrepancies, through (I think) the deeds of one Taraia having been confounded with those of another man of the same name. But it was probably about 16 or 17 generations ago, or, say, about the years 1500 to 1525.

The following table shows this :—\*



## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> It was in the days of Pare-tara-roa that Taraia attacked the Tini-o-Awa, at Heipi, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This is Tu-nui-o-rangi, priest and chief of Heipi

<sup>3</sup> Orotu is the ancestor who gave his (? or her) name to Port Ahuriri = Te Whanganui-o-Orotu.

<sup>4</sup> It is said that in the times of this Taraia, Heretaunga was conquered, which cannot possibly be reconciled with the facts stated in <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Is Te Huhuti, who swam across Te Roto-a-Tara (see *ante*).

<sup>6</sup> Both these chiefs died at Here-taunga, at the end of the 19th Century, at a considerable age.

\* Supplied to me by Judge Mackay.

The following song—collected by Mr. T. W. Lewis—is interesting as describing many of the migrations and battles of Ngati-Kahungunu :—

## HE ORIORI.

Torikiriki ai te tangi mai i tawhiti  
Ko Niniwa-i-te-rangi,  
E tangi, E Hine! Kia whakarongo mai  
Rei-kura, Rei-maru, Rei-warō,  
Nga tangata tena nana i kai  
To ratou teina, te kumara,—  
Te tama a te tane muri-manu a Pani,  
A Tai-nui-a-rangi.

E tangi, E Hine!  
No te matenga hoki taua o te whanau o Paikea  
I to ratou matenga i te Whiri-purei—e—i,  
No te hokinga mai o Pai, i waho ra,  
Ka noho i a Pane, ko Ue-te-koroheke,  
Ko Ue-roa, ko Porou-rangi, ko Rakai-hiku-roa,  
Ko taua, —e—i.

E tangi, E Hine!  
He morehu ra hoki taua,  
No te matenga i Te Rawhiti-roa,  
No te Putakari e, i mate ai Purupuru—e,  
Ka whati mai taua i a Paea,  
I a Rakai-pāka, i a Kahu-tau-rangi,  
I a Kahu-tapere,  
I mahue atu ai to taua kainga,  
Turanga-nui-a-Rua, —e,  
Ka whati mai taua, ka haere i te ara,  
Ka whai Kahu-paroro i a Puru,  
Ko Kahu-paroro ano,  
Ka whai Hauhau, ko Hauhau ano,  
Ka ora te ngakau o te iwi i mate,  
Ka haka a Hine-kura i tona haka, i Te Wairoa,  
Koia "Tiekitia"—e—  
Ka hara mai taua, ka tae ki Aro-paoa-nui,  
Ka whai Taranga-a-Kahu-taea  
Ka rere a Hine-pare ki runga ki te kohatu  
Tangi taukiri ai,  
"Waia o nga tane! akuanei te hanga kino  
"O tenei wahine ka matakitaia  
"E era nga tangata."  
Katahi ka tauru mai ona tungane  
Tete mai ano, pahore mai ano,  
Ko taua puta, ko Wai-koau.  
Ka mate i reira Rakai-wiriwiri—e—  
Ka hara mai taua ka tae ki Here-pu,  
Ka whaihangā Taraia i tona whare,  
Ka makaia tona potiki  
Hei whatu mo te pou-tua rongo,  
O tona whare, o te Raro-akiaki—e—.

Nou anake, E Hine!  
Nga tupuna i riri i nehe ra

I pau ai ena tangata,  
 Ko Te Rau-pare, ko Kirikiri-a-Kai-paua,  
 Ka riro i a Nga-oko-i-te-rangi,  
 Tapapa noa Te Hanapu,  
 E wha taua ki Tuinga-ra ; Kore noa iho,  
 Ka whakatika tera,  
 He rau te moenga o Ngai-Te-Ao,  
 Hara mai a Hopu ki a taua,  
 I Kahu-tara ra, i Rau-kawa ra e noho ana,  
 Katahi ka hoatu ko Hua-tokitoki  
 Ko Whai-kekeno he pa horo,  
 No te hokinga mai ki muri ra,  
 Ko Te Puta-kari, ko Opeango, ko Kai-tahi—e—  
 Tae rawa mai ki te kainga nei  
 Ka pahau ki Whaitiri-nui,  
 Ko Kai-wai ano, ko Manga-o-tai,  
 Ko Pipi ki te Ngutu-o-te-manu,  
 Ka kukume te tangata ki te po—e—  
 Katahi ka hoatu ko Rakau-titaha,  
 Ko Nga-hape, ko Te Koau, ko Mangai-hinahina,  
 Whakaawatea ake. ko Te Puta-kari, kou—e—  
 Ka kitea i reira to te tane ahuatanga—e—  
 Noho mai E Hine ! i te kainga  
 I hutoke ai te ure o o tupuna,  
 I to taua nohoanga i te Wai-o-paka na,  
 Mo Wairea, mo Tupae, mo Te Ati-nuku,  
 Ka atea nga tataramoa ki tahaki,  
 Ka riro te kainga i a taua—e—,  
 Hara mai E Hine ! na runga o te hiwi  
 Ki Te Ahi-rara nei, whakatekateka mai ai,  
 He whenua ka moai noa e—i o tupuna—e—  
 I a Te Whare-mako, i a Te Mango,  
 I a Whakahemo, te tangata,  
 Ki roto o Here-taunga e—i—.\*

We now come to the occupation of Lower Wai-rarapa by Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. The people had settled down at Heretaunga, after their arrival from Poverty Bay, under Taraia and Kahu-kura-nui (? Rakai-hiku-roa), and had increased in numbers, spreading out over the fertile lands in that neighbourhood. Here they remained in peace for some few generations, until about 18 generations† ago trouble arose, as follows :—

Near Te Mata, eastward of the present town of Havelock, was a *kumara* cultivation named Kaha-ruma, which became the subject of a fierce dispute between Hine-te-rangi, a lady of rank, and Rakai-werohia, a chief of those times. This led to much fighting, in which numbers of people took part—some supporting Hine-te-rangi, others Rakai-werohia—and ended in the latter's party being defeated, and the

\*I postpone translating this interesting song until I can clear up some doubtful points.

† See the four Genealogical Tables at the end, three of which are fairly constant, but the fourth differs very much.

death of their chief, Rakai-werohia, at Oruarei, which so exercised them that they decided to leave the district and seek for other lands to dwell in. Accordingly a large party left for the South by canoes, the following being the principal leaders, and the names of their canoes—

Chief Rakai-rangi	Canoë " Whakaeanga-rangi "
Rangi-tawhanga	" Whakaeanga-rangi "
Pouri	" Te Maka-whiu "
Tu-te-miha	" Pokai-kaha "
Tuputa	" Whai-tomuri "
Kari-whare	

The expedition sailed down the east coast to Palliser Bay, and landed on the east side of the outlet to Wai-rarapa Lake. Here they found Te Rerewa and his tribe of Rangi-tane dwelling, who at that time owned the whole of Southern Wai-rarapa. Te Rerewa's house, called Te Wharau-o-Kena, was situated a little to the north of the present ferry reserve, near the outlet of the lake. Here the expedition was welcomed by the people of the place, and after the usual feast and complimentary speeches, Te Rangi-tawhanga explained to his hosts the object of their journey. Te Rerewa replied, "*E kore taku kainga e riro i a koutou kakahu me o koutou patu. Kia penei ko te ipu o to koutou tupuna, katahi ka riro taku kainga*" (My lands will not be parted with for your garments and weapons; but if it were the bowl of your ancestor, then indeed might an exchange be effected). Ngati-Kahu-ngunu at once understood that their canoes were referred to by Te Rerewa, for Te Rerewa had explained that he and all his people were about to migrate to the South Island. So Te Rangi-tawhanga replied that they would be willing to exchange the canoes for Te Rerewa's country, adding that he thought the canoes they owned were not an equivalent for so great a stretch of land, but if Te Rerewa would show them a *totara* forest they would hew out some more canoes, to make the number up to seven. This was agreed to, and then Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were shown some trees, and dubbed out three more canoes. In the meantime Te Rerewa had made arrangements with other chiefs of his tribe who were to accompany him, for the cession of their lands. But some of Rangi-tane decided to remain. Te Rerewa now took leave of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, saying, "*Hei konei ra! Ma koutou te hewa ki a Rangi-tane, tena ano au te hoki na; ma Rangi-tane te hewa ki a koe, haere aki nei au, oti ake. Hei konei!*" (Remain here! Should you wrong Rangi-tane (who are left here) I shall return; but if Rangi-tane wrongs you, I shall be gone and not return. Remain here!) In this Te Rerewa expressed the feeling that those of Rangi-tane left behind must suffer the consequences if they wronged Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. He and his people then took their departure in the canoes for Wairau, in the South Island.

After the departure of Te Rerewa, Ngati-Kahu-ngunu proceeded inland as far as Potaka-kura-tawhiti—of which *pa* Te Whakamana, of Rangi-tane, was chief—a *pa* situated on the banks of the Ruamahanga River. This chief confirmed and concluded the cession of the country to Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. In the morning he conducted Ngati-Kahu-ngunu to the top of a hill named Puke-wharariki, situated on the west side of the Aorangi Range, near Bull Hill. Here he explained the names of places, and the properties for which each was noted; for instance, Te Uhiroa, a lake beyond Pupu-wharau-roa, where eels in great numbers are caught at the falls at the outlet of the lake—which are two, named respectively Makahakaha and Whangaeahu—Rapa-rimu, a *pua-tahere*, or bird preserve; Manga-tarera, where eels, and *kokopu* are caught in plenty in the *taeroto* (sedgy pools).

From here the migration proceeded to *taunaha-whenua* (to name and take possession of) the country, and divide it up. Rakai-rangi and Pouri, in their journey came to a certain ridge named Rangi-tumau (about three miles north of Masterton) from which they beheld a beautiful country that excited their wonder. Not knowing the original name they called it Te-whenua-kite-a-Rakai-rangi-raua-ko-Pouri (the land discovered by Rakai-rangi and Pouri). And so Ngati-Kahu-ngunu parcelled out the land to their various families.

But Rangi-tane still lived in the land in some parts, and naturally trouble soon arose between them and the newcomers; indeed, until the days of Te Miha, great-grandson of Rangi-tawhanga, there are indications that Ngati Kahu-ngunu (or some of them) lived under the *mana* of the former tribe. The first trouble that arose was due to the Rangi-tane tribe, who killed one of the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu named Te Ao-turuki. Rakai-rangi (one of the immigrant chiefs), together with others, raised a *taua* and proceeded to attack the Rangi-tane *pas*. They took one *pa* named Okahu, but the Rangi-tane chief named Rakai-moana escaped and fled. When he reached Pari-nui-a-kuaka he made a shade of *manuka* branches for his eyes, and looking back beheld his *pa* being consumed by fire—hence were these people named “Uhi-manuka” (Tea-tree-shade). Great numbers of Rangi-tane were killed in this fighting, but as they were the aggressors, Te Rerewa, mindful of his parting words, did not return to help his tribe. A brother of Te Whakamana’s, named Turanga-tahi, was captured amongst the other Rangi-tane prisoners and saved alive by Rakai-rangi casting over him his own cloak, the name of which was “Nga-wahine-kaira.” At the end of the fighting, the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, seeing their prisoner remaining amongst them, fat and plump as he was, desired to eat him; but he had been saved by their chief, so escaped the oven. But they gave him a nick-name, Te Hiakai-ora-a-Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.



After the above events Ngati-Kahu-ngunu settled down in peace in the land for some generations—apparently until the days of Te Hiha,

Te Rangi-tawhanga = Whai-tongarerewa

├── Te Umu-tahi  
└── Te Toenga

Te Mahaki-kainga  
Te Hiha  
Te Weranga  
Hine-tarewa  
Hine-ki-runga-te-rangi

└── Te Tarewa = Te Kekerengu\*

├── Te Miha-o-te-rangi  
├── Ratima Te-Miha  
└── Meiha Te-Miha } brothers of  
Te Tarewa

and their children and  
grand-children.

who was a great warrior and leader of his people. He owned many *pa tuwa-tawata* (pallisaded *pas*). He was a great-grandson of the immigrant Te Rangi-tawhanga. It was in his time that Ngati-Kahu-ngunu arose and, under his leadership, threw off the yoke—such as it was—of Rangi-tane, and either exterminated or expelled them, for that tribe had again originated the trouble by killing some of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. From that time, as my informant expresses it,

the "Crown grants of the canoes have become permanent." Pari-opunehu was the chief *pa* of Te Miha, from which he sent forth his words to the tribe—"So-and-so, you will go to such a place, to your *kakahi* lake, and there dwell. You, So-and-so, will go and dwell yonder, to your *awa-patete*; whilst you, So-and-so, will return to your *paua* rock, and live there." In the days of Te Hiha, Ngati-Kahu-ngunu settled down finally on the lands, each family on its own estate. "Are not all these things recorded in the Native Land Court cases of Marama and Mapuna-tea?" asks my informant.

It was during these troublous times that a chief of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, named Nga-oko-i-te-rangi, was murdered (*kohuru*) by some of his own tribe, which led to a great deal of fighting, and involved tribes even so far distant as the Wairoa, for Te Ra-ka-to of that place, who was connected with the murdered man, came down with a force to attack Te Miha, which he did by besieging the latter's *pa* named Te Wha-koene, but without much result, for neither side suffered much, and then they made peace, when presents were exchanged, Te Miha giving a slab of green jade named "Moto-i-rua," and Tukaiaora gave a *mere* named "Te Whiti-patato" and a *maro*.

After this there was peace in Wai-rarapa until the early years of the nineteenth century, when occurred the great troubles between Ngati-Kahu-ngunu and Te Ati-Awa tribes of Taranaki (who, at that

\* Of Ngati-Ira, killed at Kekerengu, South Island, about 1825.

time, occupied Port Nicholson), which resulted in the fights at Te Tarata, near the outlet to Wai-rarapa Lake, west side, and the storming of Pehi-katea *pa* by Te Ati-Awa, in 1834.

The above notes are a very brief sketch of the occupation of Southern Wai-rarapa, and are chiefly noteworthy as illustrating the peaceful cession of a large territory from one tribe to another.

Eastern and Mid-Wai-rarapa were occupied at very nearly the same time, but by a different section of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and by a different method. It was due to the action of the same lady—Hine-te-rangi—whose people defeated the first party and caused them to emigrate. It appears that this lady took a fancy to some very superior flax growing in a spot which had been *rahui*, or reserved by its owner for special purposes. She cut a small bundle of it, and on her return was seen by Mahanga, to whom the flax belonged. He suspected the source from which the flax was obtained, and taxed Hine-te-rangi with taking it. She acknowledged having done so, at which Mahanga rated her soundly, and taking a leaf from the lady's bundle, struck her lightly on the body with it. This led to serious consequences, for the people of the two parties flew to arms, and in the fight that ensued Mahanga's side got the worst of it. He and his people decided to follow the example of Rangi-tawhanga, and migrate to Pahaua, lately in the occupation of Rangi-tane.

But previously to this Mahanga had been engaged on a *taua* to those same parts, where he attacked and took a *pa* belonging to the Rangi-tane tribe, and then occupied another of their *pas* near Flat Point. Whilst staying at this place the men were one day all out at sea, engaged in fishing, when Rangi-tane returned to try and retake their *pa*. There were none left behind in the *pa* but the women of those who were out fishing. Knowing the fate that awaited them if the *pa* was captured, they determined to defend it. To this end they secured their husbands' weapons, and after placing bandages round their breasts so that their sex should not be discovered, proceeded to repulse Rangi-tane, in which they succeeded for some time. At this juncture the men out at sea, observing what was going on, hastened ashore and landed in the rear of the Rangi-tane force. Rangi-tane were now between two parties of their enemies, and on a sortie made by the women from the *pa*, fled away inland. Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, after collecting their weapons, followed in pursuit, overtaking the Rangi-tane and killing several as they fled. The pursuit was continued all that day and through the following night, and in the morning the opposing parties found themselves in the neighbourhood of the present town of Masterton. Near here the last of Rangi-tane was killed, a man named Ngarara, and the spot where he fell is known by his name

to this day. There are also other places along the route taken by the flying Rangi-tane that still bear the names of those who there fell. Just about the time that the chase ended, the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu captured a Rangi-tane chief named Whengu. As his captor stood over him, about to give him his *coup de grâce*, holding the long hair of the prostrate man in one hand, and brandishing his short club in the other, Whengu said, "Kill me not with that inferior weapon—here is a better," at the same time handing to his captor a fine *mere-paraoa*, or whale-bone club. This action saved the captive's life, and through his means a peace was made with Rangi-tane, and a mutual boundary between the two tribes agreed on. This boundary was marked there and then by setting up two posts, crossing one another like the letter X, the crossing being firmly bound with *aka-tokai* (a strong vine).

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu now returned to their women, and after a time proceeded on their way north, back to Here-taunga. In the meantime Whengu went back to his people, and journeyed northward. On seeing the numbers of Rangi-tane in their settlements, he came to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the recent peace that had been made with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, he would try to be revenged on them as his numerous tribe ought to be able to beat the others. With this view he raised a large party of Rangi-tane, and crossed over to the coast to a place named Matangi - awhiowhio, where Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were resting on their leisurely way back to Here-taunga. Here the two tribes met, and Rangi-tane were again worsted in the fight. Whengu, the Rangi-tane leader was caught for the second time, by Rua-rangi, of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and as he laid on the ground about to be killed with his own *mere-paraoa*, he said, "It were meet that the owner of that weapon should live, as well as the weapon." But his captor would not trust him twice, and Whengu consequently fell a prey to his own weapon, at the hands of Rua-rangi.

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu now returned home, and then occurred the trouble with Hine-te-rangi, in reference to the flax *rahui*.

After Mahanga and his party had settled down at Pahaua, in the territory conquered by them and his people in his former raid, he eventually decided to remove inland. He took with him the *puhi*, or stern piece of his canoe, and at the place he settled in hung it up in a tree; hence the name of that place, Te Whakairinga, or "The Suspension."

But all of the emigrants did not leave the coast with Mahanga. Those that remained behind occupied two *pas*, one considerably elevated above the other, but on the same ridge. At that time there was a very noisy fellow who dwelt in the upper *pa*, who was constantly angry for no reason, and was always bawling out something or other to the great annoyance of those living in the lower *pa*. "It was the

custom in those days," says my informant, "for people to be careful in their conduct, and not hurt the feelings of others." At any rate, the annoyance caused by this fellow was the cause of the abandonment of the lower *pa*, and the reason why Ngati-Kahu-ngunu dispersed, each family going to settle in such parts as seemed to them meet, and in these places they have continued to live to this day.

## LINES OF DESCENT FROM THE FIRST OCCUPANTS OF SOUTH WAI-RARAPA.

Rakai-rangi  
Ao-mata-rahi  
Te Popoki  
Kapo  
Tira-mehameha  
Hine-whakaruhia  
Major H. P. Tu-pui-a-rangi  
Maira

Pouri  
Matua-te-rangi  
Hine-tukia  
Whakairi-rangi  
Tama-i-waha  
Te Huinga-i-waho  
Tu-whakararo  
Rua-rangi  
Te Pohehe  
Meri-Maihi  
Te Manihera  
Pou-Heketa  
Inia-Heketa

Tuputa  
Tamahau-ariki  
Te Anga-rakau  
Hine-mate  
Hika-rara  
Hine-whati  
Te Haku-wai  
Hine-pie  
Te U-taetae  
Nuku-tama-roro  
Karo-taha  
Hirāni-mohau  
Te Whaiti  
Iraia Te Whaiti

Tu-te-miha  
Toko-maru  
Tomo-whare  
Te Maku  
Kanau-ake  
Kiri-horea  
Poupou-tahi  
Te Huri-roroa  
Māngi  
Mere-Moka  
Enoka-Taitea  
Hemi-Enoka



## THE UHI-MAORI, OR NATIVE TATTOOING INSTRUMENTS.

Bx ELSDON BEST, TUHOE-LAND.

THE illustrations of tattooing implements of the Maori, given in this number of the POLYNESIAN JOURNAL, are from photographs of four such *uhi*, or chisels, made by Te Tuhi Pihopa, a member of the Tuhoe or Ure-wera tribe. The wooden handles of these implements are ornamented with carving, and also with small round pieces of *paua* (*haliotis*) shell, which are let into the wood by counter-sinking. The chisels are fashioned from bones of the *toroa*, or albatross—small, thin, flat pieces of the bone, averaging about one and a half inches in length, the cutting face of the chisels being from a quarter to one-third of an inch across. These are lashed firmly on to the handle.

These implements are known by the generic term of *uhi*, but each of the three or four chisels used for tattooing is known by a special name. The full name of the *uhi*, as noted in songs and proverbial sayings is, among most tribes, the *Uhi a Mataora*, the latter word, it is said, being the name of a remote ancestor, who originated the style of tattooing which has been, until recent years, so much in evidence among the Maori people of New Zealand. Among the Tuhoe tribe, however, these implements are known as the *Uhi a Toroa* (or *toroa*), this tribe stating that they do not know Mataora as connected with *whakairo tangata* (tattooing), but that he was a remote ancestor of the ages of darkness, who originated the art of carving wood (*whakairo rakau*) in relief, or of piercing holes in the object carved. His knowledge descended to one Rua.

The names and uses of the four *uhi* illustrated, are given by Te Tuhi, as follows:—





(1) *Uhi whaka-tatarāmoa*.—This is the first implement used. It is used to “clear the way,” to cut the skin in preparation for the *uhi* which implants the pigment. This *uhi* has a plain face.

(2) *Uhi puru*.—This implement, as its name implies, is used in order to insert the colouring pigment, the face of the *uhi* being dipped into the same before each insertion, or stroke. It depends much on the fluid (*wai whakataerangi*) used to mix the colouring material (*kauri*), as to whether the pigment “takes” at once, or not. The term *kāmu* is used to denote the absorption, or retention, of the pigment. The face of this *uhi* is notched.

(8) *Uhi kohiti*.—This chisel has a plain face, not serrated. It is used for making the *titi*, *kohiti* and such patterns. A full list of names of the various lines and patterns of tattooing (*moko*), together with illustrations, may be found in the work on “Maori Art,” recently published by the New Zealand Institute.

(4) *Uhi matarau*.—The face, or cutting edge of this *uhi* is serrated. It is used for tattooing the lines termed *kaha māro*, in such patterns as the *pakiwaha*, *ngutu*, *rape*, and *kauae*.

Another authority gives me the following list of *uhi*, used among the Tuhoe tribe:—

(1) *Uhi tapahi*.—Used to cut the skin.

(2) *Uhi puru* or *uhi matarau*.—Used to insert the pigment.

(3) *Uhi kohiti*.—A small *uhi*, used for scrolls (*piko*) and fine work.

A piece of fern stalk (*take rarauhe*) was used by the operator as a beetle to strike the *uhi*. The end of the stalk was lashed round in order to prevent its splitting.

It is not the intention to give here a long description of the art of tattooing, nor yet a list of names of the lines and patterns used, such having already appeared in the work quoted above. We insert, however, a few notes collected among the Tuhoe tribe, as serving to illustrate the subject to some extent.

There was a considerable amount of *tapu* and ritual pertaining to the tattooing of important persons, *i.e.*, the first-born male and female children of families of rank. A special house, or shed, was constructed for the purpose. Here the subject and the tattooing artist resided, apart from others, until the rite was over, the tattooing completed, and the *tapu* lifted from the persons.

The colouring matter used for tattooing is the soot (*awe*) obtained from certain woods and resinous matter. Among the peoples of Tuhoe-land the wood termed *mapara* is used for this purpose. This



name is applied to the hard, resinous heart-wood of the *kahikatea* tree. When this tree dies and decays, the soft white sap wood soon rots away, leaving the hard *mapara*, which becomes extremely hard from exposure, and it will often gap a steel axe when chopped across the grain. It splits easily, however, and is often found separated into thin pieces, which are sought after by the natives, and which they form torches of. Many of these *kahikatea* trees were famous *kaihua*, i.e., trees on which bird-snares were set in great numbers each season, and which trees were always known by a special name. The *mapara* of such famed trees was much prized, and the balls of soot obtained from such were known by the name of the tree. Such name would also be applied to the *ahi ta moko*, that is to the rite or ceremony of tattooing any person, wherein that pigment was used. The *mapara* of such trees could only be taken by those to whom the trees and land belonged. Any attempt to use such trees, in any way, by a person having no right thereto, would be resented and viewed as a *casus belli*. The resinous, inner heart of the *rimu* tree was not used for the above purpose.

The fire at which the pigment (*ngarehu*) was prepared, was known as an *ahi kauri*, the term *kauri* being applied to the prepared soot (*ave*). A tunnel was dug on sloping ground, and a shaft was made from the surface to connect with the head of the tunnel. In the shaft were stuck *kakaho*, the flower heads of the *toetoe* (*arundo conspicua*). The fire was kindled in the short tunnel beneath and fed with the resinous wood, from which all soft or decayed wood had been carefully removed. The draught caused the smoke to ascend the shaft, where much of the soot was deposited on the *kakaho*, which retained it. A person would be told off to keep the fire fed for perhaps twenty-four hours. When the fire had died out, the *kakaho* plumes were removed and the adhering soot shaken off on to a piece of bark cloth (*aute*), or a close woven mat. Among the Tuhoe people, in whose district the *toetoe* does not flourish, some prepared fibre of the *ti* palm (*cordyline*) was used in place of the *kakaho*. An old flax mat would be placed over the shaft, and the fibre was fastened to the under side of the mat and allowed to hang down in the shaft, to catch the soot.

The soot thus obtained was mixed with the sap of the *hinau*, or of the *mahoe* trees, or that of the *ti* palm, or of the *karetu* grass, or of the *kaoho* (*poroporo*) shrub. This process is termed *whakataerangi*, the sap used being known as *wai whakataerangi*. The soot is so mixed, kneaded, and formed into balls, which were covered by skins of the *tui* (bird), or of the *kiore* (native rat), and then buried in the ground where it would be kept for years. When required for use this *kauri*, as it is called, would be taken up and a portion scraped off and mixed

with the *wai whakataerangi* into a sort of liquid paste, into which the operator (*kai ta*, tattooer) dips his *uhi*. It is said that it depends much upon the liquid used for mixing the *kauri*, as to whether or not the pigment "takes" well and quickly. (*He pai no nga wai whakataerangi i tere ai te kamu; ara, te mau atu ki te kiri*).

Should the *kauri* be left exposed to the air, it becomes *puaheri*, i.e., very dry and light, hence it is kept buried. The term *puaheri* seems to mean much the same as *puanga*, dried up, dessicated. These balls of *kauri* were often kept in a family for generations. A common saying in this district, applied to a mean, stingy person, is the following:—"Puritia to *kauri*, *hai o matenga mou*," i.e., "Keep your *kauri* as food for your death journey."

The *awheto*, or so-called vegetable caterpillar, was sometimes burned and used for tattooing on the limbs or body, but the pigment was not black enough to be used for face tattooing.

The *ahi ta moko*, as the tattooing rite was termed of yore, was an exceedingly *tapu* affair when the subject was a person of importance; for it meant interfering with the body of a *tapu* person, and the shedding of his, or her, blood. The operator would also be stained with the blood of such sacred person.

When the subject lay down to be operated upon, the priest took up his first *uhi*, and, placing its point upon the left shoulder, struck it a blow, to pierce the skin, repeating the following:—

Kikiwa, kikiwa,  
Matao te uhi,  
Ki tua o whare wera  
Tohu te parapara  
Rewa te ngarahu  
Kia mangu  
Kia u.

As the operation proceeds, it is deemed an evil omen should the blood of the subject spurt (*pārātī*) in the direction of the operator. After the introduction of firearms, it became customary, in this district, to fire a volley on the completion of the tattooing of a person.

In the case of a family of girls, the younger sisters were often tattooed before their elder sister, *hai wharikiriki*, i.e., to prepare the way for her, the eldest sister of a family of note being *tapu* and an important personage, her younger sisters being mere nobodies in comparison.

While a person was being tattooed, persons would gather round and chant one of the songs known as *whakatangitangi*, or *whakawai taanya moko*, a "beguiling" song, to cheer up and invigorate the

hapless patient. The song sung to a woman, while undergoing the operation, is termed a *whakawai taanga ngutu*.\*

The following is a specimen of these songs, or a portion thereof :—

Tangata e taia mai ra  
Kia manawanui ra  
Tangata i te ruahine ra  
Kia manawanui ra  
Tangata i te whakautu  
Kia ata whakanakonako  
Tangata i te pai  
Kia ata mahi  
Tangata rangatira nui  
Kia ata whakairoiro—e  
Tangata manawanui—e  
Kia ata mahia ai  
Tangata i te rangi pai—e  
Kia ata whakanakonako—e.

These songs are to make the subject stout-hearted in enduring the pain caused by the *uhi*.

When the operation of tattooing a young man of standing in the tribe was completed, then the priest came forward and recited over him the following invocation or charm, termed *atahu* (or *iri*), the object being to cause women to admire him :—

“Taku tamaiti i wehea e au ki te rangi  
Ka piri, ka tata  
Ka huakina mai Tangaroa—e  
Whakina mai ko ou Hine-tua-kirikiri  
Ko ou Hine-tua-rourou  
Mai te ruwha, mai te ruwha  
Mai te aroha, mai te aroha  
Mai te aroha ra koe—e.”

Places whereat persons of importance were tattooed, often remained *tapu* for generations. There is such a *tapu* place at O-tama-hanga, on the Tuara-rangaia Block, near Wai-o-hau.

The ceremony of tattooing the lips and chin of women is known as *ta nguta*, or *ahi ta ngutu*, or *taanga ngutu*. This *ahi ta ngutu* is a sacred fire and the tattooing of the eldest daughter of a chief was an extremely *tapu* function, but not so that of the younger daughters, the law of primogeniture being strictly upheld by the old time Maori, the eldest of either sex being the most important and *tapu* members of a family. A human sacrifice was sometimes made in order to give force, renown, prestige to the tattooing of such a girl, as also for the piercing of her ears (*pokanga taringa*). In such cases either a slave

\*See “Nga Moteatea,” pp. 57, 58, for specimens of these songs.

would be sacrificed, or, better still, a party sent out to slay a member of some neighbouring tribe. Better, because, don't you see, what a fine taunt it would be for us to hurl against the members of that tribe, in the days that lie before. One could say—"You are a person of no account whatever. Your ancestor was slain and eaten for the tattooing of my grandmother. *Hai aha Koe!*" The body of the person sacrificed would be cut up, cooked and eaten by the assembled people at the feast invariably held at any of the functions or rites of the Maori, and which terminated the proceedings. The majority of women, however, had no human sacrifice to enhance the prestige of their *taanga ngutu*. The bulk of the people were not allowed to be present at the tattooing of a woman, but when the operation was over, and the swelling reduced, then the people met to view the work of the artist, and the feast took place. The last instance I have heard of a human sacrifice for a *taanga ngutu*, was in the case of Pare-Karamu, daughter of Koroki of the Tuhoe tribe.

As already observed the ceremony of tattooing a person of rank (who was necessarily *tapu*) was a very *tapu* function and, when completed, the persons who took part in it were cleansed from *tapu* by means of the *whakanoa* rite performed over them by the priest. A portion of this ritual was the reciting of the *karakia* (invocations, charms) known as the *tute* and *rokiā*, which involved the kindling by friction (by the priest) of sacred fires termed the *ahi tute* and *ahi rokiā*. Both these come under the generic term of *ahi parapara* and seem to imply a warding off of the dread powers of *tapu* and *mana*, in fact a lifting of the *tapu*. The term *parapara* appears to be applied to *tapu* things which possess the power to do greivous harm to man, such as the spittle of a person, the clothing of the dead, &c. The word *tute* implies a "thrusting away," while *rokiā* means to calm, to cause to sleep, not only as applied to man, but also of the evil powers held by inanimate objects, as those given above. Compare *roroku* and *rotu*. Here follows a portion of the *tute karakia*, my informant not being able to remember the whole of it. Its purpose is to lift the *tapu* :—

Ika ra taku ahi, tute  
 Tute hoki tua, tute  
 Tute hoki waho, tute  
 Tute ka mania, tute  
 Tute ka paheke, tute  
 Tute ka whati, tute  
 Tute ka oma, tute  
 Tute nga tapu nei, tute  
 Tute nga mana nei, tute  
 Tute nga parapara nei, tute.

After which the priest recited the *rokia*, as follows:—

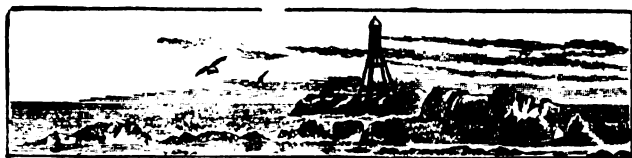
Hika ra taku ahi, e roki  
Rokia i nga parapara nei  
Rokia i nga tapu nei  
Rokia i nga mana nei  
Kia tae koe  
Koi ihi, koi nana  
Koi naunau e roki  
Ngaru—he !

This will render the *tapa* (which includes any *parapara*) harmless to afflict man, and the participants in the rite are now *noa*, or "common," *i.e.*, free from *tapu*.

The generic term for tattoo marks is *moko*, the verb "to tattoo" being *ta*, which, however, must be followed by the word *moko*.

Among women we note that the tattooing on their faces is repeated in many cases when it begins to fade. This second tattooing is termed *purua* and *tarua*.

The term *papatea* is applied to an untattooed person, while the word *tukipu* denotes a fully tattooed man. *Parākiri* implies dark, clearly defined tattooing.



## TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

BY THE REV. J. J. K. HUTCHIN.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1908. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiate.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niuë,

and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-*uiui* (pronounced Maunga-*wiwi*). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotonga and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-*yaورا*, and the other Tuyi-*mate*. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-*ruru*, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

## E TUATUA TEIA NA URA, E TANGATA BUKABUKA AIA.

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### E TUATUA TAITO.

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KO Bukabuka e kaoa ia ki raro i te moana. Kua noo tetai atua ko Tamaye, kua tiaki aia i te toka. Kua manako ana aia e, e mea puapinga kore. Kua ngaa mai te toka e kua aere mai te tangata ki runga ko Uyo tona ingoa. Kua akara aia e kare e turanga, e kua anga aia i te enua e pini ua ake. Nona i katiri mai ei te tangata. Ko tana vaine no Tonga mai, e ko Te Vao-pupu te ingoa o taua vaine ra. Tera ta raua tamaiti tamaroa ko Tumuri-vaka; e ta raua tamaine ko Te-Matakiate.

No Tonga mai nga tangata toa i te tuatau taito, ko Tokaipore tetai, ko Tauperoa tetai. Kua noo raua, e kua mate raua ki teianei enua; e na raua i kokoti i nga oire. Ko Avarua te ingoa o tetai oire koia oki ko Ko tiporó. Ko Teaweata tetai oire koia oki ko Panauri. Ko Takanumi tetai, koia oki ko Urekava.

Kua tupu ana te kumara, te tou, e te pia ki Bukabuka i te tuatau taito. I teia tuatau kare te kumara e kiko; ka tupu te tou ki roto i te au repo taro; e kare e pia i teia tuatau nei.

Kua aere ana ratou ki te au enua e manganui i te tuatau taito. Kua aere ana ratou ki te itinga o te ra, e te opunga o te ra, kare ki apatokerau, e ki apatonga. Kua kite ratou ia Manihiki e Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) Samoa e Niue, e tetai au enua atu. Kua tae ana tetai toa ma tona vaka tangata ki tetai pa enua ko Maungaiui te ingoa. E aratai tei rotou i tetai enua e tetai enua, e te tu tangata e papaa, mei te Tinito te tu. Ko Te Kumatanau te enua openga ki te pae opunga, e ko Yilivari te enua openga ki te pae itinga. E au manu enua tei reira, e manu mamaata, e ngolo te ingoa o taua manu ra. Ko tetai toa Bukabuka kua tae aia ki tetai enua ko Vetuna te ingoa. Kua timata ana te tangata i te ta i aia; i reira kua kave ana aia i nga metua nona ki uta i te maunga; e kia kite te tangata i tona ririnui, kua opu aia i te ngolo, e kua aae atura aia i taua manu ra; matakua akera taua enua tangata i aia. Tera te ingoa taito o Bukabuka ko Nukuroa.

Tera to ratou ingoa taito no Tahiti ma tona pa enua e Rarotonga ma tona pa enua ko Yaiake. Ko Rarotonga, e maunga ia no Yaiake. Kua pekapeka nga ariki tokorua, ko Turiyauora te ingoa o tetai ariki, e ko Tuyimate te ingoa o tetai ariki. I reira kua motu a Rarotonga, kua topa ke; e no reira i tuatuaia ko Rarotonga, no te mea no runga mai.

I te tuatau taito ra, e enua maata a Nukuroa (Bukabuka) e kua maata roa te tangata. Kua pou te enua e te tangata atu i tetai deluvi



maata. E meangiti ua te roto (lagoon) i taua tuatau ra. Ko te akaturi te ara i pou ei te tangata, e no te takinga kino o te tangata i te au idolo, no reira kua kiriti tumu te au atua i te enua. Ko tetai aronga kua akaoraia e to ratou au idolo, auraka e mate. Ko tetai aronga tei mate ana, na to ratou au idolo i akatu ana ia ratou ki runga. Na te tamaine a te ariki te kino. Kare taua tamaine i moeia e te tane, e kua aere sia e kua tuatua sia kia rave i te peu akaturi. Kua tuatua kotoa sia, e akakino i te au idolo. Kua riri te au idolo i reira, e kua akatupu ana ratou i te deluvi.

Ko te tupu anga o te tangata mei te metua vaine ia. Ko Te Ua Ruru, ko ratou te kopu tangata taito, e kua tupu ratou, mei te metua vaine ko Teraio. Ko Te Mango, ko te rua ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Uira, ko te toru ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Kati ko te ā ia o te kopu tangata.

Ko tetai au tuatua taito o Bukabuka, e te akatau anga ki te reo Rarotongā, e te rea Beritane.

<i>Bukabukan.</i>	<i>Rarotongan.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Taratara	Tuatua	Word.
Whare	Are	House
Taaua	Tamaki	Fight
Ōra	Tangata Metua	An old man
Whenua	Enua	Land
Wa	A	Four
Whitu	Itu	Seven
Katoa	Ngauru	Ten
Akaemaema	Akaperepere	Beloved
Tataku	Pure	Pray
Manatua	Vareae	Jealousy
Riri pokerekere	Riri otooto	Fierce anger
Watitiri	Mangungu	Thunder
Rauie	Rangi marie	Fine (as a fine day)
Tainamua	Tuakana	Elder or Eldest
Tainamuri	Teina	Younger or Youngest
Kāinga Vaine	Tuaine	Real Sister
Kāinga Tane	Tungane	Real Brother
Whareatua	Ko te tamaine ia a te tnakana	The daughter of the elder or eldest brother. Whareatua = the abode of the god.
Inakava	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuaine	The daughter of the sister
Aka	Takai	To tread
Lei vanau	Rengarenga	Yellow
Popo kava	Kerekere rava	Very black
Kena	Teatea	White
Mukavakevake	Teatea rava	Very white
Koko	Korare	Spear
Kura melo	Muramura	A light red
Kura toto	Muramura roa	A dark red
Matoyinga	Ngati, as Ngati tangiia	A tribe
Poripori	Katiri	*A line of descent.

\*This is reckoned in Bukabuka from the female side



## THE MAORI PEOPLE.

BY LIEUT.-COL. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

WHENEVER a man of European descent finds it necessary to speak or write concerning the Maori, his manners, customs, or history, he will do well to approach those subjects untrammelled by any preconceived notions of right or wrong. For by such means only can he obtain an unprejudiced and fairly correct impression of the mental and moral characteristics of a people who differ very greatly from their European neighbours. Holding, as I do, that the Maori cannot be appreciated at his proper value by those who would judge him from our own narrow point of view, I would, with all humility, suggest to my readers that they ought, for the time being, to ignore the time honoured notion that the Christian code of morality is the only correct rule of life, and accept temporarily the theory that much as the manners and customs of the Maoris may differ from ours, they may—so far as that people are concerned—be equally right and salutary.

As a friend of the Maoris I hope to see them judged by this standard, in so far that they are a very peculiar people, and follow a moral code entirely their own; one that bears very little resemblance to that which we have been taught to revere, but which has at any rate this undoubted merit, that it has been found suitable for the purposes of a very warlike and manly race during the last thousand years of their history.

The view that a Maori may take of any subject whatsoever can rarely be forseen by a man of European parentage. For instance, when the gospel reached the Ngati-Raukawa tribe at Otaki, through the instrumentality of the Rev. Henry Williams, that tribe was found to be in a fit and proper condition of mind to receive the message of peace and good-will, inasmuch as they had just been badly defeated by the Ngati-Awa and Taranaki people, and were moreover expecting the

dose to be repeated at uncertain intervals ; for this and other reasons they became enthusiastic in the cause of Christianity, excepting only one *hapu* (section), the Ngati-Kapu, who steadily refused to join in the general Christian movement.

If we regard the matter from a purely Maori point of view the Ngati-Kapu had good and sufficient grounds for their objection which was as follows :—At one of the very first church meetings ever held by the Ngati-Raukawa, a certain man named Pairoroku Mahia officiated ; this man had learned something of the customs of the church during an enforced residence among the Nga-Puhi, but it seems possible that his knowledge of the rites of our religion was to say the least rudimentary, for his antics so amused Te Kaka a chief of the Ngati-Kapu, that he not only laughed outright, but also as it were patted Pairoroku on the back jeeringly and disrespectfully. Now the man who undertakes to wound the self-love of an old-time Maori warrior ought most certainly to be provided with more than one life, and herein it was that Te Kaka failed ; for Pairoroku converted the comedy into a tragedy and finished the performance in one act, by driving his knife through the offender. This little episode did not in any way astonish the Ngati-Kapu ; it was of course an unfortunate occurrence and one quite certain to cause trouble in the future, but nevertheless the whole affair was in strict accord with the best precedents. Pairoroku had asserted his undoubted right to avenge an insult and could not be blamed for having done so ; but on the other hand, it was felt that some person or thing ought to be blamed, and therefore the tribe in solemn conclave considered the question in all its bearings, and came to a very funny conclusion. It was to the effect, that there must be something very wrong in the Christian religion, and therefore the Ngati-Kapu would have nothing to do with that particular sect represented by the followers of the Rev. Henry Williams.

To a Maori, whether Christian or heathen, the mere deliberate killing of a man—however small the provocation—is not murder ; it is in fact generally regarded as a somewhat praiseworthy action. The deed may be altogether contrary to the interests and sympathies of the offender's tribe, but none the less they will cheerfully adopt it as their own, and fight out the consequences to the bitter end. I may say that the Maori has no real equivalent in his language, by which he could convey the meaning of our word murder, he therefore uses the expression *kohuru* which means treachery, but conveys to the Maori mind the feeling of abhorrence proper to the occasion. Fair and open manslaughter is not and never has been looked upon as a very serious matter, even by the tribe to whom the dead man belonged, for after all the man was a fool to allow himself to be killed ; and there the matter might end were it not that the relatives must have

compensation, and the tribal honour be satisfied at any cost. Under these conditions if the culprit belongs to a very strong tribe with whom it would be dangerous to meddle, it was not absolutely necessary that they should be attacked; blood must certainly be shed, but there are other tribes who are neither so strong or so warlike as the real offenders, and who must have given offence at some period or other of their existence, and who in such case would serve equally well as objects of vengeance. Under any circumstances a raid would be made and someone killed, no matter whom, for the result would be the same; the original injury would be wiped out and another created, and so passed on from one tribe to another, until some strong neutral power intervened, and put an end to this interchange of compliments, by calling these Kilkenny cats together in order that they might feast, talk, and make a peace that should last until the Day of Judgment; but which would in all probability be broken shortly after the ensuing *kumara* crop had been gathered.

Not unfrequently, the chief of a man-slaying expedition who had succeeded in killing a few stragglers in order to avenge a tribal insult, would himself go up to their *pa* and intimate to those who were for the time being his enemies, the course that they should pursue in order to obtain the revenge necessary to satisfy the tribal self-love. This action on the part of a chief, would be dictated by a kindly feeling towards those whom the necessities of his position had compelled him to injure; for it indicated neither more nor less than this, that he did not desire a blood feud with them, nor to be compelled to wipe them all out of existence, and therefore he would condescend to point out how they might avenge themselves and recover their self-respect, without incurring his enmity. A very curious instance of this nature occurred in the Bay of Plenty about 80 years ago, and resulted in a very tragedy of errors.

A woman of high rank in the Ngati-Ahi tribe had in a fit of temper cursed Tuara-whatī a chief of the Ngati-Pukeko, and as a natural sequence the injured man attacked the Ngati-Ahi and defeated them at Te Ruaroa. As however the curse was not of a very serious character, no great number of men were slain, and Tuara-whatī after the skirmish showed that he did not bear malice, for he walked up to the Ngati-Ahi *pa* and then and there advised that tribe, that they should not attempt to obtain revenge by attacking him; but suggested, that they should transfer the account to that section of the Ngati-Pukeko, who lived at Wai-o-hau, and who were not only less warlike, but also much less numerous than the section who followed Tuara-whatī. The Ngati-Ahi took the advice as it was meant in a kindly spirit, and shortly after set out for Wai-o-hau on vengeance intent. After the war party had started, a certain man of the Ngati-Pukeko

tribe, possessed by a spirit of malice, or mischief, visited the Tokitake *pa*, at that time occupied by the Hamua and Warahoe tribes, and informed them that the Ngati-Ahi had gone to Wai-o-hau in order to kill certain of their relatives who lived at that place. On this information the men of Tokitake started instantly in pursuit of the unoffending Ngati-Ahi, who had themselves marched with the fixed intention of disencumbering the earth of the presence of the Wai-o-hau Ngati-Pukeko; but even this praiseworthy intention was not fated to be carried out, for they found themselves in the grey dawn of the morning confronted by a war party of the Whaka-tohea, who had come from Opotiki on much the same errand as the Ngati-Ahi. The two parties at once engaged with the utmost fury, regardless of the fact, that they had really no cause of difference, and that there was every reason why they should have been friends, seeing that they had both come there for no other reason than to destroy the Ngati-Pukeko. Such philosophical niceties do not, however, affect the mind of the ordinary Maori—they had gone to Wai-o-hau to fight, and the question as to whom they should fight was of secondary importance; it will be sufficient to say that the Whaka-tohea were defeated, and their chief Mango slain.

By this success achieved against a very warlike tribe, the Ngati-Ahi had established beyond all doubt that they were not to be assailed with impunity, and as they had avenged their former losses they had now no desire to attack the Ngati-Pukeko they therefore returned homewards, joyful at heart, carrying with them the dissected chief and other victims. Their troubles were, however, only just commencing, for *en route* they met the warriors of Hamua and Warahoe burning to avenge the relatives, whom they erroneously supposed to have been slain. The Ngati-Ahi, unconscious of ill-doing, and well satisfied with themselves, were straggling homeward in single file, and it so happened that the first of their party to meet the enemy was Te Nahu, a chief of the Pahi-poto, who had joined the war party just to see the fun. This man was nearly related to those who now barred his way, and who sternly demanded whose body he was carrying. Te Nahu replied truthfully enough that it was the mortal remains of a Whaka-tohea warrior; but Hamua convinced that the chief had lied to them, were wroth, and said, "It is false! you have slain our people; because you are related to us, you may pass, but your companions shall die." Now Te Nahu was a simple minded savage, and it is possible that his notions on many subjects, were not over well defined, but in this instance he had no doubt as to the course he should pursue, so he refused life on such terms, and throwing off his load fled back to his friends who were slowly advancing.

The position of Ngati-Ahi was now most serious, for not only were they exhausted by their long journey and previous exertions, and hence unfit for close fighting, but they were also outnumbered; under these circumstances they prepared for the worst, and the chief Tauwhitu took off his sacred girdle and burned it on a low ridge that is still known by the name of "Te maro o Tauwhitu." In the battle that ensued no less than thirty of the bravest of the small tribe of Ngati-Ahi fell including their three chiefs and Te Nahu of the Pahipoto, all of whom were members of the powerful tribes of Ngati-Awa or Ngati-Pukeko. This fact was well known to those who had slain them, and not for one moment were the Hamua or Warahoe in doubt as to the probable result of their escapade; yet they made no effort to save themselves by flight, but calmly awaited the issue in their respective *pas*. The result was, that within a week a few miserable survivors of the two tribes were flying for their lives towards Taupo or Waikato, at which last named place the Warahoe lived until long after Christianity had been established.

So much for mere *patu tangata* (man slaying), but suppose that some element of treachery should enter into the killing; it would then be termed a *kohuru*, a deed to be abhorred by gods and men—especially by Maori gods who are supposed to take a very active interest in the affairs of their friends. A *kohuru* cannot be passed over, the wrongdoers must be attacked even though they be strong enough to eat up their assailants; mere consequences are not counted in such cases, and the vengeance should be on a grand scale, sparing nothing. In many instances a *kohuru* has been followed by the absolute destruction of the tribe to whom the murderers belonged, and speaking generally on this subject there should—in order to square accounts with exactness—be a *kohuru* on the part of the avengers. My readers may perchance desire to know what sort of act would in the opinion of a Maori, constitute a *kohuru*, and in such case I should reply, any act that tended to lull a man into a sense of security if followed by an attempt upon his life; for it is not an essential that the attempt should succeed. One of the worst instances of *kohuru* that has ever come under my notice, was that by which Mr. Chas. Broughton lost his life at the hands of the Pakakohi tribe of Patea during the year 1865. This was a striking instance of cold-blooded deliberation, in which the whole tribe, having first resolved to murder Mr. Broughton, sent their chief, Te Onekura, to induce him to visit them, on the pretext that they were anxious to accept the terms of peace offered by the Government of that day, and were prepared to meet him midway between their respective strongholds, and there settle preliminaries. As a matter of course the tribe did not attend the trysting place, but Te Onekura did, and excused the non-attendance of his people on the score that they

were afraid of being attacked, and for this reason preferred that the meeting should take place in their own *pa*. Now this very tribe, numbering less than 150 warriors, had only a few months previously, attacked General Cameron and his 1200 men in the open country near Kakaramea, and therefore Mr. Broughton might well have doubted whether such a rough dealing people, were likely to be influenced by considerations of a purely personal nature. He hesitated, but overcome by the persuasive eloquence of Te Onekura, whom he had known intimately for many years, he went with him, and was shot dead from behind while lighting his pipe at a fire, only a few minutes after he had entered the *pa*. Even our most deadly enemies—among whom I may include Titoko-waru and his tribe—were disgusted with this savage deed, and invariably referred with much satisfaction to the severe punishment inflicted on the murderers, as a just though inadequate retribution for their sin. Not unfrequently a *kohuru* has resulted in a vendetta, the memory of which has been handed down from father to son for many generations; and under any circumstances a wrong of this sort is never forgotten, no matter how thoroughly it may have been avenged; it has moreover always been held to be a convenient excuse for killing a man of the offending tribe whenever opportunity offered. It was a murder by the Muaupoko tribe of Horowhenua, of which affair Te Rauparaha was almost the sole survivor, that caused the chief in question to pursue the Muaupoko almost to their extinction.

When however a *kohuru* followed serious provocation, and was not the result of deliberation and malice aforethought, it was not regarded with the same abhorrence, as was the case with the more cold-blooded variety of the same offence; indeed there might be occasions in which a *kohuru* would become a necessity of the tribal position, the only means left by which the tribe could extricate themselves from a position of overwhelming danger.

The intense desire for revenge, which as I have already pointed out is so characteristic of the true Maori, must be satisfied even though the very existence of the tribe be imperilled in obtaining it. Ordinarily however these dangerous traits of character did not prevent the Maori from behaving in a manly straight-forward manner, for often a warning would be sent to the threatened tribe through the medium of some mutual friend, warning them to put their *pa* in order and to look out for squalls. Surprises were not the rule unless indeed there was a blood feud between the parties, or that the assailants were much weaker in numbers than their enemy; for in such cases anything and everything was fair.

During visits of ceremony, any attempt made upon the lives of either the visitors or their hosts would have been regarded as the very

worst sort of *kohuru*; yet even here allowance would be made for cases wherein the memory of some wrong suddenly revived might urge a tribe to attack those with whom—up to that time—they had lived on terms of friendship. Of this particular form of *kohuru* we might quote many instances, but one will suffice.

During a war between two tribes who resided at the Thames and Waikato respectively, the former in one of their raids captured a woman of rank, and killed and ate her husband who was the head chief of his tribe. After the war-party had returned to their homes the captive woman gave birth to a son, and was subsequently taken to wife by one of her masters; it is just possible that her consent to this arrangement was not asked; but she was wise enough to accept the inevitable, and settle down quietly in her new life. In due time her captive son grew to be a man, and in recognition of his undoubted rank, was allowed to take a wife from his master's tribe; so far as a prisoner of war could have power and authority this man may be said to have had it, for he was a notable warrior. The young man had been named Pirongia, after the mountain near which his mother had been captured, and he had further been carefully instructed in the history of his own tribe, the manner of his father's death, and the fact that he had only received the name of Pirongia in order to keep alive the memory of that event, and the necessity for revenge, and that when this had been accomplished he would be required to take his proper name of Rata.

The two tribes had been at peace for many years, when the Thames people sent a messenger to the Waikato inviting them to a great feast, which was intended as a preliminary to a joint expedition against the tribes of the south. The invitation was accepted and the numerous visitors received with great ceremony. The time had now arrived when it had become possible to obtain the vengeance so long and patiently waited for; to this end the captive woman sent for her son and desired him to bring to her a number of the leaves of the *phormium tenax*, and these she wove together into a food basket of peculiar shape, common only to her own tribe: the peculiarity consisted for the most part in this, that she left all of the ends of the flax loose in place of weaving them in as was the usual custom. In this basket she placed small portions of every kind of food procurable, all of which she herself had cooked, and when the evening meal was over and it was sufficiently dark to hide her movements from the prying eyes of her master, she sent the food by the hands of her son into the house set apart for the visiting chiefs.

It will not be possible for me to convey to my readers any conception of the feeling of surprise and even horror experienced by the chiefs when this curiously shaped basket of food was set before them.



In the first place it was a thing unheard of and beyond their experience that food should be brought into a house where sacred chiefs were intended to sleep; either it was a direct insult given in order to destroy that *tapu* which was their birthright, and portending in such case immediate death at the hands of their hosts; or it had some meaning of the gravest nature, in which—although unknown to themselves—they were deeply concerned. For some moments there was silence and then the leading chief of the visitors said, "What is the meaning of this present?" Pirongia replied, "It is a present from my mother who at one time belonged to your tribe." Then the *tohunga* or priest of that tribe asked who had plaited the basket and when told that it had been done by the captive woman, he desired the son to bring her before them, in order that she might explain her behaviour. The old woman who had meanwhile been close at hand awaiting this call entered the house, and seating herself among the chiefs said—"I was once the wife of your chief and that is his son." At these words the position of affairs became clear to her audience, who lamented over their newly found relatives in the manner usual to Maoris; but the *tangi* was roughly interrupted by Te Rata—who was never again to be called Pirongia—for he, inspired by a natural desire for revenge, said: "Let us slaughter our enemies." His friends at once agreed to aid him in the coming fray, and each one of them partook of the contents of the basket, and by so doing bound himself to avenge the death of their former chief and the slavery of his son. That night their plans were laid and at grey dawn on the following morning, Te Rata and his friends fell upon their unsuspecting hosts in such wise that but few of them escaped. The old woman's basket of food had been offered, in order to bind her tribe together for the one great purpose of her life, and it had produced the desired effect.

This fight or rather massacre is known as Te Umupu, and would under ordinary circumstances have been regarded as a murderous piece of treachery; but the want of premeditation, and the undoubted right of a tribe to avenge their chief, redeemed the otherwise questionable action of guests rising upon and slaying their hosts.

So far I have dealt with the killing or murder of men of alien tribes, for it must distinctly be understood that there never has been a truly national feeling among the Maoris; whatever patriotic feeling the Maoris have had has been purely tribal, and I may add that they have always hated with greater or less intensity all tribes but their own.

When our rapid increase in numbers aroused the attention of the Maoris to the possibility that their *mana* might depart from them and be absorbed by the intruding white man; then indeed Wi Tamehana, Te Heuheu, and other sincere patriots, aided by several

well meaning but mischievous members of the Church Mission Society, attempted to form a national league and elect a king. The league was duly formed and the puppet king elected, but the result was not quite that which had been anticipated by the Missionaries; indeed with the single exception of Rewi Maniapoto it is doubtful if any one of the leaders foresaw the result of their handiwork, which had no other effect than to create a feeling of arrogant hostility towards their fellow settlers, and hasten the inevitable war with the *Pakeha*. Yet there was every reason why the king movement in its original peaceful guise should have succeeded, for the Maori mind at that period, was much exercised over the sayings and doings of another league whose object it was, to prevent all further sales of land to Europeans, and therefore unity of action was necessary to ensure success; but for all this the king movement was a failure from its very inception.

Many of the smaller tribes did naturally join in a policy that bade fair to give them some importance in the councils of the new Maori nation; and certain also of the stronger tribes who bore a grudge against the *Pakeha*, joined readily enough; but other tribes who justly considered themselves as good as the Waikato people, held aloof and asked "Who are these Waikato that they should govern us"? Such was the feeling that influenced the Maoris at that time, and it has not greatly altered even at the present day, and it is this phase of the Maori character, that will in great measure account for the utter disregard shown by one tribe when the lives or fortunes of another were at stake.

It occasionally came to pass that a man was slain by a member of the same tribe, or worse still of the same family; and in such case complications would probably arise of a more serious character than anything I have yet described. Here vengeance might or might not be sought, for that question would for the most part depend upon the rank of the offender; who if he happened to be a chief with many relatives, might escape extreme punishment, or for that matter any punishment whatever; but in such case he would risk the partial if not entire destruction of his tribe.

A very instructive instance of this variety of man-slaughter occurred among the Ngati-Kahukoka section of the Waikato people many generations ago, and will serve to illustrate the line of action that any tribe might take, under the spur of similar provocation. This tale is referred to by the late John White, in one of his valuable papers on Maori subjects. Among the Kahukoka people there were two chiefs (brothers) Tamakae and Tamakou, and for some reason the younger murdered the elder brother; here there was an altogether new and unique situation, but the *hapu* was equal to the occasion; the

adherents of the dead man could not, it is true, take vengeance on their own chief; but they could and did murder a member of an adjacent tribe, with the deliberate intention of drawing down destruction on their own heads. We may presume that the result was satisfactory, for in the conflict that ensued the Ngati-Kahukoka disappeared from the land.

The Maoris had yet another method of dealing with unsatisfactory chiefs, and that method was used in the case of Te Amaru; a monster in human form who was the chief of the Aitanga-a-Hauiti of Tologa Bay, and who was in the habit of killing the young men of his own tribe, in order to gratify his cannibal appetite. The Hauiti warriors bore with this ruffian for some years, but he finally exhausted even their patience, so that they at last sent a message to their friends the Whaka-tohea to the effect, that Te Amaru would be at a certain place on a certain day and that he had lived long enough. The hint was taken, and from that time forth Tologa Bay became a satisfactory place of residence.

Before leaving this subject, I may say that the state of exasperation that induced the Ngati-Kahukoka to compass their own destruction, is generally known by the name of *Whaka-momore*; and this racial peculiarity and its effects will be reviewed at length in another chapter, for it is one of the most interesting among the many remarkable traits of character developed by the Maori people.

It may not be denied, that the Maori has certain barbarous customs which are the result of religious superstition; as a rule they did not waste men in the form of offerings to their gods; but there were occasions when they deemed it expedient to sacrifice men, in order to avert the possible anger of those deities. These momentous occasions were the building of a great *pa*, the launching of a war-canoe, and the building of a chief's house. There is a small tribe presumably of Arawa descent called Ngati-Tura, and this unfortunate family had for many generations, the doubtful privilege of providing the sacrifices required by their overlords the Ngati-Whakaaue of Rotorua. The latter tribe had two war canoes which were exceedingly *tapu* and were known as Tiaki and Te Hapu-pararaki respectively; whenever either of them were launched for war purposes, a man—probably an old one—was selected from the Ngati-Tura, bound securely, and then placed alive as a living skid under the bow of the canoe which was then launched over his body. Many tales are told of the indignities suffered by this tribe. On one occasion at a feast, when the *kinaki* (superior food) was found to be insufficient for the guests; a few men of Ngati-Tura were bound and flung carelessly on the heaps of potatoes as an offering to the visitors. On another occasion after the Tuhourangi tribe had killed a few men of this family, the Ngati-

Whakaaue furious at this attack on their vassals, paid them a visit, and then one of the chiefs went through the village and marked each member of the *hapu* on the forehead with red ochre. This ceremony was significant, for it meant neither more nor less than this; that the Ngati-Tura being the property of Ngati-Whakaaue the chief had marked them off to be killed as required. Of course the marking was done in this instance to save them from the tender mercies of Tuhourangi; it was a quiet intimation that the whole tribe had been bespoken, and that any interference with them would be avenged; but the act was also significant as to what had happened on previous occasions.

The war customs and superstitions of the Maoris are undoubtedly the result of expediency, and of the experience born of the life of bloodshed and violence with which they had been familiar from their earliest infancy. These customs are for the most part cruel, and sometimes whimsical, but almost invariably practical; hence they have but little patience with our humanitarian eccentricities. For instance, they cannot understand the principal on which we spare the lives of men captured in war. To the old-time Maori there is nothing meritorious in saving the life of an enemy; indeed, he regards all such actions with good humoured contempt, for he deems it both weak and foolish, an act that could not even be contemplated by a well balanced mind. The matter was very fairly put to me by an old chief. "Why," said he, "do you go out to fight if it be not to kill some one, and in such case why save a man to become your bitter enemy? Do you suppose that any Maori will thank you for having saved his life and thereby degraded him? Just think what your feelings would be if after sparing a man you should find on the next occasion that the tables were turned; that he had you in his power, and not being quite a fool would not forgo his advantage. Would you not then be very much ashamed that you had acted so foolishly?" I had to admit that my old friend had the best argument from his Maori point of view, and no good purpose would have been served by my placing before him the emotional humanitarianism of the Britisher. A madman has the respect of the Maori, for in his case it is the act of God, but if an otherwise sane man begins to dabble to a Maori about humanity *a la* Britisher, he is at once set down as a mean man, who wishes to make every man as bad as himself, and hide his cowardice under the cloak of humanity.

A Maori holds very strong opinions on the subject of slavery. He is firmly convinced that captivity entails not only an entire loss of social rank, but also of *mana* (moral force). It will therefore be easily understood that a *rangatira*, or chief, would cheerfully suffer death rather than become a prisoner of war. A warrior of some repute

among his fellows once thanked me warmly, for that I had taken a leading part in the last moments of a neighbouring chief, who was a relative of his. "Death," said he, "must come to all men, and to fall in battle is becoming to a chief, but to take a man of rank prisoner is to degrade his tribe, and to affix the stigma of slavery to all of his descendants."

As an example of the divergence of Maori custom from our own notion of right and wrong, I may quote the following case: During the campaign of General Chute against the Ngati-Ruanui, my old and erratic friend Tamati Waka, of the Ngati-Hau tribe, discovered an aged uncle living among the Hauhau fanatics, and for reasons that will be appreciated by all Maoris felt himself compelled to shoot the old man in cold blood. Now, it must be understood that Tamati had no special ill feeling against this uncle, but had been moved to do the deed by a mixed feeling of patriotism and family pride; two very great virtues from the Maori point of view. We may therefore imagine that he was sincerely and virtuously indignant when he found himself a prisoner in the presence of the General, and realised that the self-sacrifice involved in the shooting of an uncle was not only not appreciated, but was regarded as a deed that ought possibly to involve another sacrifice, which might, perchance, affect Tamati's own future. His attitude before the General was instructive, if only for illustrating the fact that there are other methods of regarding matters of morality than those familiar to the infallible European. "Why," he asked, "should I not shoot the man; he was my uncle, and had disgraced me by becoming a Hauhau. Who would have dared to kill him had I not done so? Am I a nobody (*tangata ware*) that I should not do my duty?"

This chain of reasoning, duly interpreted by an officer of the Colonial forces, was beyond the General who, in his perplexity, appealed to his interpreter, and was gravely assured that there was a good deal in that which Tamati had advanced. That, from a purely Maori point of view, he had behaved in a manner deserving of the warmest commendation, inasmuch as it would be a bad omen for the future operations of the force if enemies were to be spared; that from the most ancient times the laws governing such cases were clearly laid down, and all of the precedents were in favour of Tamati Waka. Thus if a *taua* (war party) met and captured a man, whether friend or enemy, before blood had been shed by that *taua*, then there were two courses open to the warriors. Either the captive must be slain as a propitiatory offering to Tu, the war god, or the *taua* must return without delay to the place whence it had come, and must make a fresh start before they attempted to accomplish the purpose for which they had set out. The method of procedure was simple. If the captive

was known to have a relative in the *taua* he was passed back from man to man until he came to the said relative, whose privilege it was to decide his fate. If the captive had no kindred present, then he was slain out of hand by the first man who could reach him, and in such case the chief priest would then and there perform the ceremony of *whangai hau*.\*

If the relative—whom I have explained had the right and power to dispose of the prisoner—was a true Maori, and possessed the feelings of an old *rangatira*, he would at once smite the man down with his *mere*, and go on his way proudly conscious that he at any rate had not lost a day. If, however, he was of the modern and Missionary type of Maori, he might hold sentimental ideas as to the sacredness of human life, etc., and might even attempt to save the captive; but in such case the *taua* must return to its home an object of derision to the old men, women, and children. Fortunately there are but few men who would bring about such a fiasco, or bear the ridicule attaching to it.

Tamati Waka was not one of these half hearted and degenerate productions of our boasted civilization, and therefore he felt that he had done his duty, and had done it well. It is true that the occasion was not one of great urgency, such as I have already quoted—for this particular war party had met and defeated the enemy at Okoutuku and killed several men—but admitting this to be so, the greater the credit due to Tamati, in that he had sacrificed a relative even when the welfare of his tribe did not urgently require him to do so, and by so doing had proven beyond all doubt that his sense of honour and duty was stronger than mere family sentiment. Such were the conclusions at which my friend had arrived by a process of reasoning purely Maori, and behold as a reward he found himself a prisoner and an object of reprobation to many Europeans. Well might he feel despondent as to the ultimate fate of a war-party conducted on such loose principles. Tamati had indeed every reason to complain, for though General Chute had acknowledged the force of his arguments to the extent of releasing him from durance vile, yet it was only done on the condition that he would return forthwith to his home.

However great his sense of injury, my friend was still a just man, for he afterwards confided to me that he did not blame the *Pakeha*, seeing that it was more their misfortune than their fault, that they were greatly wanting in common sense, and ignorant in all matters connected with war and ceremony; in fact an ill bred people. In this opinion Tamati is not singular. It prevails generally among his people, for there is a want of dignity and reticence among Europeans that is positively shocking to the old and self contained Maori.

\* A ceremony of propitiation, during which the victim's heart was burned as an offering to the war god.

"*He maroro kokoti ihu waka*," is the figurative expression used by the Maoris to describe the individual who is so foolish or unfortunate as to cross the path of a war party. As I have already said, such a man would, except in very rare cases be killed at once, even by his own brother. This custom I need hardly say has often caused trouble to the tribe, whose duty—and possibly pleasure—it was to enforce the rule in all its integrity. ] After a family quarrel among the Whatu-i-apiti tribe of Hawke's Bay; certain of the leading men of that tribe together with their immediate followers, shook the dust of the land from their feet and migrated to Pourangahau. Here the local chief, Kaitahi, gave them lands whereon they lived peaceably, until certain of the Wai-rarapa people carried off the wife of Hau-apu one of their chiefs. To avenge this insult a strong war party was sent in pursuit of the chief offender, who was overtaken and slain. While intent on the performance of this act of justice and vengeance, the *taua* unfortunately met Rauponga, a son of Kaitahi; now it was clearly the duty of the war party to sacrifice this man to the war god without delay, and such indeed was the desire of the warrior chief, Pahu, but he was over-ruled by Manawa-kawa, the *ariki* of the party, who by way of compromise allowed Pahu to smite the captive a sharp blow on the head, and declare him dead for all practical purposes. After this solemn farce was over Rauponga was allowed to escape and return to Pou-rangahau, where he related his adventures and thereby roused his father's wrath to such a degree, that he induced his tribe to join him in attacking the Whatu-i-apiti, in order to wipe out the insult offered to his son. To me, it seems not improbable, that the tribe resented the clemency that had been exhibited towards Rauponga. I can quite imagine the outraged father working on the feelings of his people, and asking: is my son a *tangata ware* (nobody) that he should be spared in this contemptuous manner? Whatever the arguments used it is evident that they were cogent, for Kaitahi attacked the Whatu-i-apiti, and was slain together with his friends, Kiore and Te Rangihirawea; two other chiefs of the party, viz.: Kere and Pakiua, fled to the Wai-rarapa for safety and did not return thence, until those whom they had deserted had worked out their own salvation, unaided by the recreant chiefs. I have mentioned these two men advisedly, for it has rarely occurred among the Maoris that a chief has been found wanting in the courage and dignity that would naturally lead him to stand by his people even to the bitter end. The only excuse that can be offered for them is that they were of the tribe called Ngati-Kahungunu, concerning whom it can be said that only the Wairoa section are warriors.

However unconscious a Maori may be of the fact, his vanity is none the less abnormal, and is exhibited in almost everything he does. In the good old days if any man of rank met with a fatal or even

serious accident, his most distant relatives would at once express their concern by robbing his family of everything they possessed. The bigger the *taua-muru* (band of robbers) the greater the respect paid to the memory of the deceased; for the view taken by the Maoris would seem to have been this: that whereas the deceased or injured man was a person of importance, therefore his misfortunes must of necessity be of interest to the whole community, and hence also it followed that to act as though nothing of note had occurred, would be tantamount to saying that the deceased was a nobody, a thing not to be thought of for one moment, since it would be a gross insult to the whole tribe. There was a time in the history of modern New Zealand when if a Maori had been thrown from his horse and injured by the fall, his justly indignant friends would have seized the animal. Again had a man's axe slipped and wounded him ever so slightly, the axe would have been demanded in payment by his relatives. The principle observed by the Maoris in all such cases was not illogical, it was this: that a man did not belong so much to himself as to his tribe, who had a heavy lien on his energies, and therefore the shedding of his blood, although accidental, must be regarded as an injury inflicted on the tribe.

The Maori of the old school was a suspicious but dignified man, careful not to wound the feelings of others, and exceedingly tenacious of his own rights; a man who would by no means admit that mere anxiety for the welfare of his body or soul, could justify anyone in taking liberties with him, by interfering in matters that he had a right to consider concerned him only. Naturally ceremonious and courteous the Maori never failed to recognise superiority of rank, which is to him one of the chief incidents of life, he therefore regards the theory that all men are born equal as an unqualified absurdity.

Probably but few Europeans are aware that the Arawa tribe have a form of address or reply suitable to the rank of the person with whom they are conversing, such as, *ae Pa* (yes sir), *ae Tana* (yes, my lord). The most respectful form of address to young and married people, is "*E moi*." To salute an old man of even ordinary rank in the Arawa tribe, as "*E ta*" is simply insulting, and yet it is done every day by Europeans. The Ngati-Porou differ much from the Arawa in this point, they use the word "*tama*" as synonymous with young chief; therefore "*E ta*" is with them a respectable form of salutation to the elder members of a family, as is also "*E hika*" for the younger members, but whatever differences there may be between the various tribes, the behaviour of the Maoris one to another may be summed up in a few words; each tribe uses the form of address that it deems to be the most respectful.

When a *Pakeha* of a certain class salutes an old or middle-aged Maori—who has not been degraded by contact with the lower edge of



our civilization—with “Tenakoe Jack,” that Maori feels that he has lost caste, and that had this occurred in the good old times when a man carried both spear and tomahawk, he would have taught that man manners at small cost.

It would be good for us if we could but persuade a Maori to stand up and say what he thought of us; I do not think it could be done, for the strain upon his sense of politeness would be too great; but if it could, he would probably speak somewhat as follows:—“Let there be someone in every *Pakeha* household, who shall be capable of teaching the inmates how to behave, so that at least they shall not laugh openly at the wisdom of the Maoris, which, although perhaps not understood by them, they must know is the result of many generations of experience. Those things that the Maoris do firmly believe in ought not to be laughed at, even though they appear to be absurd to strangers, forasmuch that the Maori has many gods who attend the behests of those *tohungas* who know how to compel their obedience; and hence in some respects the Maori has a knowledge superior to that of the *Pakeha* who has but one God, and it must be clear to every one that however great the *mana* of that deity might be, he could not possibly attend to everyone and therefore the *Pakeha* loses many things in this way; but being ignorant he does not realise his loss, and laughs childishly at the things he does not understand.” He might perhaps add that there were other matters in which the *Pakeha* were deficient, and as to which they ought to be instructed. Let them learn how to enter a strange village with dignity. Why should they invariably nod or grin at all of the inferior people of the place, and shake hands with all of the girls and very young men; in fact behave generally as though they were *tangata ware* (plebeians). Do they think that the old men or chiefs will notice them if they do these things? When they enter a *pa*, or village, let them stare straight before them over the heads of those present as though unconscious of their very existence; let them walk direct to the *whare-manuhiri* (guest house) and there seat themselves, taking no notice whatever of those who are calling welcome. When food is brought they will eat, and when they have finished the leading men of the village will rise in the inverse order of their rank and welcome them, and by this arrangement they will ascertain who the leading men are. Above all be careful not to ask of any man his name, for he may perchance be a chief of importance, and in such case you ought to know his name without asking. Under any circumstance the question is an awkward one for a Maori.

Very much more than this might our old *rangatira* say, if he could but be persuaded to state publicly, that which I have heard from him in the privacy of his own *whare*.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [168] Maori and Moa Remains, Rakaia Creek.

On January 30, I received from Mr. A. H. Shury and Mr. C. Walker, of Ashburton, an almost complete Maori skull, with two ulni, together with some moa bones, which they had found at the mouth of the Rakaia Creek, that rises on and flows for some distance on the delta and enters the main river close to its mouth. In handing me the bones they stated that there were more obtainable from the face of the perpendicular sand bank, near the mouth of the creek. A week later Mr. Tennant, of the Ashburton High School, and I, drove to the mouth of the Rakaia, taking with us both tools and rods, for bone digging and trout fishing. The river, being generally dangerous to anyone fording it on foot, was comparatively low, and we had no difficulty in fording the main stream, and reaching the bone-bed. On examining the latter we observed that much labour would be required to unearth the bones which were buried three feet from the surface, under the blown sand. One adult skeleton which I dug out had associated with it some immature bones, and one femur of a small species of moa. We also obtained the skull of a Maori dog, which Captain Hutton states differs in nowise from the typical skulls of the extinct species. Before digging out the skeleton I cleared away sufficient of the sloping sand beneath the face to enable me to dig underneath the bones to ascertain how they lay. The body had, however, been laid on its back, as the position of the bones clearly indicated.

There can be little doubt but that the coast region of the Rakaia was long a populous haunt of the contemporaneous Maori and moa. The large area of rank, swampy vegetation would form ideal feeding grounds for the huge graminivorous birds, while the warm sandy flats and drifts would also provide perfect nesting places for them. Although the late Sir Julius von Haast wrote some excellent papers on "The Rakaia Moa Hunter Encampment" (Transactions N.Z. Institute, vol. III.), it invariably seems to me that greater justice will yet have to be done to this interesting district, both ethnologically and zoologically.—W. W. SMITH.

### [169] The Greenstone as a Fish.

Most students of Maori tradition will remember that in the native mind there is an idea that greenstone (jade) is a fish, or found inside a fish; also that it is soft at first, and then hardens on exposure. If the latter is not true of New Zealand jade, it may possibly be the fact in regard to the Asiatic variety. An old Chinese writer says:—"All jade in its natural state is found in the rocky bed of a flowing stream. Before it has been removed from its place, the jade inside the rough block is as soft as cotton-wool, but when removed it becomes hard at once, and when exposed to the air still harder." Heinrich Fischer tells us that when Hermann von Schlagintweit visited the jade-quarries in the Kara-Kash Valley, he found the newly excavated stone much softer than the exposed material. What are the facts? Is it true of greenstone (*pounamu*)? Or is it only true of Asiatic jade? Or is the Maori notion an ancestral memory of a land where jade is believed to be soft.—ED. TREGGAR.

[170] *Waru.*

In POLYNESIAN JOURNAL, vol. xiii., page 65, the word "*Waru*" is translated "Winter." Is this only a slip? It has hitherto, in many translations been considered as equivalent to "Summer." —ED. TREGGAR.

[We think Mr. Treggar is right. *Waru* is usually considered to be February. —EDITOR.]

[171] *The Pai-marire word Hau.*

Most of us who remember the old war times and the shouts of the Hauhan fanatics, with their cry of "*Pai-marire, Hau ! Hau ! Hau !*" will read the following quotation with great interest.—"The Mussulmans frequently use the name *Hu* or *Haw*, which has almost the same signification as Jehovah, that is, "He who is." They place this name in the beginning of their rescripts, passports, and letters-patent. They pronounce it often in their prayers, some so vehemently crying out with all their strength, "*Hau ! Hau ! Hau !*" that at last they are stunned and fall into fits, which they call ecstasies."—(Calmek's Dictionary "*Jehovah*," Bohn's 13th edition, 1855, p. 15). The *Hau* described by Elsdon Best both as "god" and "spirit" (or god-medium), and the mystery surrounding the real meaning of *Whangai-hau*, together with the regal associations connected with the word *hau*, in Polynesia, make the above quotation worth notice.—ED. TREGGAR.

[172] *Poe, as a name for the Tui.*

In Mr. S. Percy Smith's paper on "Wars of Northern against Southern Tribes," vol. xiii. of this Journal, p. 27, Dumont d'Urville is translated as saying, "ornamented with the plumes of the *Poe*, a very remarkable bird," and a note adds, "Possibly *Pohoi*, a tuft of feather worn in the ear." Allow me to point out that many early visitors to New Zealand (including Captain Cook) received the word *Poe* or *Poepoe*, as the name of the parson-bird (*tui*). It is curious that the name has not survived.—ED. TREGGAR.

## OBITUARY.

We very much regret to notice by the Sydney papers, that one of our oldest members, **John Fraser, LL.D.**, has died at the New Hebrides. Dr. Fraser is well known to the readers of this Journal as the author of many philological papers treating of the Polynesian and Melanesian languages. In him we lose a valuable member and a genial correspondent. We copy the following notice from a Sydney paper:—"Death of Dr. John Fraser.—News of the death of Dr. John Fraser, late headmaster of Sauchie House School, West Maitland, has been brought to Sydney by the *Tambo*. The deceased was on a visit to the island of Eromanga, the scene of the martyrdom of the late Rev. John Williams, in the New Hebrides Group, and he was the guest there of the Rev. H. A. Robertson, the Presbyterian missionary. The late Dr. Fraser was collaborating with the Rev. H. A. Robertson with the view of issuing a second edition of the work, "Eromanga, the Martyr Isle." The Rev. H. A. Robertson is the author of this work, which was edited by Dr. Fraser. From what can be gathered, the deceased was suddenly struck down by illness, and when the *Tambo* called at Eromanga he was conveyed to the island of Ambrym, where the Presbyterian New Hebrides Mission Hospital is situated. The late Dr. Fraser, who was highly esteemed, received every possible attention, but on the *Tambo* calling at Ambrym on the return journey it was learned that he passed away on May 2. The late Dr. Fraser had lived in Maitland nearly half a century. For a time he was headmaster of the High School, in the building next to the Presbyterian Church, Free Church Street, and later he conducted a grammar school at Sauchie House. For many years he was a trustee of the Glebe (Presbyterian Church) Property." In addition to the work quoted he was the author of a work on the languages of the Australian blacks, and (it is said) of a work on the Etruscans.



## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

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THE Council met on September 20, 1904—Present: Messrs. S. P. Smith (President), F. P. Corkill, W. Kerr, W. L. Newman, J. H. Parker, and W. H. Skinner.

It was resolved "That His Excellency Lord Plunket be requested to accept the position of Patron to the Society."

Reference was made to the loss sustained by the Society in the death of one of its original members, Dr. Fraser, a frequent and valued contributor to the JOURNAL, also to the death of one of our corresponding members, Te Kahui Kararehe, of Rāhōtu, Taranaki.

The following new members were elected :—

360 Herbert Guthrie Smith, Tutira, Hawkes Bay, and

Major H. P. Tu-nui-a-rangi, Featherston, as a corresponding member.

Papers received since last issue of JOURNAL :—

259 *Pukapuka Island*. Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

260 *The Ngati-Kahungunu Occupation of Wairarapa*. S. Percy Smith.

261 *Polynesian Languages*. Dr. D. Macdonald.

262 *Maori Medical Lore*. Elsdon Best.

263 *The Maori People*. W. E. Gudgeon.

264 *The Maori "Toa"*. W. E. Gudgeon.

265 *Some Maori Songs*. H. G. Smith.

266 *The "Lei," an ancient symbol from Atiu Island*. W. E. Gudgeon.



# THE ASIATIC (SEMITIC) RELATIONSHIP OF THE OCEANIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES: TRILITERALISM AND INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE.

BY REV. DR. D. MACDONALD, EFATE, NEW HEBRIDES.

[NOTE.—The Semitic letters are expressed in the following paper thus:—  
' (Aleph, like *h* in *hour*); *b*; *g*; *d* (softer than our *d*); *h*; *v* (*w*, *u*); *z*; *h'* (a stronger *h*); *t'* (a guttural *t*); *y* (*i*); *k*; *l*; *m*; *n*; *s*; ' (a gargling sound in the throat, 'Ain'); *p*" (*f*); *t'*" (= *ts*); *k'* (= *k*, or '); *r*; *s* (= *s*, or *s'* = *sh*); *t* (= *t* or *th*). There were originally as is still plain from the Arabic also *d'* (like *th* in *that*, *with*); *h'* (like *ch* in Scotch *loch*); *t'* (sometimes like *th* in *this*); " (a rougher gargling sound than '); *t'*" (like *th* in *this*).]

IN accordance with previous papers in this JOURNAL it is now to be endeavoured to be shewn that the Oceanic primitive language had like each of its sister dialects, Arabic, Assyrian, &c., its share of the common stock of purely and exclusively Semitic triliteral words (nouns and verbs) with the purely Semitic common method of word formation or inflexion by internal vowel change, and external additions (prefixed or infixes, suffixed) and its share also of the limited common stock of purely Semitic particles. This, if it can be shewn, will be admitted to be conclusive. The particles will be dealt with in a subsequent paper. The external formative additions have been dealt with in previous papers in this JOURNAL: see the JOURNAL for the last quarter of 1896 for the formative prefixes (and infixes) and that for June, 1901, for the formative suffixes.

The ancient Semitic finite verb, with its perfect and imperfect, was simply a verbal noun joined in a certain way with the personal pronouns, and from it again other and numerous verbal nouns were

formed by vowel change and external formative additions. The ancient finite verb with its perfect and imperfect so formed is no longer found in the existing broken down Oceanic languages, though as analytic substitutes for it we have as the finite verb for instance in Efatese "the verbal pronoun" joined with these verbal nouns after the fashion of the Imperfect, as *aba* I (am, or was) going = I go (or I went), and in Malagasy the "pronominal adjunctive" joined with these verbal nouns, after that of the perfect, as *tiaku* my loving = I loved, or, I love. The verbal nouns that were formed from the ancient finite verb were numerous, and in them we have the ground-forms of the modern Oceanic verb. We may compare in this paper with the following Arabic forms:—

1. *fa'l* (*fa'lu*, or *fa'lo*, *fa'li*, *fa'la*\*; in the rest I shall not give these final vowels, but the reader should bear them in mind).

2. <i>fi'l</i> .	10. <i>fa'ālat</i> .	17. <i>fa'il</i> .	24. <i>maf'al</i> .
3. <i>fu'l</i> .	11. <i>fi'al</i> .	18. <i>fa'il</i> .	25. <i>maf'il</i> .
4. <i>fa'lat</i> .	12. <i>fi'āl</i> .	19. <i>fa'ilat</i> .	26. <i>maf'ilat</i> .
5. <i>fi'lat</i> .	13. <i>fi'ālat</i> .	20. <i>fa'ilat</i> .	27. <i>maf'ul</i> .
6. <i>fu'lat</i> .	14. <i>fu'al</i> .	21. <i>fa'ūl</i> .	28. <i>maf'ulat</i> .
7. <i>fa'al</i> .	15. <i>fu'āl</i> .	22. <i>fi'ūlat</i> (Heb.)	29. <i>maf'alat</i> .
8. <i>fa'āl</i> .	16. <i>fu'ālat</i> .	23. <i>fu'ūl</i> .	30. <i>fu'ulat</i> .
9. <i>fa'alat</i> .			

Of these forms 1–6 are the commonest in Oceanic. The difference from the Arabic form is mainly in the last vowel of 1–3 (this last vowel is not written in the above as explained) and in the two last vowels of 4–6 (the last being this same unwritten terminal) there being for the final *u*, or *o*, when it is not elided, sometimes *a*, or *i*, and for the *a* before the *-t*, often *u*, or *o*, as in other Semitic languages. We now proceed to compare the Oceanic trilateral words with Arabic, Assyrian, &c., just as, for instance, we compare, say Assyrian or Himyaritic words with Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, or Ethiopic.

Take for example Efate *lifai* to bend round, *malibai* bent (the final *i*, transitive particle, is explained in the paper above cited) *lofa* a thing bent, *lofai* to bend, *malofa* bent, *kalofa*, or *kolofo* bent, *lufa* (Samoan *lavalava*) a wrapper round the loins, Samoan *lofa* to crouch, *lofata'ina* to cause to crouch, *lare*, *lavelave* (Arabic *lafelafa* to wrap round, &c.) to entangle, *lavelavea* to be entangled (for *-a*, and *-ta'ina*, see the paper cited). Fiji *lore*, *lovetha* (Samoan *larasi* to coil, fold, to bend, *kalore* bent, *salore* flexible, Malay *lipat*, *lampit*, *lapit*, *lampis*, *lapis*, a fold, to fold, plait; Malagasy *lefitra* folded, bent, plaited.

\* In Arabic as in the Semitic mother tongue every noun ended with one of these italicised vowels, *u*, or *o* (nominative); *i* (genitive); *a* (accusative). Generally the other Semitic languages, and the modern Oceanic use these final vowels indiscriminately, without case signification.

Arabic *laffa* to be involved, intertwined, to warp up, wrap round (oneself, as clothing), to fold, *laff*, *liff*, *laffat*, *liffat*, involved, intertwined, &c., *loffa*, *loffat*, coil of turban, winding of road. In this example the above given six commonest forms of the modern Oceanic verb (or noun) the ancient verbal noun, are seen viz. :—

- |                  |  |                     |
|------------------|--|---------------------|
| 1. <i>lave</i> . | 3. <i>lofa</i> , <i>love</i> , <i>lufa</i> . | 5. <i>lipat</i> .   |
| 2. <i>lifa</i> . | 4. <i>lampit</i> , <i>lavasi</i> .           | 6. <i>loretha</i> . |

The inference is irresistible that in the Oceanic primitive or mother tongue this word was trilateral, and had the vowel changes peculiar to the Semitic languages most fully preserved in the ancient Arabic; and that as a trilateral word with the middle radical doubled it underwent the usual contractions, set forth in all Semitic grammars, of such words, as is plainly seen by comparing with the Arabic. These forms, originally verbal nouns and still often used as such, formed from the ancient finite verb, as *lipat* a fold, *lofa* a thing bent, or bending, have become ground-forms of the modern verb, as *lipat*, *lipatkan* to fold, *lofai* to bend, from which again are formed by external additions modern verbal nouns, and derived verb forms. Thus we have *lipatan* a fold, *lofaian* a bending or being bent, *lavelarea* entangled or entangling, *malibai* bent; and the derived verb forms (see the paper of 1896 above cited).

Safal, Fiji *salove* flexible.

Mafal, Malay *malipat* to fold, plait.

Mifal, Malagasy *milajitra* folded.

Tafal, Fiji *kalore*, Efate *kalofa* bent.

Manfal, Malagasy *mandifitra* to fold, bend.

Matafal, Samoan *fa'alare* to take turn of a rope as round a pin.

It is not proposed to give these modern verbal nouns, and derived verb forms for the following words, but they may easily be found in the dictionaries.

As is seen in this example the vowels of the ground-forms of the Oceanic verb are retained in the modern derived forms and verbal nouns. It is in the ground forms therefore that we find the proof of the part played in the ancient language (the primitive Oceanic) by internal vowel change.

To shew that this is a fair specimen of modern Oceanic words, that it is not exceptional but only one out of the mass and of a piece with the rest, would prove conclusively that the Oceanic primitive or mother tongue had like each of the sister dialects, Arabic, Assyrian, &c., its share of the purely and exclusively common stock of Semitic trilateral words with the purely Semitic common method of word-formation or inflexion by internal vowel change and external additions. This then is what we have now to endeavour to shew, and we may begin with words belonging to the same special class as this, viz. :



## TRILITERALS WITH THE SECOND RADICAL DOUBLED.

The figures refer to the above given verbal noun forms 1—80. Efate 1 *tabu*, Maori *tapu*, prohibited; Arabic (*dabba* to prohibit) 1 *dabbu*, a prohibiting, or being prohibited.

Efate 1, *malo*, Malay 4, *malas*, disgusted, loathe, unwilling, averse. Arabic (*malla* to loathe, be disgusted, unwilling, averse) 1 *mallo*, 4 *mallat*.

Efate 1, *tefa*; Fiji 4, *tura*, to put in a series, range troops in order of battle. Arabic *t'afā* to set or place in order in a series, to arrange the line of battle) 1 *t'aff*.

Efate 1 *kari*, *karo*, to scratch, scrape, shave, sieze, grasp; *karo*, the throat, gullet; *kāri*, a plane; Malay *garu*, to rake; Efate 8 *ngura*, to rake; Malagasy 8 *kory*, to scrape; Efate 6 *ngurasi*, to gnaw; Efate 4 *karaka*, *karati*, *karisi*, *karafi*, *karuti*; Malay *garit*, *garis*, *garut*, *garok*, *garap*, *karut*, *karok*; Malagasy, *haratra* to shave; Arabic (*garra* to drag, snatch, sweep, sieze; Hebrew *garar*, to scrape, sweep, saw); Ar. 1, *garr*; 4, *garrat*; 6, *gurrat*; H., *garon*, the throat, gullet.

Efate 1 *kalu*; 8, *kulu*, a covering, as of cloth or a mat, to cover oneself with such; 4, *kaluti*; 6, *kuluti*, to cover with such, to clasp one round so as to hold him; Malagasy 6, *hodina*; Malay, *guling*, *gulung*, *goling*; 5 *giling*, to roll. Arabic (*galla* to cover, &c., Hebrew *galal* to roll) 1, *gallu*; 8, *gullu*, a covering; Hebrew *gilgal*, a wheel, a whirlwind, compare the analogous Malagasy *hodinkodina* turned repeatedly.

Efate 8, *kusi*, and, with *k* elided, *usi*, to follow, to track, to narrate; Malay 6, *usir*, to pursue; Arabic *k'at't'a*, to track, to narrate.

Efate 8 *soka*, to leap, go swiftly, be inflamed with anger, to spear, inivit *mulierem*; Samoan *Soso'a*, Tongan *hoka*, to spear, pierce; Arabic *zah'h'a*, to leap, to go with vehemence, to burn with rage, inivit *mulierem*, to project, to throw.

Efate 2 *siero*, 8 *seewa*,\* to descend, downward; Fiji, *sobu*; Samoan 2, *ifo*; Tongan, *hifo*; Tahiti, *iho*; Syrian, *s'ab*, to let down, be let down, descend. This in Arabic would be *s'abba*. In Tahiti and in Syrian there is also the signification of *proximity* in this word.

Malagasy 4, *haraka*, scorched, dried up, parched; Malay, *garing*, *kring*; Efate 1, *kara*, dry; Arabic, *h'arra*; Hebrew, *h'arar*, to be hot, burned, dried up.

Malagasy 1, *tany*, Efate, *tangi*, to sound, clank, tinkle, hum, wail; Malay 4 *tangis*, Efate; Samoan, *tangisi*; Arabic, *t'anna*, to tinkle, clank, ring, hum.

Efate 8, *kofu*, to wrap up, enclose, to clothe; Tongan, *kofu*; Samoan, *ō'ofu*, to put on a garment; Efate 4, *kafuti*, to wrap up,

\* ? *suwa*—(Ed.)

enclose; Efate, *kofu*; Samoan, 'ofu'ofu; Fiji 6, *kovuna*, to envelope in leaves food gathered into a mass to be cooked in the oven; Efate, *kofukofua* (-a, for -ana) bent so as to be concave, so Maori *kohu*, *kokohu*; Efate, *k* elided, 8 *ofa*, 1 *aba*, to whirl round, so Tahiti *ohu*, which also denotes to bend downwards, to stoop; Hawaiian *ohuohu*, heavy; Efate 1, *kabu* (d *koau*) the native food ("pudding") gathered into a mass wrapped in leaves and cooked in the oven, the principal daily food of the natives, so Arabic *kobba*, *kabab*, "kilby" the national dish of the Arabs gathered into a round mass and cooked in the oven. Arabic *kabba* to roll up into a ball, to make into balls food for cooking; to invert, to stoop, to be heavy; *kabkaba*, to be wrapped up, enveloped, to wrap up or envelope oneself (in one's garment); Ethiopic *kabab*, to whirl round.

Efate 1 *saru*, Malay *saru*, Efate 21 *saruru*, to sound, resound, roar; Arabic (*t'arra* to make a noise, sound, roar) 1, *t'arru*; 18 *t'arir*.

Efate 1 *kaf* bent; Maori *kapu*, curly, the hollow of the hand, Efate *ka'fikāfā*, a native basket, to put the hand into such a basket to feel for and take out something; Arabic, *kaffa*, to take something stealthily between the fingers; Hebrew, *kafaf*, to bend, *kaf*, the hollow of the hand, a hollow vessel, and as to the form compare with *ka'fēkāfē* Arabic *kafēkafa*.

Efate 1 *kasi*, to rub; Samoan 'asi; Malay 6, *gosot*, *gosok*, 5 *gisik*, *kisil*; Malagasy 4, *kasoko*, to rub; Arabic (*k'as's'a* to rub) *k'as's'u*.

Efate 1 *raka*, 24 *maraka*, to desire, will, be willing, desirous of; Syriac, *rag*, to desire, will, (this in Arabic would be *ragga*) 2 *rega*, desire, will.

Efate 1, *sila*, *silasila*, to sound, crackle, rattle (as thunder); Samoan *fai-tilitile*; Maori *whai-tiri* thunder, Maori *tiri* to crackle; Arabic *t'alla*, *t'alāt'ala*, to sound, crackle, crack, as thunder.

Efate 1 *kala*, Malagasy 2 *kely*, or *kily*, little, 5 *kelez*, in imperative passive *kelezo*, verbal noun *kelezina*: *kelezo* is for *kelezy* of which the *y=i* in the other Oceanic languages, and written *i* in *kelezina*, 28 *kololy* very small, *hilihily* (and *kedikedy*) to move to and fro, Efate *makalakala* to move about quickly (as ants). Arabic (*k'alla*, Hebrew *k'alal* to be little) 1, *k'allu*, *k'alli*, *k'alla*, 5 *k'illat*; Hebrew *k'ilk'el* (pilpel); Arabic *k'alēk'ala* to move to and fro.

Efate 2, *siba*, 8 *suba* (*masiba*, a fragment, broken); Fiji *sove*, to break; Malagasy 6, *sombina*, fragment, broken; Hebrew, Chaldū *s'abab* (this in Arabic would be *s'abba*) to break, Chaldū *s'ibba* a fragment.

Efate 8, *sumi*, 6 *sumili*; Malay, *sumpat*, *sumbat*, *sumpal*, 1 *sampal*; Malagasy *tampina*, to plug, stop an aperture; Arabic *t'amma*, to plug, stop an aperture.

TRILITERALS WITH THE MIDDLE RADICAL *v* AND *y*.

Efate 1, *mate*; Samoan, *mati*; Malay, *mati*; Malagasy, (*faty* a corpse) *maty*, to die, be dead; Malagasy 4, *matesa*; Mangarevan *mater* in *materanqa*. Arabic *māta* to die, be dead, 1 (*mat*) *mat*.

Efate 1, *masi* to shave; Arabic *māsa* to shave, 1 (*mav*) *mas*.

Efate 1 *langa*, 4 *langat*, to raise; Samoan 1, *langa*; Maori *ranga*, to raise, Efate *langi* up, above, the sky, heaven; Maori *rangi*; Malay 4, *langit*; Malagasy, *lanitra* id.; Maori 8 *runga*, the top, upper part, upwards, on high; Samoan, *lunga*; Hawaiian, *luna*, id.; Hebrew, *ram* (in Arabic this would be *rama*) to be high, to raise, *rum*, height, elevation, *ramah*, *ramat*, Ethiopic *rama*, a high place, third heaven (Ethiopic).

Efate 8, *soro*, *sore*, *suru*; Malagasy 6, *sodoka*, *sodika*, to tell lies, to deceive; Arabic *zāra* to tell lies, 8 *zuru* or *zoro*.

Efate 25, *mitiri*, *mitsiri*; Malay 6, *tulis*; Malagasy, *soratra*, *soritra*, to make figures, draw, paint, write (Samoan *tusi*, Maori *tuhi*) 6 *turat*; Arabic *t'āra* (*e*) to form, make figures, draw paint.

Efate 8, *suru*; Malagasy 4, *sarona*; Malay 6, *suruk*, to conceal; Ethiopic, *sarara*, (this in Arabic would be *sāra*) to cover, conceal.

Efate 1 *tani*, 8 *tuni*, 4 *tanumi*, *tanumaki*; Malay, *tanam*; Samoan, *tanumia*, *tanuma'i*, to cover with earth, soil; Arabic *t'āna* to cover with earth, clay, soil.

Efate 1 *tiri*, sometimes pronounced *riri*; Maori, *rere*; Samoan, *lele*, to fly; Arabic *t'āra* to fly, 1 *tayr* or *tair*.

Efate 1, *afa* ki; Malagasy 4, *afina*, to conceal, bury; Efate 8, *ofa* ki; Samoan *ufi*, 6 *ufita'i*, *ufitia*, to cover, conceal; Efate 8, *uri*; Samoan *ufi*; Malay *ubi*; Malagasy *ovy*, the yam (so called as being a root buried in the ground, or covered with earth); Arabic "*āba*, to be concealed, to conceal, to bury, 1 "*ayb*, 4 "*aybat* (of "*ayab*, roots).

Mota 2 *esu*, Polynesian 8 *ora*, *ola*; Malay 6, *urip*; Java 5, *idup*; Efate 25, *mairi*; Malagasy 26, *velona*; Efate 27 *mauri*, dialect *mola*; Fiji *bula*; Tanna 28 *murif*, *murep*, life, to live; Arabic '*ās'a*, to live, 5 '*ēs'at*, 26 '*maīs'at*, 25 '*maīs'*.

From the examples of verbs middle radical *v* and *y* it is clear from comparison with the Arabic that in the ancient Oceanic such words underwent the regular contractions set forth in Semitic grammars.

TRILITERALS WITH ' , *h*, *h'* (AND *h''*), AND ' (AND ' ') MIDDLE RADICAL.

In the Oceanic languages these verbs are contracted like those with *v* and *y*. In Assyrian Sayer (*Assy. Gr.*) classes verbs middle radical *v*, *y*, ' , ' , *h* altogether as concave or quiescent verbs. In the Semitic languages in the course of their analytic development these consonants tend to become all alike quiescent, as for instance in Mandaean. In Assyrian, according to Delitzsch (*Assy. Gr.*) ' , *h*, *h'* (and *h''*), ' (and ' ')

were all pronounced alike as ' , or spiritus lenis, that is like *h* in *hour*: the modern Oceanic as distinctly compares in this with the Assyrian, as it does in the verbal noun forms with the Arabic. It is certain, however, that all these consonants were not always so pronounced, or quiescent, in ancient Oceanic. That they have become so especially when the middle radical of verbs is to be explained not only from their natural tendency to quiesce but also from the fact that in the verbal noun forms 1–6, which are the common ground forms of the Oceanic verb, the middle radical always lost its vowel. However, it may be explained the fact is certain as a few examples will shew.

Efate 3, *bolo* or *folo* ; Fiji 1, *vala*, to do, to act ; Efate 6, *bolosi* ; Fiji 4, *valata* ; Arabic *fa'ala* to do, to act, 1 *fa'l*, 4 *fa'lat*.

Efate 3, *sulu*, a torch, to light by a torch, to scorch with flame ; Samoan, *sulu*, a torch, to light by a torch ; Malay 6, *suluh*, a torch ; Malagasy, 3 *tsolo*, 2 *tsilo*, 5 *tsilovana* to light by a torch ; Arabic, *s'a'ala*, to kindle a fire, light a torch, 6 *s'u'lat* flame.

Efate 3, *soro*, to burn, flame (of fire, of rage) ; Maori, *torn* ; Efate 6, *sorofi*, to burn, to flame with rage ; Fiji, *thoronga*, to scorch ; Arabic, *sa'ara*, to kindle a fire, to rage, 3 *su'ru* or *so'ro* flame of fire, flame of rage.

Efate, *bara*, to burn be burned, kindle, 21 *bauri*, *bauria*, to kindle a fire in the oven ; Samoan 1, *vela*, 4 *velasia* ; Maori, *vera* ; Tahiti, *vera*, to burn, to heat, to be cooked ; Hebrew, *ba'ar*, to kindle, burn, be burned ; Arabic 1 would be *ba'r*, 21 *ba'ur*.

Efate 1, *tangi*, 2 *tine*, to carry sail (a canoe), *mitanga*, *miten*, to be laden, heavy, 12 *tiana*, or *tiena* laden, gravid ; Malagasy 1, *entana*, burden ; Malay 4, *tanggung*, to bear, carry ; Syrian, *t'en*, to bear, be laden, *t'ana*, burden, *t'ina*, laden, gravid.

Efate 12, *miala*, or *miela* to be red ; Samoan 1, *melo* ; Malagasy, *mena*, red ; Malay, *mera* red, reddish brown, bay ; Arabic, *ma'ara* (4) to yield red milk mixed with blood, *ma'ir* red, *ma'ar* reddish.

Efate 1, *lami*, to eat ; Samoan, *lamu*, to chew ; Hebrew, *lah'am*, to eat ; Arabic 1, would be *lah'm*.

Malekula 3 *roso*, 6 *rosovi* ; Efate 3, *loso*, to wash ; Arabic, *rah'at'a*, to wash, 3 (would be) *roh't'o*.

Efate 3, *rumi* ; Fiji, *loma* ; Samoan, *alofa*, to compassionate, to love, Fiji 6, *lomana* ; Samoan (in) *alofangia*, *fealofani* ; Maori (in) *arohatia* ; Fiji, *loma*, the heart, the inner parts, midst or inside of a thing ; Arabic, *rah'ina* ; Hebrew, *rah'am*, to compassionate, to love ; Arabic 3, *ruh'm* or *roh'm* ; Hebrew, *reh'em*, the inner parts.

Efate 2, *sila*, to peel, shave off ; Malagasy 5, *silatra*, *silaka* ; Arabic, *sah'ala*, to peel, shave off.

Efate 2, *senu*, 3 *tunu*, to heat, be hot, inflamed ; Malagasy, Malay, Samoan, Fiji, *tunu* ; Malagasy 4, *tanina*, *tanika* ; Fiji 6, *vakatununa* ;

Arabic, *sah'ana*, to heat, be hot, inflamed, 3 *suhnu* and *t'uh'nu*, 6 *suh'nat*, 4 *sahnat*.

Efate 3, *bono*, to be shut, closed, secret, 6 *bonoti*, *bunuti*, *monoti*, *munuti*, to shut, close, stop, cover, conceal; Maori 1, *pani*, to shut; Hawaiian, *pani*, to shut, conceal; Tahiti 3, *puni*, to be enclosed, to hide, *tapuni*, to hide; Mangaiian, *puni*, to hide; Tongan, *buni*, closed, shut, *tabuni*, to shut, to close up; Samoan 6, *punita'i*, *punitia*, to stop with, to be shut up, and *monoti*, to stop, cork, plug; Malay 3, *buni*, hidden, to hide, (and Sanfal form as in Amharic) *sambuni*, hidden, concealed, secret; Java 6, *buntu*, closed up, shut; Efate, *bunuta*, mute, silent (English "shut up" = silent); Hebrew, *baham* or *bahan*, to shut, to cover; Arabic, *bahama*, to shut, close, be covered, hid, mute, silent.

Efate 1, *safa*, *sefa*, to pant, to hasten, 3 *sofa* phthisis (panting) to pant, (to have phthisis) to hasten; Malagasy 1, *sefo*, asthma, *sefosefo*, or *serosero*, hurry, haste, breathless, 4 *seroka*, in haste, bustling; Hebrew, *s'a'af*, to pant, to hasten.

Efate 1, *bami* or *fami*, to eat; Tahiti, *hamu*, gluttonous, to go to a feast whenever one occurs, to be burdensome to others by eating their food; Hawaiian, *hamu*, to eat fragments of food; Maori, *hamu*, feeding on fragments; Tongan, *hamu*, to eat one kind of food only; Mangarevan, *amu*, to eat with the mouth, not using the hands; Hebrew, Ethiopic *pa'am*, *fa'ama*; Arabic, *fa'ama*, to have the mouth full of food, to swallow down.

TRILITERALS WITH THE THIRD RADICAL: ', *v* (*w*), *y* (*i*), *h*,  
*h'* (and *h''*), ' (and ").

Efate 2, *siko*, to look at; Malagasy, *zaha*; Hebrew, *sakah*; Chaldæan, *sēka*, to look at.

Efate 23, *tubu*, to swell, *tobu*, a tumour, *tumbu*, *tuma*, will; Efate, *futum*, dialect *bisobu*; Polynesian 23, *tupu*, *tubu*; Malagasy, *tombo*, to spring forth, grow, increase; Malay 24, *tumbuk*; Samoan, *tupu'* and *tupul*, in *tupu'anga*, *tupula'i*; Hebrew, *t'abah*, to come forth, to swell, to will; Aramaic, *t'eba* to will, *t'ebu* will; Arabic, *t'aba'a* and *t'abu'a*, to come forth, rise, spring up, project, 23 *t'ubu*, 24 *t'ubut*.

Efate 2, *kili*; Maori 1, *kari*, *keri*; Malay, *gali*; Malagasy, *hady*; Fiji, *kali*, 4 *kalia*, *kaliva*, to dig; Arabic, *kara*, (third radical *v*); Ethiopic, *karaya*, (third radical *y*); Hebrew, *karah*, (third radical *h*); Aramaic, *kēra*, (third radical '), to dig; Arabic 1, *karev*; Ethiopic 4, *keryat*.

Efate, Fiji, *tatalai*, to warm oneself at the fire; Arabic, *t'ala*, 1 *t'aly*, (5) *t'atala(y)* to feel the heat of fire, to warm oneself at the fire.

Samoan, *talotalo*; Tahiti, *tarotaro*, to pray, 4 *talosia*; Efate *tarotaro*, 4 *tarosi*, to pray; Arabic, *t'ala*; Ethiopic, *t'alaya*, to pray, 4 *t'alot*.

Efate, 2 *tili*, 3 *tuli*; Malay, *tutur*; Samoan 1, *tala*; Malagasy 3,

*tory*, to narrate, tell; Malay 6, *turut*, to follow; Arabic, *tala*, to follow, to recite, secondary verb from *wala(y)* (8).

Efate 3, *toko*, (shortened) to *matoko*, to sit, rest upon, stay; Malay, *duduk, totok*; Fiji 2, *tiko*; Efate 6, *tokora*; Fiji 5, *tikora*; Malagasy 6, *toatra, toitra, toetra*; Arabic, *taka*, to rest upon, support oneself upon, sit, recline. This is a secondary verb from Arabic *waka* (8), i.e. 'ttaka to rest upon, sit (Luke XIV. 8, Arabic version).

Efate 1, *taku, matakū*; Samoan, *mata'u*; Malay 4, *takut*; Malagasy, *tahotra*; Samoan, *mata'utia*, fear, to fear; Arabic, *tak'a*, (Hebrew *ta'k'e*) to fear. This is a secondary verb from Arabic *wak'a(y)* (8) i.e. 'ttak'a, to fear (to guard oneself being afraid).

Efate 1, *karai*, to dislike, be averse from, hate; Malay 2, *gili*; Malagasy 1, *hala*; Arabic, *kariha*, to dislike, abhor, 1 *karh*.

Malay 4, *s'akit*; Iloean, *masakit*; Efate 1, *masaki*; Tongan, *mahaki*; Maori, Rarotongan *maki*; Samoan, *ma'i*; Hawaiian, *mai*, sickness, to be ill; Arabic, *s'aka*, to be sick, have a disease, 1 *s'aka(y)*, 4 *s'akat*.

Efate 1, *maru*, to rub, to joke; Maori 2, *miri*, to rub; Arabic, *marah'a*, to rub or anoint with oil, to joke, 1 *marh'*.

Samoan 18, *malie*, well, agreeable, right, proper, good; Maori, Mangarevan *marie*; Efate, *malei* or *milei*, good, well; Arabic, *maluh'a*, to be elegant, beautiful, 18 *malī(y)* h', *malih'*, beautiful, good, fit, proper.

Efate 3, *boka* or *buka*, to strike, to reprehend, Malagasy *poka*, Malay 6, *pukul*, to strike, Efate *bukati*; Arabic *baka'a*, to strike, to reprehend, 3 (would be) *buk'*, and 6 *buk'at*.

Efate 23, *roko*, also *loko, loku*, and *luku*, and 1 *laku*, to bow, stoop; Samoan, *lolo'u*, to bend, curve; Fiji, *roko*, a bowing form or posture, curved; 24 *rokota*, to bend a bow; *rokova*, bow to, pay respect to; *rokoroko*, reverence, respect; Efate 4, *lakosa ki*, 24 *lukuta ki*; Mangarevan, *rokuroku*, a final prayer when the torches are thrown down and extinguished at a funeral; Arabic, *raka'a*, to bow, stoop, as from old age, or in prayer, 23 *ruku'*, 4 *rak'at*.

Efate 23, *bulu, bule*, complete, the whole; Tongan, *fuli*, all; Malay, *bulah*, the whole; Arabic, *bala'a*, to complete, to go through to the end, 23 *bulu'*.

TRILITERALS WITH THE FIRST RADICAL *v* (*u*), *y* (*i*), '*i*', *h*, *h'* (AND *h''*),  
' (AND ").

Efate 21, *amosi, mosi, musi*; Maori, *muhi*, to rub; Arabic, *wamasa*, to rub, 21 (would be) *wamus*.

Efate 8, *bara*; Malay, *palu*; Malagasy, *vely*; Efate, *barati*; Malagasy, *velez-*, to beat; Arabic, *wabala*, to beat.

Efate 8, *atai, tai* to know; Malay, *tau*; Hebrew, *yada'*, to know, *da'at, de'a*.

Efate 7, *bali*, to abstain, fast; Malagasy, *fady*; Arabic, '*abala*, to abstain, fast.

Efate 8, *kani*, to eat; Fiji, *kana*; Malay 24, *makan*; Malagasy, (transposed for *mahana*) *homana*, 20 *hinana*, 10 *hanina*, to eat; Arabic, '*akala*, to eat, 8 '*akāl*, 24 *ma'kal*; Hebrew 20, '*ākilat*.

Efate 21, *rongo*, dialect, *dongo*; Maori, *rongo*, to hear, to smell; Samoan, *longo*; Malay 10, *dangar*; Malagasy, *renes*; Efate 22, *rongo*sa ki; Samoan, *longolongosa* 'i; Efate, *rongo*rongo ki, to proclaim, to report; Arabic, '*ad'ana*, to hear, to smell, to proclaim, 10 '*ad'anat*, 21-22 (would be) '*ad'on*, '*ad'onat*.

Samoan 1, *efu*, dust, to become dust, dust-coloured; Malay, *abu*; Tongan, *efu*, dust, ashes; Efate, *abu*, dust, ashes; *abuabu*, to fly in the air (dust); Arabic, *haba*, to fly in the air (dust) 1, (would be) *habur*, 4 *haburat*, dust, colour of dust.

Efate 1, *ta*, to chop, cut, to speak, or utter quickly (as it were to make a chopping noise); Fiji-Samoan *ta*; Efate-Samoan, 7 or 8, *tata*; Malay 9 or 10, *tatah*; Malagasy, *tatana*; Fiji 4, *taya*, *tala ka*, *tava ka*; Arabic, *had'd'a*, to cut, to cut quickly, to chop, to utter speech quickly, 1 *had'd'a*, 7 *had'ad'*, 8 *had'ād'*, 4 (would be) *had'd'at*, and 9 *had'ad'at*.

Efate 21, *loai*, to rub, smear, 22 *alofi* and *lofi*, also *loasi*, *loari*, and doubled *loloasi*, to rub, to smear or paint the face with a cosmetic or paint; Malay, *lulut* and *lulur*, to cleanse the skin by friction and cosmetics, to rub the skin with cosmetics, to smear; Arabic, *h'ala'a*, to rub, to smear, 21 *h'alowa* or *h'aluw*, 22 (would be) *h'alowat*.

Efate 1, *elo*, to be sweet, pleasant; Hawaiian 3, *olu*; Arabic, *h'ala'*, to be sweet, pleasant, agreeable, 1 *h'alw*, 3 *h'olw*.

Efate 23, *ulu*, to grow up, produce leaves, or foliage, *ulu* a leaf, (doubled) *lulu*, to go up, be high, *ulu*, (Efate, Samoan, Malay) the head; Samoan 30, *ulua* 'i, *lua* 'i, first, (ahead); Malay 21, *alu*, head or forepart of a vessel; Malagasy 22, *aloha*, ahead, first, *loha* head; Arabic, '*ala*', to go up, be high; Hebrew, '*alah*, to go up, sprout forth, grow up, '*aleh* a leaf; Arabic 13, '*ilawat*, the head, 23 '*ulur*.

Samoan 3, *ulu*, 6 *uluf* (in *ulufia*, Hawaiian *uluhia*, Malagasy 5, *iditra* and *ilitra*, to enter, go in; Arabic, '*alla*, to enter, go in); Chaldeu, '*alal* (This should have been placed above under verbs with middle radical doubled).

Efate 18, *liko*, 21 *luko* or *luku*, a rope, to adhere or be fastened to, 20 *likoti*, 22 *lukuti*, to fasten, make fast to; Malay 10, *lakat* and *lakap*, to adhere, *lakatekan* to fasten; Malagasy, *raikitra*, *rekitra*; Arabic, '*alik'a*, to adhere, to fasten to, 1 '*alak'*, a rope, 18 '*alik'*, 20 '*alik'at*, 10 '*alak'at*, 21 '*aluk'*.

Efate 21, *bulu* or *fulu*, any sticky substance used to cover with as paint, to cover as with a poultice, paint, oil; Samoan, *pulu*; Tahiti,

*puru*; Fiji, *bulu*, an external application or thing that covers, to cover with earth or external application, to repair or expiate (cover) an injury a peace offering, or thing offered as a reparation for an injury; 22 *buluta*; Efate, *buluti*; Samoan, *puluti*, *puluta'i*; Samoan, *fulu*; Futuna, *fufuru*; Tahiti, *huru*; Efate (dialect) 18, *fili*; Malay, *bulu*; Malagasy, *volo*, hair (also down, feathers, wool); Samoan, *fulufulua*; Malagasy, *roloina*, hairy; Arabic, "*afara*, to cover, to cover and imbue (as the hair with a tincture) to be hairy, shaggy, to forgive; 18 "*afir*, hair, 21 "*afuru*.

TRILITERALS DOUBLY WEAK, THAT IS WITH TWO OF THE ABOVE  
WEAK LETTERS OR QUIESCENTS.

Samoan 8, *nofo*, to sit, dwell, live with, remain; Maori-Tahiti *noho*; Efate, *no*; 6 Samoan, *nohoa*; Mangarevan, *nohoka*; Tahiti, *nohoraa*, a seat; Paumotan, *nohohanga*, *nohoranga*, abode, dwelling place; Hebrew, *navah*, to sit, to dwell (also *na'ah*); *navat*, a seat, a habitation.

Efate 1, *leo*, *le*, *lo*, to see; Samoan, *leo*; Fiji, *rai*; Fiji 4, *raitha*; Malay, *liat*, *kaliat*; Malagasy, *hiratra*, *hiratso*; Efate (dialects) *losi*, *tek*, *lumi*, libisi, to see; Arabic, *raa*; Hebrew, *raah*; Ethiopic, *ray*, to see; Arabic 1, *ra'i*; Hebrew, *reoh*; Ethiopic, *rai*; 4 Arabic, *ra't*, *rayat*; Hebrew, *reot* or *revot*; Arabic 6, *ruryat*.

Efate, *ba*, (also, to go) *bai*, *be*, *mai*, to come, to enter; Marquesan, *memai*, to come; Efate and Polynesian, *mai*, hither, towards the speaker; Efate, dialect *be*; Efate 4, *basi*, enter upon, go upon; Fiji, *vatha*; Ethiopic, *bauri*, to come, to enter; Hebrew, *bā*, to come, to enter, also to go; Arabic, *ba'a*, to enter, &c.; Ethiopic 4, *ba't*.

Efate *nēt*, dialect *notu*, (Mosin *nat*, Vaturanga *talū* outwards) to go outwards, (opposite of *mai* or *be*, preceding word) *atu* or *ats*, in *banotu*, *banats*; Maori, *whanatu*; Polynesian, *atu*, away, away from, outwards; Ethiopic, *vat'a*; Hebrew, *yat'a*, to go out, or outwards; Hebrew, *yat'o* (infinitive or verbal noun=*atu*) and 4 *t'e't*; Ethiopic, *t'a't* (= *tatu*, and, by change of *t'* to *n*, *nēt*, *notu*).

These two Semitic words are the opposites of each other, the one denoting "exitus, egressus, *sive*, excundi actus," the other (*ba*, *bauri*) "introitus," as Ludolf, *Lex. Eth.*, observe S.V. *t'a't*.

Efate, *bano-mai* or *bana-mai*, to come, *banats*, i.e. *ban ats* to go; Maori *whanatu*; Efate, *bano*, to go; Maori, *whano*, to verge towards, to go on, proceeding towards; Hebrew, *panah*, to turn, to turn oneself, to turn the back, to turn in order to go anywhere. Thus *banotu*, *whanatu* = to turn, going away, or outwards, and *bano-mai*, *bano-be* = to turn coming, to come.

So Fiji *lako-mai* = to proceed coming, *lako*; Malay, *laku*, to proceed; Hebrew, *halak*; Assyrian, *halak*; Assyrian 7, *laku*.



For Maori *haere* in *haere atu*, *haere mai*, see below.

TRILITERALS WITH THE WEAK OR "FLEETING" LETTER *n* THE FIRST RADICAL.

How the Oceanic, in dropping this *n* compares with the Hebrew and Aramaic, and not with the Arabic.

Efate 7, *saki*, to ascend, go up; Tongan *haki*; Samoan *a'i*; Hawaiian *ae*; Maori *ake*; Aramaic, *nēsak'*, to ascend, go up; Imperative (shewing the dropping of the *n*) *sak'*.

Efate 7, *bisa* or *basa*, to speak; Tagala, *basa*; Fiji 21, *vosa*, 22 *vosata* ka to speak about; Efate, *visura ki*, to converse, talk; Arabic, *nabasu* and *nabat'a*, to speak, talk.

Efate 21, *buka*, a swell, ground swell, to swell, be puffed up, then to have the belly swollen with food; Maori *puku*; Malagasy *voky*; 22 *vokis-*; Malay 7, *bakat*; Efate 22, *bukutu*; Malay, *bukit*; Malagasy, *vohitra* or *rohitsa*, a rise, a hill; Malagasy, *voavohitra*, swelled, bulged, *vohirana*, made to bulge, *vohirina* (*bohitra*) made convex, protuberant: so *bohina*, from 21 *bohy*, an inflated and puffed up aspect; Arabic, *nafah'a*, to inflate, be inflamed, to swell.

Efate 8, *kat*, a bite, to bite; Fiji, *kata*, to bite; Rarotongan, *kati*, to bite, (doubled) *katikati*, to bite; Malay, *gigit*; Malagasy, *hahitra*, *kaikitra*; Aramaic, *nēkat*, to bite.

Efate 18, *ēlo*, dialect 10 *āl*, the sun, *āl*, *āli*, day (from morning to evening); Malay, *hari*, *ari*; Malagasy, *andro*, the day, the day-time; Maori-Tahiti *ra*, the sun, a day, daylight; Efate, *meta ni al*; Malay, *mataari*; Malagasy, *masoandro*, the sun (eye of day, eye or fount of light); Aramaic, *nēhar*, to shine, *nahir* light, *nēhor*, *nēhir*; Hebrew, *nēharah*, light; Arabic, *nahār* (*nahāro*, *nahāri* *nahāra*) day (from morning to evening).

TRILITERALS WITH THE THREE RADICALS STRONG.

Efate 8, *amat*, *samit*, 15 *sumat*, to beat, whip, chasten, hastening, being quick; Fiji 21, *samuta*, to beat; Malay 8, *chamati*, *chamiti*, a whip, or scourge; Hebrew, *s'amat*, *s'amat'*, to smite, thrust; Arabic, *samat'a*, to strike, to thrust, to urge on a beast violently; *sumat'*, hastening, being quick.

Efate 21, *kamut*, to nip, take with the hand, sieze, grasp firmly; Fiji, *gamuta*; Hebrew, *k'amat'* to take with the hand, *k'amat'* to hold fast with the hand, to sieze firmly.

Efate 11, *bilisi*, dialect 14 *bolisi*, to spread out; Malagasy *velatra*; Samoan 14, *folas* (in *folasia*); Arabic *faras'a*, to spread out.

Efate 28, *fulusi*, to turn; Samoan *fulis* (in *fulusia*); Tongan *fulihi*; Maori *huri*, to turn, turn over; Tahiti *huri*, to roll; Hebrew *falas'*, to roll, revolve (turn).

Efate 12, *seiver* (*seivar*), to walk, proceed, journey, 15 *suvara*,

8 *sur*, 6 *surata* ; Samoan 7, *savali*, to walk, proceed, *savalivali* (Pe'al'al\* form) to walk about ; Maori *haere*, *haereere* ; Hawaiian *haele*, *hele* ; Moriori *here* ; Arabic *safara*, to journey, go, proceed, 7 *safar*, 12 *sijar*, 6 *sufrat*.

These examples sufficiently shew that the above Oceanic word first given, *lave*, *lapit*, *lifa*, *lipat*, *love*, *lovetha*, is not exceptional, but only one out of the mass and of a piece with the rest, and this conclusively establishes that the Oceanic primitive or mother tongue had like each of its sister dialects, Arabic, Assyrian, &c., its share of the common stock of purely and exclusively Semitic trilateral words (nouns and verbs) with the purely Semitic common method of word-formation or inflexion by internal vowel-change and external additions.

\* Hebrew and Aramaic



## PHALLIC EMBLEM FROM ATIU ISLAND.

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. E. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

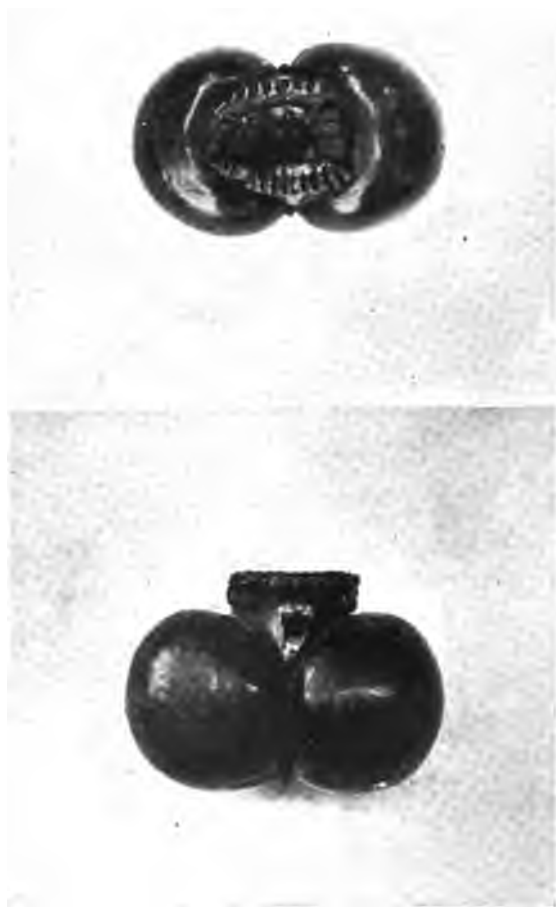
THE accompanying pictures represent a very curious Phallic symbol, which appears to me to be peculiar to the people of Atiu, one of the Cook Group of Islands, inhabited by the same people as Rarotonga and other islands of the group. The original is made of *tamanu* wood, and is so old that the texture and polish is that of agate, though the grain of the wood can still distinctly be seen.

The name given to this interesting relic of the past is *Rei*, and that name will, I think, raise the question as to whether the New Zealand ornaments known by the same name were not also originally emblems of the same nature.

The *Rei* of Atiu was worn only by the *toa*, or braves, of the tribe, and conferred upon the wearer certain rights over any woman he might meet, so long as he wore the symbol round his waist.

There is in the Maori, or Polynesian, mind a close connection between procreative ability and great courage, and hence the word *toa* would comprehend both phases of man. It is this that makes the Phallic cult of the Maori so interesting. The peculiar state of the virile organ of a warrior when engaged in mortal combat is a matter well recognised in Maori superstitions.

In Rarotonga the people have no record of the *Rei*, and this is very singular, because there must have been frequent communication between the people of both islands. The Atiu people, according to tradition, came from Manuka (Manu'a, Samoa) and the Rarotongan from Whiro (an ancestor)—practically from the same part and same people.



STONE AS SEEN FROM ABOVE

SIDE VIEW OF STONE



As for the *Rei* of New Zealand, I fancy it is of Phallic origin, and on this point I have hopes that some of our members will be able to discuss the question.

[As bearing on the same subject, we copy from the Report of the Director of the Pauahi Bishop Museum of Honolulu for 1903 a paper by our fellow member, Mr. J. L. Young, on Phallic stones found in Easter Islands.]

"These objects are generally of a more or less disc-like shape, weighing four or five pounds each; are composed of hard close-grained stone, and are covered on both sides with rudely carved conventionalized representations of the female vulva. They are called by the natives of Rapanui *Maea momoa* (*maea*=stone; *momoa*=descendants, family); also called *Maea hika* (*hika*=clitoris). (cf. Maori=*momoa*=offspring; and *hika* to rub: to make fire by rubbing.) One of these stones is shown in Fig. 4, Plate LI, between pp. 534 and 535 of Smithsonian Report, U.S. National Museum, 1889; and on page 537, *Ibid*, are some remarks concerning it. But a curious error was made by the officers of the U. S. S. Mohican, for both references on page 537 under the head of "Fish God" (*Mea ika*) and "Fowl God" (*Mea moa*) apply to the same stone, the *Maea momoa*. The remarks are substantially correct: the stones were more prized than any other object, it being claimed that they had been brought by Hoatumetua, the pioneer chief, from the, as yet, unidentified "Maratoehau." It is also true that the stones were—but of late years only—placed under domestic fowls with the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted. It is stated by the few old men who profess to remember the ancient traditions, that since the kidnapping of the learned men by the Peruvian slavers in 1864, the younger generation have lost their respect for the sacred stones, and only in a vague manner felt that they were in some way connected with the reproduction of life: hence their use under the fowls. Doubtless also the influence of the missionaries was against the preservation of the ancient rites.

It is said by some of the old men, who until lately resided in Tahiti, that these stones were used in the ceremony of "*Hakatoro repe*" *Hakatoro*=to cause to stretch, to elongate: *Repe*=clitoris); also called by one old man *Hakatoro Matakaho* (*matakaho*=clitoris). This rite was practiced on girls shortly before they arrived at puberty. A similar rite was in use at the Marquesas Islands in former years. (It is worthy of remark that at Ponape (Carolines) the *labia minora* were stretched until they were more projecting than the *labia majora*). No detailed account of the ceremony could be obtained, except that the operator, who was always an old man or *tohunya*

(lit., priest or wise man) pinched the clitoris with finger and thumb, or between pieces of reed or bamboo, so as to make the end swell. Having thus enlarged the end of the organ so that a string could be fastened to it, he proceeded to put a noose of fine twine over the swelled end with a slip-knot, and fastened a small stone as a weight to the twine, which gradually elongated the clitoris until it was, in course of time, two to three inches long. Care had to be taken, said the narrators, to relax the noose occasionally, lest the end of the organ should drop off; in which case no one would take the girl to wife as she would be *kopiri* (lit., adhering together) also conveying the idea of deformity or being misshapen.

The part played by the *Maea momoa* in the ceremony is obscure: the narrators declared, however, that it was a necessary adjunct to the function, and that without its presence the rite could not be performed. It was *taonga tohunga*—the valued implement or amulet of the priest. It was also stated that each clan or *manga*—division or family, of a tribe had a separate stone, called by the name of the ancestress; as the carved staves were, but identification of the stones as belonging to any one clan could not be obtained. Very few of the old men are left, and most are quite unreliable.

It may be remarked that the writer knows of only five original *Maea momoa* (there are imitations, made some years ago): of these, one is in the U. S. National Museum, one in Santiago de Chile, and three in the possession of the writer—one of which is at present in the Bishop Museum. Of the two others, now in Auckland, one is somewhat similar in shape to that in the Bishop Museum; the other is a rectangular bar of hard stone, 20 in. in length by 4 in. square, all of one side being covered with the figure of the pudendum.

It is said that rite described was ordained by Tane Harai, the father of Hoatumetua, who, before his son left the land of Maraetohau, said "Forget not the practice of Hakatoro, for by that shall it be known whose sons ye are."

All the foregoing has been obtained from time to time during the past eighteen years from natives of Rapanui. The writer obtained the first stone in 1885, and the two others in 1887."



## MAORI MEDICAL LORE.

NOTES ON SICKNESS AND DISEASE AMONG THE MAORI  
PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND, AND THEIR TREATMENT OF THE  
SICK ; TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS  
BELIEFS, SUPERSTITIONS AND RITES PERTAINING  
TO SICKNESS, AND THE TREATMENT  
THEREOF, AS COLLECTED FROM  
THE TUHOE TRIBE.

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BY ELSDON BEST, OF TUHOE LAND.

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### PART I.

IN the compilation of an article on any subject connected with a primitive people, it is invariably found to be most difficult to confine oneself to the immediate subject under discussion. For instance, to draw up a monograph on the subject of Maori religion would mean the following up of so many by-ways that the complete article would practically be a full account of Maori life and thought.

Hence it is, that, in describing the native treatment of the sick, and also the Maori idea of the cause of disease, illness, &c., it becomes necessary to wander from the proper bounds of our subject, and enter the realms of magic, mythology and religion.

In this wise : The religion (or superstition, call it what you will) of the Maori entered so largely into his life, that it was scarcely possible for him to perform any act, certainly no important one, without, in some manner, impinging upon that religion. Also religion and magic, sorcery, thaumaturgy, are practically equal terms in a description of Maori beliefs.



Illness, among the Maori, was so commonly attributed to supernatural powers or beings, either acting as direct punishers of some violation of *tapu*, or as agents for some malignant warlock, that it is but to be expected that they should endeavour to cure such ailments by means of utilising the supposed supernatural powers of their priesthood.

It is therefore deemed advisable to divide this paper into two parts, the first part being devoted to a description of ailments as caused and cured by the above-mentioned powers, according to Maori belief, and the second to some account of such ailments as were placed under a treatment more in accordance with our own views, that is to say, such as are said to have been cured by various simple remedies, as used or administered by the Maori.

In regard to the matter collected from the Tuhoe tribe of natives, the latter division of the paper will be somewhat brief, inasmuch as most ailments were treated by the priests as being caused by infringement of the laws of *tapu*, and hence could only be cured by means of charms, combined with the performance of certain singular rites. Also, such as were believed to have been caused by the arts of the wizard were treated in a similar manner.

The Maori divided causes of death into four classes:—

1. *Mate atua*: Caused by the gods.
2. *Mate taua*: By war.
3. *Mate tara whare*, or *mate aitu*: Natural death.
4. Accidents and suicide.

Class three is sometimes termed *hemo o aitu* and *mate koeo*. The word *aitu* in Samoan means a spirit, a god, and *aiku* in Hawaiian signifies to transgress the laws of *tapu*, an offence ever punished by the gods, according to Maori ideas. Now, it appears clear to me that the above meanings of the term *aitu* are older than that of "sickness," given in Maori (N.Z.) dictionaries, and that they support the following statement, viz., that death was looked upon by the old-time Maori as something out of the proper course of nature, and hence the extravagant mode of mourning which obtained among them. The wailing and weeping on such occasions is, to the Maori mind, the only way of obtaining revenge for, or equalising, the stroke of misfortune. I have heard a native make this statement when delivering a funeral speech.\* Death did not enter into the original scheme of the universe, according to Maori mythology. It was the female element that was the cause of the introduction of death into the ancient world. The female organ which brings man forth to life is also credited with his destruction. It is the *whare o aitu*,

\* "By tears and lamentations alone may (a natural) death be avenged."

the source of misfortune and death, two terms which are ever applied to the female nature in Maori mythology. And yet the male organ represents life, it is the salvation of man, by its help the dread shafts of the wizard are warded off, and man retains life.

The term *mate koeo* is applied to any sickness in which a person wastes away, but it is sometimes used in a more general manner, as given above. The expression *hau koeozo* appears to apply to a slight indisposition, as sometimes felt by a person on rising in the morning.

"The *mate koeo* (natural death) or *mate tara whare* originated in the time of Tane. Tane said to his parent Rangi (the Sky Parent), on the day that he forced him apart from Papa (the Earth Mother): 'Where is the *uha* (female, or female organ)?' And Rangi said: 'The *whare o aitua* yawns below, the abode of life is above.' Even so we see the *whare o aitua*, the passage by which man enters the world to be assailed by misfortune, by disease, by death, it is seen in woman."

Again, an aged wise man speaks: "That which destroys man is the *māna* (power, prestige, supernatural power) of the female organ. It turns upon man and destroys him."

The Maori warrior of old preferred death on the battle field to any other way of leaving this world. This is not to be wondered at when one reflects on the way in which the old and the sick were, and are, neglected by the Maori.

#### CAUSES OF ILLNESS.

In regard to the first portion of our paper, the causes of illness, as believed in by the Maori, may be classed under two headings:—  
1. Violation of *tapu*. 2. *Makutu* or witchcraft.

The violation of *tapu* includes any interference with *tapu* objects, persons or places. For instance, when a house has become *tapu* for some reason, and is deserted, it must not afterwards be entered or burned or interfered with in any way. Only a priest, or those under *tapu* for conveying a body, or exhumed bones, may trespass on a burial place, or caves where bones of the dead are placed. Should any one else so trespass, then those bones of the dead will turn upon the intruder and slay him, or afflict him grievously. That is to say, the gods will punish that person.

The bed and pillow of a *tapu* person are likewise endowed with that dread quality, and should any careless or impudent person presume to seat himself on such, or eat food there, he will be seriously afflicted ere long. These things cannot be done with

impunity. The gods will mark him down. This does not, of course, apply to the sleeping places of ordinary persons who are not highly charged with *tapu*.

To trespass on a *tuahu*, or sacred place where rites are performed, or any place where a sacred fire has been kindled, even though it were long years ago, will also bring down the anger of the gods. At no great distance from Camp Heipipi, at Rua-tahuna, is an old settlement named Kiha, which has been deserted for nearly forty years. A few weeks ago, two native women in camp were discussing the probability of obtaining some flax from that place. An old woman said, "Be careful how you approach that place. Do not go straight up through the clearing, but keep round the edge of the bush until you get opposite the flax, and then strike straight across." "And why should we not go straight up?" enquired one. "*He ahi kai kona* (there is a fire there)," replied the aged one. No more was said; the women understood at once that, in past generations, a fire had been kindled at that spot in order to perform some religious rite. They would carefully avoid the place.

Another frequent cause of illness is the *kai ra mua*, a term applied to the act of eating food which has been set aside for the gods, or food prepared for a *tapu* person. It is also applied to the infringement of a *rahui*.<sup>\*</sup> There are many other acts of a similar nature, the performance of which will cause a person to be seriously afflicted by the gods.

Puhi-kai-naonao and Kai-uaua are two *atua* (demons) whose duty and delight it is to punish erring mortals who have been guilty of the black sin of *kai ra mua*. The effect on a person, when afflicted by these dread powers, is that they waste away until nothing but skin and bone is left of them. There is no cure for this trouble. That person will not survive. When death comes the body is burned in order to prevent other persons being affected by the same affliction.

In the above cases the terms *kai-uaua*, &c., are also applied to the complaint itself. It would appear that these *atua* are really the personified forms of the disease. The *kai-uaua* is said to have originally appeared from the south of New Zealand. A disease or epidemic is termed *atua* by the natives. But we must bear in mind that the word means "demon," and never had the meaning of beneficent spirit or supreme god. To say that the Maori word *atua* = God is simply ridiculous. Speaking of the famous epidemic known as the *reharewha*, which decimated Maori-land about a century ago, an old native said, "It was that *atua* that destroyed the Maori people and so reduced their numbers."

<sup>\*</sup> See Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol. 13, p. 84.

Another method of slaying persons who have been guilty of *kai-ra-mua*, adopted by the gods, is to destroy them by means of a lightning stroke. This is brought about by Tupai (one of the personified forms of thunder or thunder storms), who thus punishes those who have disregarded some law of *tapu*. The form of thunder represented by Tupai is accompanied by little or no rain.

Yet another frequent cause of illness is found in the malignant powers possessed by the spirit of a still-born infant, which caco-dæmon is known as an *atua-kahu*.

As to illness caused by magic arts exercised by persons, it is really the *atua* of the wizard which gives power to the charm or spell. The causes of such dread powers being directed against human life are most numerous. Theft was often so punished, and enemies were removed in a like manner. Quarrels often ended in an appeal to the arts of the magician. In order to discover the person who may happen to be bewitching a patient, the priest has recourse to the *takutaku* rite, to be hereinafter described. A rite is then performed, and a *karakia* (charm, spell, invocation, incantation) repeated, in order to destroy the wizard who has caused the illness of the patient. There are also other rites and charms, or invocations, which are employed in order to restore a sick person to health, as we shall see anon.

The use of such charms in sickness prevailed among the Greeks in Homer's time—which leads one to ponder over the statement made by Mr. W. Boscawen in a series of lectures recently delivered by him at the British Museum, on "The Nature and Character of Oriental Magic," viz., that medicine sprang from magic. We have among ourselves remnants of the old faith and practices in "faith healing," and alleged miracles which are said to take place through the agency of a bone, or what not, belonging to some mediæval individual who, having a strong objection to pick, pike and soap, forthwith became a saint. These gentry are still among us, albeit we now style them by a somewhat different term.

#### HEALTH OF THE MAORI IN ANCIENT TIMES.

There can be no doubt that the Maori of old was troubled by very few diseases. In regard to their vigour, physique and general health, it was doubtless a case of the survival of the fittest. Take, for example, the tribes of Tuhoe-land. These people were denizens of a high-lying forest country, where the winter season is remarkable for rain and cold. They had but little clothing, the only workable fibre they possessed being that of the *toi* or mountain palm. Hence their clothing was of the scantiest nature. Children went entirely

naked. Yet for centuries these people preserved their health, vigour and strength among such inhospitable surroundings, indeed were ever noted for their robust frames and fierce nature. It was only when they acquired comfortable European clothing, and gave up their old-time savagery, that they deteriorated in health, vigour and numbers.

In the days of old, before diseases were introduced by Europeans, the Maori is said to have almost invariably died of old age, *i.e.*, if he escaped the perils of war, witchcraft and accidents. Man seldom died of disease, so say the old Maori of the present time. But when the European arrived upon the scene, the Maori began to deteriorate, physically, numerically and also morally, Christianity notwithstanding.

My worthy old tutor, Hamiora Pio, of the Children of Awa, who was born in 1828 and died in 1902, offered one of the most pathetic examples I have seen of the struggles and doubts which assail the mind of primitive man, when brought into contact with a superior culture stage. Born in the days of the *mana Maori*, saturated with superstition, raised in the beliefs of his people, he was led away by the new religion when the missionaries came. But when old age came on, and he saw the deterioration of his people, and the decrease in their numbers so accentuated, then Pio of Awa returned to the faith of his fathers, and gave me his views on the subjects of the health of the old-time Maori, its cause and decadence, as also how to recover it.

According to Maori belief, there were two most important things by means of which physical health and general well-being were retained. The first of these was the *mauri*, and the second *tapu*. To maintain inviolate the *mauri*, tribal, family or individual, to refrain from transgressing the laws of *tapu*, and to retain his prestige and powers, natural and supernatural, was to command health, physical and mental.

The tribal *mauri* is a sort of sacred talisman that holds and protects the health of the tribe. The *mauri* of the pre-Matātua tribes was located at Whakatane. It is termed the *pouahu* or the *makaka* by the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Bay of Plenty. This was the supreme source of the welfare of the old-time people of the district, and through its power the sick were restored to health, or the cause of their death ascertained, and impending danger warded off from the living. The *mauri* of the later migration of Maoris from Hawaiki is known as the *manuka* at Whakatane, a tree which is said to have grown from a branch brought from the fatherland. In the case of a sick person this *mauri* was appealed to by invocations repeated by the priest, of which more anon. The *mauri ora* at Whakatane was the salvation of man, says my aged

informant; it was life and health itself, it represented the vitality, and spiritual well-being, of the people. The *manuka* at Whakatane was the essence and semblance, or personality, of health, of life, of spiritual prestige.\*

There was also a custom of instituting a *mauri* to represent the health and well-being of individuals, or of a family group, the latter being the real unit of Maori social life. In these cases some material token was placed at the *tuahu*, or sacred place, of the village, and this token, or talisman, was imbued with the semblance of the health, vitality, &c., of the person or persons, and also that of the tribal lands. By means of this singular rite, the welfare of man and lands was protected, and neither would then be in danger of suffering from the arts of the wizard. For bear in mind that we are now speaking of sickness and troubles of divers kinds as being caused by magic arts.

The vitality, welfare, productiveness, of forests, streams, and the ocean, together with the denizens thereof, were also protected in like manner. There were innumerable invocations used, and rites performed, in order to preserve the physical, intellectual and spiritual vitality of man. These ceremonies began early in the life of the individual, when the *tua* and *tohi* rites were performed over the new-born child, and the *kara ora* and other invocations were repeated by the priest. These matters will be dealt with in detail in a paper on the rites, customs, &c., pertaining to birth, which I hope to be able to forward next year.

We have seen that, according to Maori ideas, physical health is so closely related to their religious beliefs, that it is quite impossible for the Maori mind to sever the supposed connection between them, and herein lies a fine field for research by someone interested in psychical studies. The mentality of the Maori is of an intensely mystical nature: he deals largely in occult mysticism, and in hypotheses of a metaphysical nature. We hear of many singular theories anent Maori beliefs and Maori thought, but the truth is that we do not understand either, and, what is more, we never shall. We shall never know the inwardness of the native mind. For that would mean retracing our steps for many centuries, back into the dim past, far back to the time when we also possessed the mind of primitive man. And the gates have long closed on that hidden road.

And what is the cause of the decadence of the Maori? Why has he decreased in numbers in each decade since the European peoples here arrived? Where is the hardy and robust savage of yore,

\* For a description of the *mauri*, see Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, p. 2.

and why do they perish by the wayside, of trivial complaints that an European would shake off in a few days? Why did I see nearly forty little children perish of influenza in one season in this district of Tuhoe-land, when we *pakeha* recovered from the same complaint in a few days? The Mejjicano shall answer for us. *Quien sabe*—who knows!

Theories we have galore, in change of food, of dress, of places of residence, &c., but we have never studied the native mind nor the native opinion. We will now enquire into it and learn their view of the matter. I am much inclined to place some belief in the following remarks, albeit they will probably be ridiculed by many. For the singular beliefs, modes of thought and mentality of the Maori, are ever in evidence around me. Cut off from intercourse with Europeans, I have, for years, been patiently studying the Maori people, more especially their spiritual beliefs and the quaint working of their primitive minds.

An old native said to me: "Friend! It seems to me that the *ora* (health, vigour, vitality) of the white men, and their exemption from disease, and sickness, and premature death, is caused by their never forgetting the *koutu mimi* at night time; it is ever in the room to protect them. For that urine represents the *tawhito*,\* and will avert any evil consequences of any act of witchcraft levelled against them. For that organ was the life and salvation of my ancestors, and saved them from trouble and death."

Now this remark not only affords a good illustration of the strange channels in which the thoughts of the Maori run, but is also an interesting relic of an ancient system of phallic worship, which we will, in the future, endeavour to follow up. How are we to grasp the workings of the Maori mind, to understand them, to explain their modes of thought, when the above is a sample of their reasoning. Never more shall we return to that mental state, that plane of mental evolution, in which alone these things are clear.

When the *kumara*, or sweet potatoe, was first obtained by the old-time people of Whakatane, they were advised by the islanders from whom they obtained it, to slay one *Taukata*, and sprinkle, or besmear, his blood on the door frame of the storehouse in which the *kumara* was placed. This rite was for the purpose of preventing the *mauri*, or life principle of the tuber, from returning to Hawaiki. Should it do so, then it would be useless attempting to cultivate, or propagate, the seed tubers: they would not bear, the life principle having departed.

\**Tawhito* = *membrum virile*, the mystical name for that organ.

Now, the natives here say that, in like manner, the *ora* (life, vitality, health) has returned to Hawaiki, on account of the *mauri* or *kawa ora* having become *noa* or polluted. This sacred life principle of man has become polluted through contact with Europeans, *i.e.*, the *tapu* of the Maori race is destroyed. When Christianity was embraced by the natives, they proceeded to *whakanoa*, or make themselves common, or free from *tapu*, that they might be able to accept the new religion. For the *tapu* was of the Maori gods, and hence must be got rid of, or reduced, so to speak, before the new God was accepted. This was done, in most cases, by washing the head with water heated in a vessel in which food had been cooked. Shade of Toi! It was enough to cause the whole horde of gods in the Maori pantheon to turn on the race and destroy it at a blow. The most sacred part of sacred man to be brought into contact with cooked food!

Also, at the same period, the life principle of the forests was destroyed by cooked food being taken into the bush. Hence birds decreased in numbers so rapidly as to form but an indifferent food supply. "*Kā tamaoatia nga mauri o te kainga, o te ngaherehere; ara, kua haere te kai maoa ki roto ki te ngaherehere, kua kore e mana.*" Hence birds are extremely scarce now. The forest is no longer productive, because its life principle is polluted.

As old Pio remarked to me, "The *mauri* of the Maori has become polluted, that is what is destroying the Maori people. It may be that this generation, born among the white men, may survive, and be as healthy and virile and industrious. But I fear that the Maori has forsaken his own well-being (*ora* and *māna*), in pursuing that of the white men. And I ask, 'How may we survive?' (*me aha ra tatou e ora ai*). Let us return to the beliefs of the Maori, and the rites of old. I am resolved to follow the practices of my forefathers, which have been followed for many generations. I say to you that the Maori is in fault: he has deserted his ancestral rites, customs and beliefs, and now they have turned upon him and are destroying him.\* Now, listen! There are several mountains in New Zealand which possess supernatural powers, such as Putauaki, and Te Atua-rere-tahi, and Tongariro. In the year of the Tarawera eruption I saw clouds arise across Putauaki (Mt. Edgecumbe) and ascend to the skies. That is a sign of a lacerated land. In 1898 I saw clouds spread over the mountain

\* Everything sacred, human bones, a *tapu* house or ground, &c., all retaliate if neglected or despised or superseded, according to the Maori. This probably springs from his own revengeful disposition. The Maori gods were placated, not worshipped.



like unto a spread mat. I say that this was a sign for the Maori, who have deserted their ancient customs and the ancient teachings. They have turned to pursue the money of the white man, and other evils, debt, beer and rum. A priest came to me; he said, 'Pio! Return to the true religion.' I replied, 'Not so! Your god is money. I will abide by the beliefs of my ancestors.'"

So much for Pio of Awa and his convictions. A true Maori to the last, he died as he had lived, a pagan. May his lines be cast in pleasant places when he descends from the soul's last resting place at *Te Taumata i Haumu*. And one of his last acts was to write to me, urging me to rely on the phallus as a means of preserving life and health. "*Haere ra, E koro E! Haere ki Paerau! Mou te tai atu, moku te pai po!*"

When someone writes a treatise on the word *mānā*, it will be seen that *mana* and *ora* are almost synonymous terms, as applied to the old-time Maori. At present the thinking Maori, of these parts at least, is bewildered. He stands at the meeting place of the waters, and has not decided whether to trust himself to the new stream, or try to follow still the dark waters which have brought him from the Hidden Land of Tane. He fails to grasp the fact that the streams have united and will separate no more, and that, come weal or woe, he must drift on with the tide.

In this wise: I have an old friend here who is trying to decide which is the right path to take, to secure life and prosperity for his people, ere he lifts the world-old trail that leads to Hades. Many of the old fellow's children and grandchildren have preceded him on that journey, and his great desire is to see the survivors live long in the land. I have known him to pray to the God of the white man to preserve his offspring, and to take his worn-out life in place of theirs, and also to perform the ancient *tohi* rite over his sons, that they may retain life and health. He is, in his anxiety, trying to tread on both paths at once, to drift on parted waters.

And ever is it firmly believed that it is on account of the white man being *tapu*-less that he thrives so well. He has no *kawa ora* to be polluted, his *tuatanga* is a thing to jeer at.

When an epidemic desolated the Rua-tahuna valley in 1897, I was informed that the cause of the visitation was the fact that the *tapu* had been taken off the sacred house, *Te Whai-a-te-motu*, at *Mātātua*, in order that visitors might be entertained therein. The gods had punished this act of pollution by sending the epidemic among the people. But the Maori is a Christian—the missionaries tell us so. He is just so much a Christian as any other primitive people on whom the outward forms of that faith have been forced.

One only remark, as emanating from an European, can I bear in mind, as being near the truth in locating a cause for the decadence of the Maori. That remark may be explained as "the displacement of species." That is nearer the mark—the evolution of the human race, the survival of the fittest, call it what you will. The Maori, as the Maori, is passing, although the blood will remain with us.

It is undoubtedly a fact that, so soon as Europeans arrived in New Zealand, the native tribes were afflicted by very serious epidemics, which swept off great numbers of the people. They perished by thousands, many villages being almost depopulated, and many settlements were deserted on account of the scourge. Natives of several parts of the North Island have told me that, when the famous *rewhareuha* was ravaging the land, the dead were often so numerous that they were left in the houses unburied, while the survivors fled in terror to seek a new home elsewhere. A village known as Te Neinei, near my present camp, was so deserted, the survivors settling at Pa-puweru. Some visitors, coming to Te Neinei, found the dead lying in the huts, and partially consumed by rats. Epidemics of this nature are here termed *papa reti*, the name of a sort of toboggan formerly used here. The dying of many people was compared with the swift motion of the toboggan down the slide. Or, as an old man explained it to me, "Tuhoe flowed like water down to Hades." Pio says that it was on the second coming of Captain Cook that these epidemics commenced their ravages, and that they spread all over the island, numbers dying in every village. So many died that, for the first time, the dead were all buried near the village. As Christianity advanced, so the new diseases spread.

The natives still place great faith in their so-called *tohunga*, and the modern *tohunga* is a kind of quack doctor, a hybrid imposition, a fraud, a despicable fellow, inferior in every way to his savage ancestors, who were, at least, more honest in their professions.

A great distrust of European doctors is manifest in this district. It is probable that this is not due to any disbelief in the medical knowledge of the said profession, but that the natives have an instinctive fear that a doctor will interfere with their state of *tapu*, that the life principle will be endangered by the methods of the European being employed. A middle-aged woman of this district was taken seriously ill at Rotorua, and it was proposed that she be sent to the hospital. Her people strongly objected, urging her to adhere to native customs, saying that they would rather see her die than be operated upon by an European. However, she was taken to the hospital by Europeans, was operated upon, and recovered. When she returned here, I heard an old woman ask her, "In what

state are you now?"\* The reply was, "O! Every cooking vessel of the white man has been passed over me."† Her *tapu* has gone, and she is clinging with great earnestness to European ways and customs, as a means of protecting her vitality. But this is a rare case.

There is another singular idea possessed of the native mind. A native is ill, and you ask why he is not taken to the doctor. The reply will very likely be, "Oh! It is a native complaint; the doctors could not cure it," although it be something as common as a stomach ache.

In the case of the old woman mentioned above, who asked her friend in what state she was: when the old lady saw that the invalid had quite recovered, after having violated the most sacred principle of the Hauhau religion, she said, "Oh! And my son (who had died a few months previously) might have been saved, had we taken him to the white man's doctor." And so the struggle goes on.

Now, once for all, bear in mind that the vast majority of complaints which assailed the old-time Maori were set down as being caused by the gods, or demons, in whom they so firmly believed. Either as punishment for some offence against the laws of *tapu*, and hence against the gods, or as the result of magic arts directed against them by some person; but always the gods, or evil spirits, are behind these manifestations of supernatural and diabolic power.

*Mate kikokiko* is a term applied to any complaints supposed to have been caused by *kikokiko*, or evil spirits, either spirits of the dead, or those of still-born children, both of which are powers of evil to the Maori mind. When a person is afflicted by one of these evil spirits, he hies him to the priest, who, by means of the *hirihiri* rite, finds out what evil being is afflicting his patient, and proceeds to exercise the same. If the person recovers, he will probably become the *kauraka* or medium of that evil spirit, and enjoy the power of being able to afflict his enemies by means of the supernatural powers of the spirit.

There were few complaints, apart from skin diseases, which were not supposed to be within the province of the priest or medicine man, or shaman, whichever you may please to term him. Even wounds, burns, choking, all these came within the ken of the priest, each had their special charms for curing purposes.

\* i.e., Have you deserted our *ringa tu* religion; are you *noa*?

† Her body had been washed with water heated in a kitchen.

When a person, in former times, fancied himself falling ill, his first thought would be that the gods were afflicting him, and he would consult the *tohunga*, or priest, in order to get him to avert the trouble. The priest would take him to the water-side, a pond, pool or stream near the village, at which many rites were performed, and which was avoided by the people at other times, it being sacred (*tapu*). These rites were always performed early in the morning, or after sundown in the evening. The priest would divest himself of his clothing, save a girdle round his waist, and the patient had to disrobe and appear in a similar manner. Bearing a small branch of the *karamuramu* shrub in his hand, the priest would enter the water, and, dipping the leafy end of his wand in the water, sprinkle the water thereupon over his patient, repeating at the same time a *karakia* (invocation, charm, incantation, spell) to avert the evil influence at work on him. Such a charm is termed a *ripa* or *parepare*, both of which terms mean to avert, or ward off. We give a specimen below:—

“ Whakataha ra koe  
 E te anewa o te rangi  
 E tu nei  
 He tupua, he tawhito to tohu  
 To makutu e kite mai nei koe  
 E homai nei koe kei taku ure  
 Na te tapu ihi, na te tapu mana  
 Takato ki raro ki to kauwhau ariki.”

In the numerous cases when ailments were (supposed to have been) caused by *hara*, *i.e.*, infringement of the rules, or laws, of *tapu*, the aim of the priest was to discover what “sin” (*hara*) had been committed by his patient; after that his course of action was clear to him. For it would often be that the patient himself would be ignorant of the cause of his illness, that is to say, ignorant of having disregarded any of the numerous laws of the Maori system of *tapu*. In order to ascertain the cause of the illness of the patient, the priest would tell him to proceed with him to the *wai tapu*, or sacred water, described above. Thither they would proceed, after sunset. Should the sick person be feeble, one or two persons would be allowed to assist him to the water-side. All the rest of the inhabitants of the village would remain carefully within the houses, lest their *wairua* or spirits wander forth to the water-side, and there be destroyed by the magic spells of the priest, as he performed the rites over the sick person. And if a person's *wairua* was slain, of course the body, its physical basis, must also perish.

Having his man stripped at the water edge, the priest, clad in scant girdle of green branchlets, enters the water, and with his wand sprinkles water over the sick man's body, and repeats an invocation termed a *hirihiri*, for the purpose of finding out what is afflicting his patient. The following is an illustration of the *hirihiri* :—

“Kotahi koe ki konei  
 Kotahi ki a Te Reretautau.  
 Kotahi koe ki konei  
 Kotahi ki nga ariki.  
 Kotahi koe ki konei  
 Kotahi ki nga mātāmua.  
 Kotahi koe ki konei  
 Kotahi ki nga wananga.  
 Kotahi koe ki konei  
 Kotahi ki nga tapu.  
 Kotahi koe ki konei  
 Kotahi ki a Te Hārāki.”

The above illustration is a special one. When the reciter repeated the name of Te Haraki, a noted warlock of Ngati-Awa tribe, the patient gasped, his limbs stiffened, his eyes turned, his last breath was expelled like unto a long sigh (*te puhanga ake o te manawa*)—he was dead. Then it was known that the wizard Te Haraki had caused his death. Had he expired when the name of Te Reretautau (another wizard) was mentioned, then his death would have been set down to that magician. Had he died when the word *tapu* or *mātāmua*, &c., was being repeated, then it would be clear that some transgression of *tapu* had caused his death. For instance, had he so far forgotten himself as to eat of food prepared for a *mātāmua*, or first-born member of a high family, a most *tapu* individual, that would have been the cause of his death, and he would have expired when that word was pronounced.

A common form of *hirihiri* in this district is :—

“Kotahi koe ki reira  
 Kotahi ki te manuka i Whakatane,” &c.

“Thou art one there—  
 One to the *manuka* at Whakatane, &c.”

For the *manuka* at Whakatane is the great *mauri* or emblem, or talisman, of life and health, among the Matatua tribes. When Kahungunu wandered away to far lands and knew that Tamakutai was trying to bewitch him, he saved himself by repeating :—

“Kotahi au ki konei  
 Kotahi ki te manuka i Whakatane.”

“I am one here,  
 One to the *manuka* at Whakatane.”

The *hirihiri tūa* is an invocation and ceremony performed over warriors about to lift the war trail, in order to avert or prevent them being afflicted by nervousness, listlessness, lack of energy, &c.

The following is another form of *hirihiri* for the sick :—

"Kotahi koe ki te whare  
Kotahi koe ki te kakahu  
Kotahi koe ki te moenga  
Kotahi koe ki nga whenua," &c., &c.

"Thou art one to the house,  
Thou art one to the garment,  
Thou art one the bed,  
Thou art one to the lands, &c., &c."

In these lines occur the words "house, garment, bed, lands." Should the patient gasp when any of these lines were repeated the cause of sickness would be known. If at the word "bed," then he has trespassed on the sleeping place of some *tapu* person. If at the word "house," then a sacred house, or the site thereof, has been desecrated by him. And so on. It appears to be the *mauri* of man that is invoked in order to make known the cause of illness.

When the cause of death has been the crime termed *kai hau*, or wrongful giving away of another's property, then the patient would expire at these words in the *hirihiri* :—

"Kotahi koe ki te taonga o (mea)  
I whiua ketia e koe te utu."

"Thou art one to the property of (so and so)  
The payment of which you perverted."

The *hirihiri* used in war usually began as follows :—

"Kotahi koe ki te makaka i Whakatane  
Kotahi koe ki te pouahu i Whakatane  
Kotahi koe ki te manuka i Whakatane."

"Thou art one to the *makaka* at Whakatane  
Thou art one to the *pouahu* at Whakatane  
Thou art one to the *manuka* at Whakatane."

This appeal to the above sacred places and objects, which are *mauri* and the representation of the health, life, vigour, &c., of the people, has the effect of casting off, or abolishing, all undesirable qualities such as fear, listlessness, mental confusion, &c., from the fighting men. The sacred talismans above will guard them, and the said sacred places, &c., are looked upon as the *mana* (prestige, &c.) of the tribe, or the material representation thereof. The above rite is often termed a *ruruku* (a binding together), *i.e.*, of man. He is thus protected from external evil influences.

That class of priest termed *tohunga matatuhi*, or seer, usually performed the *hirihiri* rite, inasmuch as they were supposed to be masters of divination and second sight.

The expressions "*Kotahi koe ki konei, Kotahi ki Whakatane*," &c., really mean—"You are lying here stricken by illness, while the *mauri ora* which can save you is at Whakatane. It will thus be seen that the *hirihiri* rite has two bearings. In the first place it is a species of divination employed to discover the cause of illness, and in the second place it implies a protection of man, his life, vitality, vigour, &c., against influence of a supernatural nature, such as witchcraft, the consequences of disregarding *tapu*, &c.

The *tara-kumukumu* is said to be a species of lizard, which was looked upon as an *atua* or demon, and was said to afflict man in a grievous manner. Persons afflicted by this demon were affected by swelling in the region of the thighs, and were cured by means of the *hirihiri* rite, in which would probably be some special reference to the above demon.

When the priest had performed these rites over a sick person, it was customary to present to him the cloak or garment which had been used to cover the patient when being taken to the sacred water.

You may possibly like to know why man is taken to the water-side, in order to be cured of illness. The reason is this: He is taken to his ancestress, Wai-nui, who makes all such things clear, in regard to the troubles which afflict the Maori people. The cause of his sickness will there be seen, whether it be witchcraft, or a sacred fire, or a house, or a bed, or a burial place, &c. For Wai-nui was of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, the Sky Parent and the Earth Mother, the primal pair, the origin of all things, man and animals, birds, insects, trees, fish, &c. And Wai-nui is the Mother of Waters, the origin and personification of waters, of the ocean, of lakes, of rivers and streams, even as Para-whenua-mea is the personification of floods.

It is, of course, the god of the priest who enables him to ascertain the person or object which is the cause of illness. Sometimes the priest would perform the *hirihiri* at his sacred place, where he kept the symbol of his god, and addressed his invocations to it. And the god would explain the cause of the attack through his human medium (*waka, kauwaka* or *kaupapa*), *i.e.*, through the priest.

When the priest has performed his *hirihiri* rite over the sick person, and has found that the cause of illness is witchcraft, he will say, "You have been meddled with. So-and-so has bewitched you. I see him (*i.e.*, his *wairua* or spirit) standing by your side.\*

\* It is probable that the old Maori priests practised crystallo-mancy.

What shall be done with him?" Should the stricken person reply, "*Patua atu!*" (destroy him), then the priest will, by his magic arts, cause that person's death. Ere long, the news will arrive that he is dead. Follows an example of the spells by which such wizard would be destroyed:—

"Haere i te po uriuri  
Haere i te po tangotango  
Haere i te po te hoki mai  
Haere i te po te oti atu  
Muimui te ngaro  
Totoro te iro  
Mau ka oti atu  
Oti atu ki te po."

"Depart by the deep black night (or Hades)  
Depart by the uttermost depths of Hades,  
Depart by Hades, and return not,  
Depart by Hades, and begone for ever.  
(May) flies gather (on thy body),  
And worms creep:  
Begone for ever,  
Begone to Hades."

The morning after the patient has been taken to the water-side, the priest performs further rites over him in order to divine the return to health, or death, of the patient, and also to lift the *tapu* from him, and from the functions generally. A sacred *umu*, or steam oven, is prepared by the priest, and among the food placed therein the priest places a certain portion, over which he has recited a charm or spell which comes under the generic term of *hoa*. When he uncovers the oven, should that article of food be found thoroughly cooked it is a sign that the patient will recover, and that, if he has been bewitched, the offending wizard will die. On the other hand, if the item is found to be yet uncooked, that is a sign that the patient will die. The food cooked in the oven is eaten by the sacred first-born female of a family of rank, who is employed as a *ruahine* to remove the *tapu* in this and many other rites. The afflicted person is often told to procure some special food for the above oven.

Here is another mode of divination. The priest is consulted in regard to the illness of some person. In the morning he goes to where some *harakeke*, or native flax, be growing. He takes hold of one of the young leaves and, grasping it firmly, repeats:—

"He kimihanga  
He rangahautanga  
Ka kimi ki hea?  
Ka kimi ki uta  
Ka kimi ki te pu



Ka kimi ki te more  
 Ka kimi ki te po  
 Ka kimi ki te atua  
 Kia mana koe."

" 'Tis a searching,  
 'Tis a seeking.  
 Where shall (I) search?  
 Search in land,  
 Search the stump (origin),  
 Search the young roots,  
 Search the night (chaos),  
 Search the god;  
 May thou be powerful."

He then tugs at the leaf, pulling it out from the sheath or "hand." Should the pulling out cause the parting leaf to make a screeching sound (*e rārā haere ake te waha o te rito o te harakeke*), that is a good omen: the patient will recover. The priest then performs the *takutaku*. He takes the young leaf of flax he has pulled, and places one end thereof upon the body of the patient. This is an *ara atua*, or path by which the *atua* or demon afflicting the person is to pass out of the sick person's body, in response to the spell or invocation of the priest, which is termed a *takutaku*. It expels the *atua* (demon, god, evil spirit) which is the cause of all the trouble, and the patient will probably then recover. Here is a specimen of a *takutaku* :—

" To ara  
 Haere i tua, haere i waho  
 Haere i te maramatanga  
 Haere i nga kapua o te rangi  
 Haere ma hihi ora  
 Ki te whai ao  
 Ki te ao marama  
 Ko rou ora.  
 Haere i a moana nui  
 Haere i a moana roa  
 Haere i a moana te takiritia  
 Ki te whai ao  
 Ki te ao marama  
 Ko rou ora."

" Thy way :  
 Begone behind, outside,  
 Begone in the light,  
 Begone to the clouds of heaven,  
 Begone by aid of *hihi-ora*  
 To the world of being,  
 To the world of life  
 Ko rou ora,

Begone by the great ocean,  
 Begone by the long ocean,  
 Begone by the ocean not omened  
 To the world of light  
*Ko rou ora.*

This *takutaku*, like the *hirihiri*, was often performed at the water-side, the person being sprinkled with water from the sacred wand of the priest, as before explained. The general meaning of a *takutaku* was given me as follows:—"Here is your path by which to leave. Cease afflicting this person. Return to your origin, to your caretaker. You are an important being. Will you not succour this person."

The demon, when expelled, is supposed to leave the person's body by way of the *ara atua* mentioned above. The plant termed *tutumako* was sometimes used for the purpose, but usually a stalk of the common fern (*rarauhe*) was employed. If, when the *takutaku* is being performed, the *atua* leaves the patient at once, when called upon by the priest to depart, then it is known that it was his, the patient's, own god which was afflicting him. If the god be a stubborn one and difficult to expel, then it is a strange demon, probably sent by some warlock to afflict the person, or it is a punishment sent by the gods on account of some infringement of *tapu*.

Again, the priest discovers the cause of a person's illness; it is a sacred house, or a sacred pillow: the person has occupied one of these places while partaking of food. Hence the god known as *Te Hükita* is afflicting him. He is taken to the water and sprinkled by the priest, who recites the *takutaku* :—

"Ara to ara  
 Mehemea he urunga to take  
 Ko Te Hukita koe.  
 Haere i tua, haere i waho  
 Haere i a moana nui  
 Haere i a moana roa  
 Haere i a moana te takiritia  
 Ki te whai ao  
 Ki te ao marama.  
 Ka uru te ora ki roto  
 Ka uru te mate ki waho  
 Uru toro hei.  
 He urunga koe e patu nei  
 Haere!  
 Te Hukita koe e patu nei  
 Haere ki o take  
 Ko rou ora  
 Ki te whai ao  
 Ki te ao marama."

"Behold thy way,  
 If a pillow is the cause,  
 Te Hukita (affects) thee  
 Begone behind, outside,  
 Begone by the great ocean,  
 Begone by the wide ocean,  
 Begone by the omenless ocean  
 To the world of being,  
 To the world of light.  
 Life and death enters within,  
 Sickness enters (departs) outside,  
 Enters, spreads.  
 If 'tis a pillow that affects thee,  
 Be gone!  
 'Tis Te Hukita that smites thee,  
 Begone to thy source, origin,  
 Ko rou ora  
 To the world of being,  
 To the world of light.

In another *takutaku*, repeated over a person who had polluted the garments of a *tapu* individual by bringing cooked food near them, the words "*He kakahu koe e patu nei*" are inserted. And after the words "*toro hei*" comes:—

"Tu-tawake mai te atua i te rangi  
 Ka ripiripia  
 Ka toetoea  
 Ka haparangitia."

"Tu-tawake from the god of the heavens  
 Tear (them)  
 Split (them)  
 Rip open (them)."

In such cases the *tapu* person, whose sleeping place, or what not, has been contaminated, can save the offender from the effects of his act by performing the above rite over him.

As already observed, the spirit of a still-born child, or even of the *pahēke*, or menses, is a most malignant demon, according to native ideas. If a person forgets himself and passes cooked food over the sleeping-place of the woman who produced it, the spirit will sorely afflict such person. Or it may assail him for many other reasons, or for no reason at all, save that of the innate malignant nature of such a caco-dæmon. Such spirits or demons are termed *atua kahu*. By means of the *hirihiri* the priest will ascertain that a certain woman is the cause of the trouble. He then questions her, "Is there nothing that you know of?" She will reply, "I had a clot of blood, and threw it into the water." Enough! The

priestly seer goes off to search for the plant or moss termed *keketuwai* to be used as an *ara atua* by which to expel the demon. He places the weed on the troubled one, and recites:—

“Tenei to ara  
Haere ki o tupuna  
Haere ki o matua  
Haere ki o koroua  
Haere ki nga mana o o tupuna,” &c.

“This is thy way:  
Begone to (or by) thy ancestor,  
Begone to (or by) thy parent,  
Begone to (or by) thy grandfather,  
Begone to the (or by) the powers of the ancestors,” &c.

Water weeds, such as the above, were often used as *ara atua*, by which route the afflicting demon would be forced to depart. The weed or leaf used would then be deposited in the sacred place of the village.

Here is another style of *takutaku*:—

“Hurahia ko te tutu  
Hurahia ko nga atua  
Ma wai e huaki?  
Maku e huaki  
Ka matika, ka haere  
Tau tika, tau tonu  
Te roua atu, kapea mai  
Roua ki whiti, roua ki tonga  
Hamama tu te waha o nga atua  
I titaha te taha o te rangi  
E oho nga atua whiu  
E oho nga atua ta  
E oho i te rawa i pakina ai koe.”

This calls upon the gods or demons afflicting the person to give some sign of their presence when the particular cause of the attack is pronounced. The reciter then goes on to mention various *tapu* objects, as given before, and when the patient sneezes, or yawns, or gasps, the object then being spoken of was the cause of his illness. The priest then proceeds:—

“Haere i te pu  
Haere i te more  
Haere i te wenu  
Haere koutou e patu nei  
Haere i tua, haere i waho,” &c.

“Begone, by the stem,  
Begone, by the roots,  
Begone, by the little roots,  
Begone, ye who smite,  
Begone, behind, begone outside.”

Or, if it is an *atua kahu*, then he inserts:—

“*Atua kahukahu*  
Haere i a moana nui,” &c.

“*Kahu*—demon,  
Begone by the great ocean,” &c.

The spirit of a *kahukahu* (fœtus) will sometimes enter a fish, or a moth, or a pig, according to where the *whakatahe* is thrown (the safest plan is to bury it deeply). If left on the surface of the ground it may be eaten by a pig, or a moth (*purerehua*), or insect or bird may fly over it, and then that pig, or what not, would be entered by the spirit of the *kahu*, and so become a malignant demon, an *atua ngau tangata*, a demon to assail man. If thrown into water and found by a fish, that fish will become an *atua*, a demon possessing grievous powers. In this district a fœtus was buried under the perch of a tame *kaka* bird, and the spirit or caco-dæmon of the same entered the bird, and worked much harm to man. And should a person dream that he saw the bird with its feathers ruffled or upstanding (*e whakakenakena ana*), that was a good sign: the sick person would recover. But should the bird be seen (in a dream) to wriggle about (*a kia mohinohi ranei nga huru-huru*), that was a bad omen for the invalid. Affections of the eyes and other ills are said to have been caused by that bird.

Should any person trespass on a sacred place (*tuahu*), or a place where a sacred fire has, at some time, been kindled, or a cave containing the bones of the dead, such are causes of the most serious illness, and it will require all the arts of the priest to save him from death. After the usual sprinkling process by the sacred pool or stream, the priest recites:—

“Heuea ki runga, heuea ki raro,  
Heuea ki te po uriuri,  
Heuea ki te po tangotango.  
Tuhia mai te tuhi e atua nui.  
Ana ra e patu nei  
Haere, whakataha ra Tutara-Kauika.  
Ana ra e patu nei,  
Haere i te po uriuri,  
Haere i te po tangotango.  
Rua koiwi,  
Haere ra i te po uriuri,  
I te po tangotango,  
I te wherikoriko.  
Ka kai koe ki to matua e tu nei  
Mihia mai te tere nui  
O te atua e patu nei.  
Tua mai te ora i tua

Koia nga atua e patu nei  
 Haere i tua, haere i waho.  
 Ko Uru koe e patu nei  
 Haere i tua, haere i waho,  
 Haere i te maramatanga.  
 Atua nui koe  
 Haere i tua, haere i waho,  
 Haere i te rangi nui e tu nei,  
 Haere i te papa e takoto nei.  
 Mahihi ora  
 Whakaarahia mai te kauae o te mate  
 Ara mai te hau o te ora  
 Kahu ana te tangata e patu nei  
 Haere i tua,  
 Haere i te hau o tua, o waho, o te ora  
 Koia,  
 Koia nga tapu nei  
 Koia nga mate nei,  
 Koia nga atua nui e patu nei.  
 E ara Kahukura i te rangi nei  
 Haere nga atua whiu,  
 Haere nga atua ta,  
 Haere i tua,  
 Haere i nga koromatua.  
 Mahihi ora  
 Ki te whai ao,  
 Ki te ao marama  
 Ko rou ora."

Priest and patient then returned from the water, and the rite is performed to lift the *tapu*, during which the patient holds in his hand a dead coal taken from the side of the sacred oven.

When a priest has been attending a sick person, and the latter recovers, there is yet another rite to be performed. This was done either in some sacred place near the village, or at the sacred water (*wai tapu* or *wai karakin*) of the village. Here the *whakanoa* rite was performed, and the priest wound up his performance by causing the thunders of heaven to sound. This last is termed *oho rangi* and it was designed to give *mana* (power, prestige, effect) to the various rites and invocations. It is also said that if the thunder rolled at his call, then the sick person would surely recover. But if it did not, that was a bad omen for him. The *whakanoa* rite is a removal of the *tapu* from the patient and priest.

The *oho rangi* rite was performed when the sun was declining. As one of my informants quaintly put it. "When man was in the grasp of death, then tears for his plight were demanded from the heavens, and the wise men of old called on the thunders to sound." This was

performed when the sacred oven was prepared for the lifting of the *tapu*. The *oho rangi* was also performed when bones of the dead were being disinterred.

The priest would obtain a piece of one of the plants which come under the generic term of *puha* or *puwaha*, to which he added a piece of dead ember from the fire. Taking the herb and ember, he would pass them round the left thigh of the invalid, from left to right. He would then wave his hand containing those two articles, towards the heavens, the objects themselves being afterwards taken to the *tuahu* or sacred place of the village where, it is said, another invocation was repeated in order to restore health to the invalid. It appears to have been believed that the *ahua* or semblance, or personality, of the disease became, as it were, absorbed in the articles passed round the thigh and that, in the waving of them towards the heavens, the said personality flew off into space. This singular custom was performed on the left side because that is the *taha ruahine*, the female side, and the *noa* (common or *tapu*-less) side of man. The left side of man has great *mana* although it be not *tapu*.

While performing the above, the priest repeated the following :—

“ Ka oho te po  
 Ka rongo te po  
 Ka rongo te ao  
 Ka oho ki tua  
 Ka oho ki waho  
 Ka oho ki nga koramatua  
 Ka tupu, ka rea  
 Ka puta ki te whai ao  
 Ki te ao marama.”

“ Will start up (the powers of) night,  
 Will hear (the powers of) night,  
 Will hear (the powers of) day.  
 Will start up beyond,  
 Will start up outside,  
 Will start up to the old and wise men.  
 I will grow ; be numerous,  
 Come forth to the world of being,  
 To the world of light.”

After which he recited the *tuaimu*, as follows :—

“ Te imu kai te ruhi,  
 Te imu kai te rongo  
 Ka rongo ki uta,  
 Ka rongo ki tai,  
 Ka rongo ki te po,  
 Ka rongo ki te ao,  
 Tuku tonu, heke tonu

Te ika ki te po.  
 He ika ka ripiripia,  
 He ika ka toetoea,  
 He ika ka haparangitia."

"The \*oven is exhausted,  
 The oven is heard,  
 Is heard inland,  
 Is heard seaward,  
 Is heard in the *Po* (night—Hades),  
 Is heard in the day (world of light).  
 Let go, descends  
 The victim to the *Po*,  
 A victim that is torn,  
 A victim that is sliced,  
 A victim that is ripped open."

The various plants, *kohukohu*, &c., known by the generic term of *puha*, were used in many rites generally, I believe, with the idea of *whakanoa* or lifting of the *tapu*.

In White's "Ancient History of the Maori," Vol. 1, p. 162, is an account of a *ruahine* passing a piece of *aruhe* in the manner described above.

For a singular use of the *puha*, see Williams' Maori Dictionary under *whakapaki*.

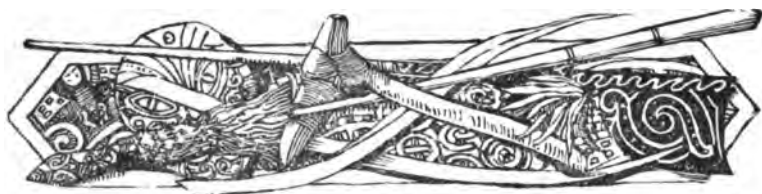
Another custom in former times was to utilise a piece of *aute* bark as a *waka atua*, an abiding place for a god and material representation of such. This would be brought and placed upon a sick person and an invocation, commencing as follows, repeated, in order to cure the person :—

"Koia nga haku  
 Koia ki te rangi  
 Koia ki te kapua  
 Kia tu mai taku kai roro  
 Ko mangungu, ko manono, &c."

(To be continued).

\* *Imu* (or *umu*) is an oven, but here used as the ceremony with which the *umu* is so frequently connected.—(ED.)





## THE *TOA TAUA* OR WARRIOR.

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. E. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

FOR many generations previous to the arrival of the first European settlers in 1840, the social condition of the Maoris was such, that the very existence of a tribe depended upon the courage and ability of its leading chiefs and warriors. If these men were wanting in tact, political ability, or courage of the highest order, then the tribe stood but a poor chance of coming creditably through the hundred and one dangers that menaced the existence of the Maori in those days of blood and fire. Hence it was that the warriors of great reputation known as *toas*, and whose deeds are recorded in the memory of the Maori people, played a very leading part. So much so, that at one period, their influence was well nigh equal to that of the sacred hereditary chief, the first born of many generations of elder sons.

Happy the tribe that could claim among their members one or more well recognised *toas*, since it might in many instances mean immunity from attack or insult, to which less fortunate tribes would be subject. The presence of a famous *toa* was moreover a guarantee of success, inasmuch as his *māna* was very great, and the bravest warrior before engaging in battle with such a one, might take solemn leave of his relatives, and perchance murmur to himself these words "*Hei kona te ao-marama*" (Farewell O world of light!)—an expression not unusual under the circumstances, and significant of the fact, that the Maori recognised that the home of disembodied spirits was one of gloom and deadly quietude.

It is not easy to define the full meaning of the word *toa*, but it is properly applied to any man of extraordinary courage and good fortune who had survived dangers, wherein ordinary men would have perished. To the Maori mind the word carries a much wider significance, for to them such courage is superhuman, and hence they have evolved the

theory that a *toa* is a man specially selected and protected, a favourite of the gods of the Maori people. A Maori is naturally brave and sometimes Berserk, and the uncertainty as to both life and property which had been the normal condition of the Maoris for at least seven generations, had induced a contempt for all consequences, including death, that was almost sublime.

I sorrowfully admit that this wholesome state of mind is no longer the rule; the even balance of the Maori mind has been destroyed by a long course of Missionary teaching. The average Anglo-Saxon is so firmly impressed with the value of his Bible, that he is never quite happy unless he is thrusting it down the throat of some unhappy Hindu, Chinaman, Negro or Maori, with the hope of destroying the ancient and time honoured faith of these people, and with the actual result of raising up a few spurious Eastern Christians, who, to use the Chinaman's own words, "Tell lie and dlink lum alle same klistian." I do not say the Missionaries are wrong, but I do say that they destroy all that is interesting in a Native race. In the good old days a Maori believed in his gods; now he believes in or rather fears hell fire of the good old material type and nothing else. The result is, that we have a few wretched *tohungas* who having no knowledge of the rites and invocations of their ancient religion, pretend to cure the sick by means of pills compounded of equal portions of the Holy scriptures and Pears' soap. The combination does not appear to be a happy one for if the patient be really ill the dose usually finishes him, to the great astonishment of his relatives who cannot understand why men should die from other than natural causes, namely, wounds, witchcraft and old age, which same was undoubtedly the rule under the régime of the old time *tohunga*.

In the years preceding the adoption of Christianity, there was nothing that could induce the sentiment of fear, and therefore all Maoris were brave; the *toa* exceptionally so, but he was also something more than that, since it required a special combination of qualities, moral, intellectual and physical, to turn out a complete *toa* ready for use. Great skill with his weapons was a *sine quâ non*, also strength or activity beyond that ordinarily given to man. So also the ability to lead a war party, and think out a plan of campaign was an indispensable quality in the composition of a *toa*; but above all it was necessary that he should possess the magnetic power, which is the gift from heaven to all great men, born with them and not to be acquired by any process known to mankind. This last qualification is known to and identified by the Maori under the name of *māna*; a very useful word, and one that fits many phases of human character, and

specially applies to that, which for want of a better term, I call magnetic influence, the power often felt, but seldom mentioned, but which alone gives certain men and women extraordinary power over their fellows.

Given a man possessing the qualities I have mentioned, and you have a *toa*; a man who by his very presence could infuse terror into the rank and file of his foes, by virtue of the doubt that would naturally occur to them as to their ability to cope with so dread an enemy. But however potent the *māna* of a *toa*, sooner or later that *māna* would fail him, and he would meet his death at the hands of some young warrior, whose star was rising slowly but surely above the horizon, and he would die caring little for death, but believing much in the power of his tribal gods, and in his own *laches* whereby those gods have been compelled to desert him in his utmost need; for be it known, that in every instance of this nature, a good and sufficient Maori reason can be given in explanation of the mischance.

Tipoki, most valient of the Ngati-Tama of Poutama, North Taranaki coast, fell by the hand of Mama; not because that great man was more skilful than his victim, but rather because the favourite granddaughter of the dead chief had disobeyed his strict injunctions, to avoid cooking or eating a certain sort of food during his absence. Her disobedience was an *aitua* and *aituas* must be expiated.

Mama himself fell at the battle of Okoki near Urenui, Taranaki, wherein the tribes of Waikato and Ngati-Maniapoto fought Te Raparapa and the Ngati-Awa, and if we may believe the Maoris, his death was foretold—if not actually caused by an *aitua* that took place when he slew Tipoki. The blow he dealt the latter was imperfectly delivered, and disclosed loss of *māna*, and therefore coming misfortune.

In like manner the great Raparapa, second to no man that I have ever heard of, whether for strength or courage, lost his life by reason of his utter contempt for his enemies. At the great battle of Te Kakara he was attacked by the Waikato chief Te Rangi-whakaea; he warded the blow, and, disdaining to return it, seized his foe by the hair and flung him across his shoulders, intending to carry him off as a living sacrifice to the war god Tu; but it so happened that Raparapa's time had come, for he put his foot into a hole and fell, and before he could rise—encumbered as he was with his living burden—Te Awa-i-taia rushed forward and speared him.

When the combined tribes of the Arawa and Ngati-Haua met the Ngati-Maniapoto in battle at Kakamutu near the township of Otorohanga, the Arawa *toa*, Te Huare, challenged Mama to mortal combat and was then and there slain. This was an omen of success for Ngati-Maniapoto, but they were none the less defeated, for as much as

though they had slain the first man, yet for some unexplained reason Te Wharaunga failed to perform the important ceremony of *whangai hau*\* with the heart of the dead man though repeatedly urged to do so by Pehi Tukorehu. The last named, though a chief of the highest rank, and a most savage brute, never quite had his heart in the right place, therefore the neglect to perform this ceremony frightened him, so that he drew off his men and left his friends to their fate; the result being that they were badly beaten, and Te Wharaunga paid the penalty for his *aitua*, for he was pursued and slain many miles from the field of battle.

Other warriors of reputation like the gigantic Kiharoa fell because a long career of success had rendered them vain-glorious. So great was the pride of this man, that when challenged he went alone to meet a war party of the Ngati-Maniapoto, and was slain—some say by Te Aranui, others by Wahanui, but as I have heard, by the united efforts of the whole party. Not far from the Puniu river may be seen a trench, somewhat more than ten feet in length and of corresponding breadth, and this it is said was dug by the war party in order to preserve the exact size of Kiharoa as he lay dead, so that future generations might have some idea of the stature of the giant of the past.

In New Zealand, the use of the spear, *taiaha*, and greenstone *mere* had long been reduced to a science, and no *maitre d'arms* could have been more skilful with his rapier than a Maori warrior with his comparatively rude weapons. Moreover, any man specially cunning of fence soon became known by name throughout the North Island. Te Rito-o-te-rangi, a chief of the Kahungunu people of Te Wairoa, Hawke's Bay, is an instance in point. This man had a great reputation as a spearsman, but it so happened that during the last raid of the Waikato tribes into Te Wairoa, he and his people were forced to take refuge in a *pa* built in a bend of the Whakaki Lake, and so constructed as to be approachable on one side only. In this stronghold our chief was surrounded by his Waikato enemies, who occupied the other shores of the lake, here about fifty yards broad. During the siege, a chief of the Waikato came down to his side of the lake, and called to the garrison that he wished to see Te Rito. That warrior was sent for, and when he appeared, the Waikato said, "You have a great reputation as a spearsman, I should like to see what you can do." Now, Te Rito had a spear in his hand, so he pointed to a man stunding about two hundred yards away, and said, "I could throw my spear to that man." Very incautiously the Waikato turned his head to look at the man indicated, and as he did so the spear of Te

\*NOTE. — *Whangai hau* (feed the wind). The heart of the dead man was cut out and roasted, so that the essence might be absorbed by the war god.

Rito passed through him. We may presume that the curiosity of the Waikato was satisfied, for I have never heard that he complained that the reputation of Te Rito was without foundation.

Those who are only slightly acquainted with the Maoris and their history, can have but a very faint idea of the bloodthirsty disposition of this people, or of their terrible fidelity to the law of vengeance. The following narrative taken from tradition will, however, show, that neither sex nor consanguinity, can moderate the passions aroused by a blood-feud. Tore-kauae, a daughter of Tu-te-Aomarama, became the wife of Mania-taka, and after many children had been born of this union, a quarrel arose between the chief and his father-in-law, which ended in the death of Mania-taka. The relatives of the dead man flew to arms and defeated Tu-te-Aomarama, who fled and hid himself in the recesses of the Puke-tarata forest, where he was found hidden in a tree. He was carried in triumph before his own daughter, who, remembering only the fact that her husband had fallen by her father's hand, forthwith avenged him by slaying the latter.

It may be thought that this case of parricide stands alone in Maori history, but it is not so. I know of many worse cases, but will quote only one of them : Nga-rangi-kanea was the chief of a certain tribe on the East Coast, and he, conceiving himself injured by the seduction of his wife, applied to a neighbouring tribe for assistance, in order to avenge the injury. During the negotiations he overheard a remark made by one of his hosts to this effect : "What return does this man propose to make to us for our trouble?" Rangi-kanea made no reply, but he was bitterly affronted at the implication that he was not in a position to render a suitable return for services rendered. Whatever doubt may have been felt as to the chiefs ability to reward those sent to avenge his wrongs, a war party was sent to his *pa*, Te Rere-a-kura, in order to punish the offender, and when they arrived at that stronghold, Rangi-kanea went direct to the house of his grandfather Ngareka, and called to the old man to come out as he was required as food for the war party. The old man did not at first understand his grandson's command, and asked, "Do you mean that I am to come out and be slain?" "I do," said the chief. The old man replied, "Wait for a moment," and so saying took up a sharp-pointed *kou* or wooden spade and drove it into his own heart. The chief simply called to his allies and pointing to the dead body said, "There is your food." This terrible tragedy was simply the result of wounded vanity ; the chief's *mana* had been doubted, and his allies had despised while they assisted him ; but they could never do so again, since he had shown that at whatever sacrifice, he was a man who both could and would recognise services rendered to him.

The Ngati-Kahungunu are not altogether a war-like tribe; but the section that has occupied the district extending from the Mahia Peninsula to the Mohaka River, has nevertheless produced some deservedly famous men. Among the most celebrated of these old-time warriors was one Tapuae, who, if not a great *toa*, was at least a man of profound ability. His chieftainship had fallen in troublous times, for his relatives Te Huki and Kotore had been slain by the tribes of the Bay of Plenty, who, both at that period and after, were the terror of the East Coast, and did pretty much as they pleased. Previous to Tapuae taking up the reigns of government, the Kahungunu of Te Wairoa and their kindred at Hawke's Bay—who were known as Te Whatu-i-apiti—had suffered severely from the raids of other tribes, and had a long and hopeless list of injuries to wipe out, but no chief had as yet appeared in the tribe with sufficient warlike ability to wipe out those injuries, the memory of which had been so carefully preserved. Very great was the satisfaction of the old fighting men when they saw that Tapuae appeared to possess the qualities so long and earnestly desired. The young man was slow but steadfast in character, and his resolute nature was disclosed by the manner in which he devoted himself to all warlike exercises, and especially to the mastery of that weapon known as the *taiaha*. He was slow in his measures, and with every reason, for his people had been disheartened by a long series of defeats, but he was very sure. Hawke's Bay, Turanganui, and other places were in turn invaded and forced to sue for peace; but it somehow happened that Tapuae never found time or opportunity to attack the Bay of Plenty people who had slain his near relatives. It was probably not fear that stayed his hand, for as he had never known defeat his *mana* was very great; but it was probably due to dissensions in his tribe, fomented by his own nephews, Te Otane, Te Kohuwai, and Paitaihonga, all of whom were famous *toas*. Of these three the greatest by far was Te Otane, who is famous in Maori history for the size of his *taiaha*, and for the fact that he was the first of all men to adopt the low guard for that weapon.

There had already been many desperate combats between the two sections of the Wairoa tribe, in all of which the three brothers had turned the tide of battle in favour of their own party. Again and again determined efforts had been made to kill Te Otane, for his enemies felt that if they could dispose of this man they would have a fair chance of success; but in every instance their efforts had ended disastrously. So far, everything had been done in a strictly honourable manner, but each attempt had failed, and therefore, to the Maori mind, it became apparent that it behoved them to use a little treachery. To this end they succeeded in inducing a slave of Te Otane's to remove

and hide his master's *taiaha*, and that same night they quietly surrounded the house in which he slept and waited patiently until daybreak. In the morning Te Otane found his foes waiting for him. The situation was serious, for every time the chief put his head outside the door a dozen blows were aimed at him ; he knew, moreover, that if he delayed, his enemies would remove the thatch from the house and spear him in his cage. For this reason it was necessary that he should act at once and settle the matter one way or the other. Among other physical peculiarities of Te Otane was a very large head—and as this tale will disclose, a very thick one—probably this latter fact may not have been unknown to the owner, for he adopted the desperate resolution of risking the effect of his enemies' first blows in order to get outside and use his *mere*, the only weapon left to him. With this end in view he bounded through the low doorway, and as he did so the blows of the *taiahas* fell thick and fast on his devoted head, but according to tradition did him not the least harm. This may of course be true, but in such case all the tale has not been told. Indeed, I have heard from independent sources, that Te Otane had with him a very thick garment, which same he used for a shield to cover his head as he passed through the doorway. His escape was, however, sufficiently remarkable to inspire terror into his foes, and as man after man fell under the blows of his *mere*, they broke and fled for their lives.

This little affair greatly increased the reputation of Te Otane, so that with one single exception all men feared to face him ; but among the people with whom our hero was at variance was a very famous *toa* named Takapuai, who was held to be absolutely unrivalled in the use of the *taiaha*. This man he had now resolved to meet and kill.

Utterly reckless as to the result of his action, he went alone to the stronghold of his enemies, and then and there before all men challenged Takapuai to mortal combat. This remarkable display of courage probably saved the life of the bold warrior, since it would have been an easy matter for his foes to have dispatched him without further parley, seeing that they were hundreds to this one ; they were however too much impressed by Te Otane's bearing to accept such a simple solution of the difficulty. The challenge was accepted, and the fight took place in the presence of the whole tribe, with the result that Takapuai was slain, and Te Otane returned to his people absolute master of the situation.

During this inter-tribal quarrel, neither party had ventured to interfere with Tapuæ ; who had however been kept well posted up in the doings of his valient relatives. The old man knew that he had not long to live, and it was ever present in his memory that the death of Te Huki had not been avenged. Above all things he desired that the score against the Bay of Plenty tribes should be wiped out before his

spirit took its headlong flight from the cliff of Te Reinga en route to Hades ; and there was sound policy in this desire ; for if the tribe could be brought to combine in order to avenge their ancient injuries, that fact would alone go far towards healing the family feuds that had so long sapped its strength.

To this end Tapuae sent for Te Otane, and the order was promptly obeyed, so that the first intimation that Tapuae received of his nephews presence was the sight of an enormous *taiaha* which was thrust through the door of his *whare* and presently followed by the owner himself. In those days men did not waste time in preliminaries, and Tapuae's first question was "How did you manage to kill Takapuai." Te Otane replied "By the low guard," and then proceeded to expatiate on the merits of that particular guard whether for attack or defence. As he listened Tapuae felt all the enthusiasm of his youth revive, and then and there disclosed his desire, that the death of Te Huki should be avenged. Te Otane agreed to enter heart and soul into the undertaking, and as a preliminary measure a meeting of the whole tribe was held, whereat a most solemn peace was made and proclaimed within the tribal boundaries, and the feuds which had so long paralysed the the movements of the people were for ever banished. Each *hapu* (family) sent its most famous warriors to join the war party, of which the three brothers had been unanimously elected the leaders. After much severe training and preparation for the great work, the war party marched by way of Waikare-moana and Ruatahuna, and thence by the Whakatane river to Ohiwa in the Bay of Plenty ; the destination of the small army being the *pa* of the Whakatohea tribe at Wai-o-eka. The menaced tribe were however on their guard, for they had been duly warned by their *tohunga*, who had been vouchsafed a vision or *matakite*, during which he had seen a war party of which one of the leaders had red hair, and further that the gods had informed him that this man was named Paitaihonga. When the war party drew up in front of the *pa* preparatory to the assault, the *tohunga* called to them and asked Paitaihonga to come forward. Now, it was not clear to the party why this man should be called on to show himself, and for this reason several men responded to the call in order to personate the chief, and each in turn was told that he was an imposter ; finally, Paitaihonga himself stepped forward, and was at once recognised by the *tohunga* as the man he had seen in his *matakite*.

It would seem that this instance of second sight on the part of the *tohunga* was unsatisfactory in its nature, for it did not disclose that which was of the greatest importance—namely, the result of the battle. This omission was unfortunate, for the people of the *pa*, acting under the advice of their priest, sallied boldly out, crying "*Ka maku te pueru*



*o Apanui i tenei ra* " (the garments of Apanui will be moist to-day). At the first onset Te Kohuwai was wounded, and this misfortune, added to the very great reputation of the Whakatohea for warlike prowess, made the Wairoa men waver. This possibility had however been foreseen by Te Otane, who at once called on his men to retire as if in flight, his reasons being that his men had been carefully trained to run long distances, and would not therefore be exhausted by their flight though the enemy might be by following them. He also wished to draw his foes as far as possible from their *pa* so that his victory might be more complete.

Never was order more willingly obeyed; the men turned and fled, but not in disorder, Te Otane and Paitaihonga bringing up the rear, and guarding Te Kohuwai who was carried on the spears of eight men. In this way they fled towards the sea, going well within themselves and attentive to the voice of their leaders, who themselves awaited the signal from Te Otane, who, when he had gone far enough, turned suddenly, and throwing off his dogskin mat charged, shouting "Eight men are mine." Everyone within reach of his great *taiaha* was struck down, and Paitaihonga tried hard to emulate his deeds; even Te Kohuwai, wounded as he was, rushed into the fray. This sudden rally of an enemy who was supposed to be defeated created a panic among the Whakatohea, who fled towards their *pa* for shelter, losing men all along their line of retreat. By this time it was nearly dark, and hence it is said that the pursuers had to feel for the heads before they broke them, and this fact has caused the fight to be known by the name of "Whawha-po" (feeling by night). When the tide of battle had nearly reached the Wai-o-eka *Pa* a very great *toa* tried to retrieve the fortunes of the day by engaging Te Otane, but the latter struck him so terrible a blow that he not only split his head but also a young pine tree that happened to be within the sweep of the blow. It is said that the fork in the tree that resulted from this stroke can be seen even at the present day. I have not myself seen it, but I do know that no good or true descendant of Kahungunu would allow any doubt to rest on the tale I have told.

According to tradition, there was a period in the history of New Zealand when the ancestors of the Maoris were neither cruel nor bloodthirsty. I need hardly say that the period to which I refer is one very remote from the present day, and I do not know that I should have accepted the tradition as a true statement of fact had it not also been the opinion of my friend Tama-i-koha, a very notable chief of the Tuhoe people. This man, when giving evidence before the Native Land Court, said, "War and bloodshed came from beyond the seas; it came with the last migration. Previous to that we all lived at peace

one with the other." It would not be seemly for me to contradict Tama-i-koha, who was not only a very famous warrior but also a member of the tribe whose aphorism is "*Tuhoe, mōumou tangata, mōumou kai*" (Tuhoe, wasters of men and food), men who are as famous for their knowledge of their own ancient history as they are for their prowess in the field. Moreover, this statement is supported by the fact that had the old time descendants of Toi, the wood-eater, been as warlike or politic, as the crews of the latest migration of the seven canoes, the latter could never have seized on the *mana* of the new land as they undoubtedly did.

When Tama-i-koha uttered the words I have quoted, he referred to an event in the history of his tribe, when Tuhoe and Tanemoeahi, the great grand sons of Toroa, chief of the Mataatua canoe, deliberately murdered their elder brother Uemua; for no other reason than that they envied that man the power and influence, which was his birth-right as the eldest son of Tamatea. This crime was one peculiarly abhorrent to the clannish mind of the Maori, with whom blood is very much thicker than water, and hence it is that the descendants of Toroa are apt to blame the migration of that chief for all the troubles that followed the murder of Uemua.

We may, I think, take it for granted that war was not altogether unknown to the descendants of Toi, for if there was no war, why build a *pa* like that at Owara near Maketu, the ditches of which are unusually deep, and enclose nearly seven acres. This *pa* it is said had already been constructed when the Arawa canoe landed its living freight on the banks of the Kaituna river. The motive power that would induce a people to undertake such a work must have been very strong, for in those days the only tools available were pointed sticks and flax baskets; nothing less than the instinct of self preservation would I think have induced a tribe to undertake such continuous labour. Another instance of huge lines of earthworks is the Otamaro *pa*, near Otamarakau, Bay of Plenty, which is said to have been constructed by the ancient tribe of the Kawerau. It may be that these forts were begun and finished in the first generation after the arrival of the Arawa and other canoes of that migration, when the ancient people first realised what sort of men the new comers were. As for the ancient people it is possible that they were more pacific in character than the subsequent migration, but they were probably apt pupils, and soon learned the bad habits of the new comers, for in a history extending over at least 500 years, we occasionally hear of acts of generosity, but of mercy hardly ever.

Vanity was the weak point of the Maori warrior, and therefore the slightest reflection on his conduct, jest on his name, or infraction of his territorial rights, was a good and sufficient cause for war; indeed

the shedding of blood was the only method known to the Maoris whereby an affront could be wiped out. A few instances taken from Maori history will serve to illustrate my remarks on this subject.

The descendants of Uenuku-Kahutia having had some difference with their neighbours, deemed it advisable to remove for a time to some more peaceful district, and with this view migrated into the Waiapu valley, where they were well received by their friends, and lands assigned for their support. During the exploration of their new home they came across a very promising patch of fern root, which proved to be of such excellent quality that the chief declared the spot to be the *Ngakau o te whenua* (heart of the land). Now it would seem that there could be little to offend in this speech, but unfortunately for the speaker his friend and neighbour, Rongomai, had a daughter named Te Ngakau, and when the remark was reported to the father, he at once assumed that it was an insult uttered with malice aforethought, and that his daughter had been compared with fern root, in fact, spoken of as food to be eaten. Influenced by these ideas, he immediately attacked the offenders, killed the chief Koura, and drove his followers out of the valley.

Such were the weaknesses of a very valiant people, but they were amply redeemed by numerous instances of courage, loyalty, and even chivalry, displayed by the old warriors of New Zealand. At the battle of Pukerimu a small party of the Ngati-Apakura and Ngati-Ruru fought the Ngati-Raukawa and were defeated losing nearly fifty men of rank. No more desperate battle was ever fought, for though the two first named tribes were few in numbers, they were all men of birth and tried warriors. When the tide of battle turned badly against them, the war chief Hikairo missed the voice of his friend Te Ironui, and in answer to his enquiry was told that he was among the slain. Then said Hikairo "I will die also, for I have sons who will avenge me," and so saying seated himself by his dead friend and met his fate unshrinkingly. Many of Hikairo's comrades in this battle fought to the last rather than retreat. This Pukerimu battle was really caused by a remark made after the battle of Manganui, where the numerous war party called Hinga-kaka were defeated. The dispute arose over the question of the first man slain, Ngati-Apakura claiming the honour on one hand and Waikato on the other, until words ran high, and a younger brother of Hikairo said to the latter tribe "*He kahi komai ko tahau.*" (Your part is to take our leavings.) The Waikato were deeply hurt at this speech, and replied, "*A muri mau anake tau riri*" (for the future fight your own battles), and thus it came to pass that the Ngati-Apakura found themselves at Pukerimu with numerically insufficient force.

I have mentioned the *toa* as a very valuable and much considered member of the Maori tribe, but as a veracious historian of native tradition, I am bound to admit that in this, as in all other mundane affairs, there is another side to the question, and therefore, my first statement will require qualification. A *toa* being a man of pronounced individuality, with the bump of self-esteem largely developed, was pretty certain, sooner or later, to bring more than their share of disaster on his tribe. This disaster he might, and probably would retrieve, but none the less his tribe would suffer. Much in this way was brought about the destruction of the Aupouri, that great tribe of the North who at one time could muster not less than 8000 warriors.

About one hundred and fifty years ago the Nga-Puhi could boast of two very famous fighting chiefs, Te Waha and Te Karawai. The first-named of these led a strong war party against the valiant Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara, and was almost invariably successful in his battles, but the tidings of this success irritated Te Karawai beyond measure, and finally induced him to call upon all of the Nga-Puhi who were not with Te Waha, to join him in a raid upon Te Aupouri. The whole war party did not exceed one hundred men, and it would seem that Te Karawai felt that he was doing a very foolish thing, for as he passed through the territory of the Rarawa he asked that tribe to join him, but they, for reasons known only to themselves, refused to have anything to do with the raid, and allowed Te Karawai to march to his fate attended only by his small band of Nga-Puhi.

A few plantations were plundered and women captured, but at Taumata-tauni the Aupouri put forth their strength, and Te Karawai and his merry men fought their last battle, leaving no survivors to return home and tell how their comrades had fought and died. Nevertheless, the tidings of this disaster did in due time reach the ears of Te Hotete, and Matahaia, the two leading chiefs of Nga-Puhi (?) and they at once called out every fighting man of the tribe to avenge the defeat. It is said that no less than 7000 warriors answered to the call of these two chiefs. When the news reached Te Waha at Kaipara, he proposed to suspend operations against the Ngati-Whatua, in order to join in the destruction of the Aupouri, but he was opposed by another chief Hautakere, who as a near neighbour to the Kaipara tribes, wished to finish them off in a satisfactory manner, before he engaged in any other affair. Te Waha consented to remain with Hautakere, but Roherohe a great *toa* of the Mahurehure section refused to abide by this decision, and with his 140 men marched to join Te Hotete, saying that he was unable to do his duty so long as the loss they had suffered at the hands of the Aupouri was unavenged.

So rapid were the movements of Roherohe and his party, that they overtook Te Hotete at Otangaroa, where the latter had halted his men in order to destroy the plantations of his enemy. Roherohe did not join with the main body of Nga-Puhi or lose his independence of action, but pushed forward to one of the *pas* of the Aupouri at the mouth of the Whangaroa River, which same they reached soon after midnight and there lay in ambush. In the early morning they observed the scouts of the *pa* reconnoitre the country in the neighbourhood of the *pipi* (shell fish) beds on the coast; and the chief had some difficulty in restraining his warriors who were most anxious to attack the scouts; but he held them back saying, "Your time will come presently when the people of the *pa* come forth half armed to gather the shell fish." Sure enough, when the scouts had reported all clear, the people came out in great numbers and began to collect the harvest of the sea. Then again the hundred and forty clamoured to be led against them, but the prudent Roherohe restrained their ardour saying, "Wait until they are encumbered by the loads on their backs." When the time came and Roherohe gave the signal his men charged with such fury that some two hundred men and women had fallen before the Aupouri had recovered from their panic, and when the warriors of the *pa* poured forth to protect their friends, they found the Nga-Puhi retreating rapidly and in apparent disorder. The Aupouri pursued with little regard for their own safety, but at a certain point where a tree had fallen from the cliff and partially blocked the way, Roherohe and a chosen few turned at bay. Hidden behind the tree they took the Aupouri by surprise, and several men had fallen before they realised that the Nga-Puhi were returning rapidly to the assistance of their chief, it was then too late to retire and the Aupouri lost seventy men whose heads were carried off as trophies of war. The first intimation that Te Hotete received of the success of his friends was their song of triumph as they approached his camp, and when he saw the heads of those who had slain Te Karawai, he welcomed them with a terrific war dance, and having done his duty by this function, announced that he would adopt the victory of Te Roherohe as his own and return to his home satisfied that the losses of Nga-Puhi had been amply avenged. This speech did not satisfy the other chiefs who said with reason, that Te Roherohe might return with honour to his home, but that they were in a very different position since they had not shown their courage against the common enemy. The result was that the hundred and forty returned alone to Waima, Hokianga and the seven thousand marched against the *pa* of the Aupouri and found it deserted, they, however, took possession of the stronghold, which is said to have been of such extent that the Nga-Puhi had barely sufficient men to man the outer line of defence. That night the Aupouri, who had been watching

proceedings, surrounded their old stronghold, and fiercely attacked it at grey dawn. At the first onset the Nga-Puhi fell into confusion and lost many men, for the reason that a rumour had spread among them that their great chief Te Matahaia had fallen. Fortunately, before the confusion became a panic, the old chief sounded his *putatara* (trumpet) and Nga-Puhi hearing the welcome sound closed up their ranks and defeated their foes with great loss, nor did they desist from their career of conquest, until they had almost destroyed the once famous tribe of Aupouri. As for Te Roherohe and his men, on their return to Waima, they were met with the news that Te Waha and those who remained with him at Kaipara had been slain, he therefore, proceeded without delay to the scene of action, and defeated the Ngati-Whatua in two battles, thereby ending the war with honour to his tribe.

In the good old days, the mere prospect of death did not alarm an adult male of the Maori race; but I cannot say that he regarded the prospect of being eaten with the same equanimity. For though it might be creditable to die fighting for one's tribe, there was no credit in being eaten, or in knowing that your head might be carefully dried in an oven and exhibited to admiring strangers. My readers may probably consider such objection puerile, as mere sentiment, unworthy of so practical a people as the Maori; but it is sentiment and not reason that governs the world, and a Maori does not necessarily regard all things from our standpoint. I will now illustrate this Maori weakness by relating how a celebrated *toa* not only avoided the oven, but also secured honourable burial side by side with his victim.

Several generations ago, Nga-tokowaru was the chief war chief of the Ngati-Raukawa tribe, he was a *toa* of the very first magnitude, and especially obnoxious to the Waikato confederacy whom he had frequently defeated, and as a natural consequence his name was widely known and much respected. There is a Maori proverb that says that a *toa taua* is a *toa pahekeheke*, and this by a very free translation may be rendered thus: "A brave warrior has a short life." Nga-tokowaru was no exception to the rule, he in turn was struck down, captured, and carried in triumph before Te Putu, an ancestor of the present Maori king. When Te Putu saw his captive, he said: "So you are the man whose fame has spread through this land. Stand up and show by what method of attack you have slain so many men." Now, Nga-tokowaru had among other weapons, been armed with a bone dagger or *tete*, which he had hidden in the fold of his *rapaki* (waistcloth) to be used as occasion might demand; therefore, when he sprang to his feet at Te Putu's command, he was to all appearance unarmed. The chief bounded from side to side like a very lunatic dealing imaginary blows, and parrying imaginary thrusts, until he was within striking distance of Te Putu, when, drawing the *tete* from his mat he

shouted: "Behold how men die!" and plunged it into Te Putu's heart, and as the blood gushed forth, smeared it over his head and body, so that the whole thing was done in a moment. The next minute Nga-tokowaru was dead, but he had attained to the end he had in view, since by the blood of Te Putu he was now sacred, and not only could not be eaten, but his head was safe from the oven; it had, in fact, become imperative that he should receive proper burial. Such, indeed, was the view taken by his enemies who placed him in the same grave as his victim. It will, I think, be conceded that it was a glorious death, at any rate the Maoris regard it in that light, and I think there is sufficient grit left in the Anglo-Saxon to warrant them in endorsing the view taken by our Maori friends.

The fighting Ngati-Paoa whose ancestral lands are on the western shores of the Thames gulf, have produced many famous *toas*, some of whom are quite worthy of mention. Foremost among these makers of history was Te-Aho-o-te-rangi, a man who never failed to distinguish himself above his fellows, and especially so on the last occasion when acting as a scout in the Ngati-Whatua country, he suddenly found himself in the presence of the whole fighting strength of that famous tribe. On this occasion the greatness of his character asserted itself instantly. Other men equally brave, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, might have tried to save themselves by flight; but Te Aho disdained any such course. He gazed steadily upon his enemies—who had risen up all round him—as though he found something amusing in the fact of their being there, and uttered this saying which has passed into a proverb: "*Ka hua au ko te Taou anake, kaore ko Kaipara katoa.*" (I had thought to meet the Taou sub-tribe only, but here we have all Kaipara), and having uttered this speech, charged singlehanded upon the enemy, and died like a *toa*, slaying even in death.

Of the same type and same tribe was Tuaropaki, who died about the year 1840. This man was exceedingly skilful in the use of the *taiaha*, and had a profound contempt for all guns. Even at the great battle of Taumata-wiwi\* he refused to use any weapon other than his *taiaha*, and thus armed he repeatedly charged the Ngati-Haua, killing many men. Tuaropaki was a very small man, but of such remarkable activity that tales somewhat passing the marvellous are told of his feats; for instance, his tribe assert most strenuously that he could jump a broad stream, and, without landing on the opposite bank, could turn in mid air and return to his starting point. The Maoris undoubtedly believe this very startling statement, and argue that nothing could be impossible to a man of *mana* like Tuaropaki.

\* Near Cambridge, fought about 1830.—Ed.

Personally, I should like to believe this tale, but I fear that I cannot, at the same time I shall not confide my doubts to my Maori friends, forasmuch as they are apt to lose faith in those who doubt.

Maoris are not unlike other men, they worship success, and therefore the *toa* who dies comfortably in his own house obtains more credit than his equally valiant brother-in-arms who dies fighting against fearful odds. Such a man was Maui, chief of the Ngati-tabinga of Whaingaroa. This must have been a truly remarkable man, for his war party never exceeded one hundred and forty men, and with this small army he fought all Waikato, killing among others, Tapaue and Whare-tipeti, grandsons of Mahuta, and not only was he never beaten, but the defeats of Waikato at his hands have not to this day been wiped out. Yet another man of this class was Tiriwa, of Ngati-Apakura, who together with Huahua, turned the tide of battle in that Maori Armageddon known as Hinga-kaka, when the thousands of the south went down before the sons of Apakura, who, though few in numbers, might not be beaten by mortal man since they were *whaka-momore* (Berserk).

I have already said that Maoris are not always to be judged by our standard, and therefore, actions that appear perfectly reasonable to Europeans, are from a Maori point of view absolutely unbearable. The following tale will illustrate the peculiar turn of mind of the Maori: After one of the southern raids of Nga-Puhi, the Ngati-Wai returning homewards landed at Whangarei, and camped near the spot where the wharf now stands. From this place Te Pouroua, chief of the Ngati-Wai sent his wife Kome to her brother Te Pona, who was at that time chief of Ngati-Ruangaio with a message to the effect that the main body of Ngati-Wai desired to return overland to their homes, and therefore he asked Te Pona to allow them to pass in peace. This request was reasonable enough, for the two tribes were at peace; but the Ngati-Wai were a much stronger tribe than the Ruangaio, and it seemed to Te Pona that loss of *mana* would result if he allowed a war party to cross his lands, he therefore asked his sister how many men there were in the party. He was told that there were 700; then said Te Pona, "I have but seventy, but in your army there are not enough men to give me employment, there will be nothing for our brothers to do." With this answer Kome returned to her husband and his colleagues, Te Motuiti, and Te Paraoa, and to them related her brothers words. In the morning the 700 of Ngati-Wai began their march, and when they reached the site of the present town of Whangarei, Te Pona led out his seventy men and attacked them. The result was never a matter of doubt, all the chiefs of Ruangaio fell, including Te Pona, and his brothers Te Waikere and Te Tiwha, the men of inferior rank were driven back to their *pa*, and allowed to remain there unmolested.



The history of Te Ihi, who was beyond all doubt the most famous warrior of Nga-Puhi, and a man of extraordinary physical power, will serve to show what manner of men these *toa* were. When this great member of the Ruangaio family was sick unto death, he sent for his father Kukupa, and said, "I had thought to die on the field of battle." Kukupa understood the full meaning of his son's words, and called his warriors together, and taking with them the dying chief, started in their canoes to attack the Ngati-Whatua *pa* of Mairetahi. That same evening they arrived before that stronghold, and lay in ambush waiting for daylight. Kukupa was a man who for fifty years had been engaged in war, and he properly urged that the small party should keep together during the darkness, ready to resist attack, since it was quite possible that they had been seen by the enemy. The other chiefs paid but little attention to this wise counsel, and each man chose his own camping place with the result that Kukupa found himself almost alone with his dying son, his only companions being Te Taka and Te Tohukai, two chiefs of rank; the other members of the war party were scattered about sleeping where they could. As it so happened Kukupa was right, and the Ngati-Whatua had seen their approach, and were preparing to attack them; but just before dawn Te Taka went out to reconnoitre, and saw the forms of men moving through the mists of early morning, and believed them to be the enemy, though owing to the faulty disposition of his own people, he could not be certain on this point, he therefore returned to his shelter. He was not long in doubt for when the mist rose the Ngati-Whatua delivered their attack, and shot a few of the widely-scattered war party. Te Taka, in order to ascertain what was taking place, climbed on to the roof of an old *whare*, and Kukupa called on to his son to rise saying, "the enemy are at hand." Te Ihi rose and looked about him, but being very ill lay down again saying, "Wait until they are close to us." At last Te Taka recognised one of the Ngati-Whatua chiefs and called out, "Here is Ruarangi." When Te Ihi heard this cry he rose and charged in the direction indicated to him, and found Ruarangi—who had just been wounded—surrounded by his men. A few blows cleared the way, and the chief was slain. It is indeed said by Nga-Puhi, that he smiled as the blow fell, for he recognised that it was an honour to fall by the hand of Te Ihi. That same night the war party returned to their homes, and Te Ihi died on arrival at Mataiwaka.

Perhaps the greatest feat performed by this man was his duel with Kaea, a famous warrior of the Ngati-Paoa. Many years before this duel, the last-named tribe had raided the territory of the Parawhau at One-mania, and had there slain many men and had carried off one of Kukupa's wives, one Taupahi and her son Taurau then a baby. His elder brother Te Tirarau—who like all the men of this family was a

*toa*—followed boldly after the raiders in a small canoe, and called upon Kaea to give up the mother and child to him. Kaea was evidently a very noble type of man, for when he learned who his captives were he at once consented, and Te Tirarau not to be outdone in generosity, handed his gun, a very valuable piece of property in those days, to Kaea. When these two brave men parted, the latter requested Te Tirarau to tell his brother that if he wished to avenge this raid he must go to Hauraki. This speech, which seemed to cast a doubt on the ability of Te Ihi to attack Hauraki, annoyed that man so much that he never forgot the words used, and when Nga-Puhi had, through Hongi's visit to England, obtained a large supply of guns, and rose to avenge their many defeats at the hands of Ngati-Paoa, Te Ihi joined the force of Hongi Hika. *Mau-inaina* was the first *pa* taken,\* and then Hongi turned his attention to Mokoia, the stronghold of Kaea's people. Just before the attack commenced Te Ihi instructed all of his men that whosoever should see Kaea during the fight, should shout his name, in order that he should be able to find his enemy. It so happened that Kaea's post was on the sea face of the *pa*, and when the attack commenced that man was engaged in the manufacture of a wooden club or *hani*, and was using a carpenter's adze for this purpose, and with characteristic indifference continued his work until the Nga-Puhi had forced their way into the *pa*. He then rose and made up for lost time, for Nga-Puhi themselves admit that he slew no less than forty of them with the adze aforesaid, and then finding his people panic stricken by the guns of their foes, he broke through the latter, at the same time guarding his father, a very old man, and swam a river that was on their line of retreat. The father had already gained the opposite bank, and Kaea would have been beside him in a few minutes, when Te Ihi appeared on the scene and called upon Kaea to return to meet him. The gallant Ngati-Paoa did so without the least hesitation; the two men met in the water, and Kaea was slain, but the Nga-Puhi admit that the fight was unfair, though in what particular I am unable to say.

Of the extraordinary courage, speed, and activity of Te Ihi, many tales are told, and it is also said that he was a man who never would eat human flesh, but preferred to run down a native dog when meat hungry. When the people of Rotorua were menaced by the Nga-Puhi about the year 1823, the latter tribe had at first no canoes with them, and were consequently unable to cross the lake, and had to submit to the taunts of the Arawa, who came each day in their canoes from the Island of Mokoia, and paddled to and fro just out of reach of the Nga-Puhi guns, while they shouted insulting speeches. It was this fact that caused the Nga-Puhi to take their canoes into the Waihi River, and thence by the Pongakawa stream into Lake Rotoma, from

\* In November, 1821.—(Ed)

which place they dragged them overland to Rotoehu Lake, thence by a shorter portage to Rotoiti, from which place Rotorua was easily reached. When Nga-Puhi had their canoes ready on the ground they prepared a surprise for those who had insulted them. They chose their fastest canoe, and having manned it ready for action stood round it in the water so that it could not be seen from the Lake, and waited patiently till the Arawa came in the usual manner to jeer at them. Then, however, a hundred pair of hands launched their canoe in pursuit, and a desperate race for life was the result. The *pa* on Mokoia was so built that the pallisades extended far into the water so as to enclose and protect the canoes, and to reach this haven of refuge the Arawa made the most desperate exertions. Just as their efforts appeared to be crowned with success, the Nga-Puhi had drawn sufficiently near for Te Ihi, who, with one mighty leap, landed on the stern of the Arawa canoe, struck down the man nearest to him, and then almost with the same movement sprang back into his own craft, taking his victim with him.

In all these affectionate reminiscences concerning great warriors, the marvellous may be said to predominate, and I simply give the tales as I have heard them told by the tribe, but the following I have reason to believe to be true and free from exaggeration: "Shortly after the first Europeans came to New Zealand and began to cut the kauri trees for export to the penal settlements of New South Wales, an argument arose between them and the Maoris as to the running power of Te Ihi, and the Maoris backed their champion to stand by the butt of a tall Kahika until it tottered on its stump, he was then to run in the direction of the fall and outrun the tree. There was, it is said, great excitement over this trifling with a man's life; but the Maoris backed their champion, and Te Ihi performed the feat with something in hand."

There have been many men of remarkable stature among the Maoris, some of whom I have already mentioned, but the tallest man of modern days was Kiharoa, of the Ngati-Raukawa tribe. He was not, perhaps, a very great *toa*, for he cannot be compared with such men as Raparapa, Kaea, or Te Ihi; but he was a very fearless man, and known to all the tribes by his great stature. There is a cave near Otorohanga, the roof of which is about nine feet from the floor thereof, and on the roof is a stain as of red ochre (*kokoai*), and this mark it is said was made by Kiharoa, who entered the cavern, and finding the roof too low to suit his heroic stature, threw back his head and rubbed his nose, which was covered with ochre, against the roof.

The fear inspired by the presence of a great *toa* such as I have described, was simply overmastering, even to a brave people like the Maoris. But it was not altogether fear of the man, but rather fear of

the gods by whom he was protected. Tradition records that Tapaue, a famous warrior of the Ngati-Mahuta, was surprised and beset by a number of his enemies, who were intent upon taking his life; but the chief took his wife and retired to a small hill where he awaited the onset of his foes. His prowess was not, however, put to the test, the terror of his presence was alone sufficient to arrest the advance of his foes, they had no man of reputation with them, and the nearer they approached Tapaue, the less they liked the prospect, until at last, all being of one mind, they retired ignominiously.

There are many curious superstitions which, to the Maori mind, are connected with battle, murder, or sudden death; but which can hardly be conveyed to the European reader in understandable form, except by the medium of some legend, that illustrates the particular superstition. From the traditions of Ngati-Hau we learn that a chief of that tribe Tuwharemoa took to wife Tapu-te-ao, a woman of the Ngati-Apa, and lived with her at the Putiki *pa*, near Whanganui, which at that time belonged to the last-named tribe. Returning home late one night he overheard a conversation that convinced him that his wife was unfaithful. The husband did not betray his presence by either word or blow, but taking off his *toi* (a rough mat), he hung it over the doorway, so that anyone leaving the house must necessarily see it and understand the meaning of the sign. Having done this, the chief set out at once for Utapu, on the Upper Whanganui, where he hoped to induce the great chief Rua-ma-toatoa to take up his quarrel. This he found it easy to accomplish, and Rua ordered his great war canoe—hardly less sacred than himself—to be put in order. Ten men only were taken from each *pa* on the river in order to prevent the overloading of the canoe, and for this reason there was some difficulty made at Pukehika over the inclusion of a great *toa* named Tamarere, and it was only as a special favour that the famous warrior Pa-moana was taken from Operiki.

The first *pa* attacked was at Raorikia, where both Tama-rere and Pa-moana distinguished themselves. The war party then pushed on down the river after lighting a fire in the bow of the canoe for the purpose of cooking the hearts of the slain as a *whangai-hau* or offering to the gods. While this ceremony was in progress it was noticed that though the canoe was moving swiftly through the water, and against the wind, yet the smoke from the sacred fire kept steadily ahead of the canoe, and this omen, so contrary to natural law, was very properly regarded as a sign of the approval of the gods.

The important stronghold of Putiki-wharanui was found to be deserted, the force therefore went on to Whanga-ehu, where they not only stormed the *pa*, but captured the erring wife, who was forthwith slain by her husband and eaten by the warriors, as a warning to all unfaith-

ful women. From here the *taua* moved on to attack the Paeroa *pa* near Parewanui, where a well-contested battle was fought, and the two chiefs Rangi-apu and Rangi-matata, who were the cause of all the trouble, were slain by Tamarere. After the fighting had ceased, the usual meeting was held to determine the relative merits of the *toas*, each of whom claimed to have slain the two chiefs above-mentioned, Tamarere alone made no claim. The chiefs found themselves quite unable to decide among the numerous claimants, and referred the matter to Rua-ma-toatoa, who said, "Let the *tohungas* utter their *whakatarā*" (incantations over the dead), and when this had been done, he spoke to the warriors and said, "The man who can lift the dead men above his head is the man who has slain them." Each *toa* in turn attempted the feat but failed; then Tamarere rose, and saying, "I am the man," lifted the heaviest at arms length above his head, for such is the power given by the gods to any man who has slain another in fair fight!

I have already alluded to the almost insane desire for vengeance, which is so marked a characteristic of the Maori, whenever he has reason to believe he has been either insulted or injured, and will now give an historical instance of this phase of the Maori mind, which will illustrate the peculiar policy of that people.

The Ngati-Raukawa chief Poutu, having instigated the murder of Rua-wehea, *ariki* of Taupo, the latter tribe attacked and slew many of the former, and in due turn were themselves attacked by Te Ata-inutai, who stormed the Horo-tanuku *pa* on Lake Taupo, and then besieged the Whaka-angaanga stronghold, which was defended by Tama-tangaua and Rangi-ita. This *pa* he not only failed to take, but he himself was wounded and his people fell back in confusion and could not again be brought to the attack. Under these circumstances Te Ata advanced alone to the *pa*, and asked who it was that had wounded him, for he knew the appearance of the man but not his name. Several warriors stood forward and claimed the honour, but one after the other their claims were rejected, until Rangi-ita came forward and was recognised by Te Ata-inu-tai, who said, "You are but a boy and yet you have wounded me; come with me to my camp." Rangi-ita accepted the invitation, with the result that peace was made and Te Ata gave him his daughter Wai-tapu in marriage. This peace would undoubtedly have been binding had it so happened that a chief of rank, equal to that of Waikare, had fallen on the other side; but unfortunately, no chief of note had been killed on the side of Ngati-Raukawa, and for this reason the Taupo men bore in mind the fact that Ngati-Raukawa owed a debt that must sooner or later be squared. It was probably out of respect to Wai-tapu that the inevitable vengeance was delayed, but about ten years after the death of Waikare

Te Kuaha suddenly attacked and slew Te Ata at Wai-haha. This act complicated matters most unpleasantly for the children of Wai-tapu, for it since devolved upon them to avenge the death of their maternal grandfather, by killing some member of their father's tribe, lest they should be jeeringly reminded of the fact by some ill-conditioned Maori of that period, which was in fact the very thing that happened, for one of these children Tu-te-tawha, amusing himself by throwing stones into the Taupo Lake, thereby splashed one Ure-tarai, who said in his wrath, "Who are you, that you should insult people, you whose grandfather's death has not been avenged?" Tu-te-tawha went at once to his mother, for he was old enough to understand the significance of the speech and the reproach thereby conveyed. Wai-Tapu admitted that the death of Te Ata had not been avenged, and that this matter would have to be taken in hand shortly. The child made no reply to this statement, but he none the less bore the fact in mind until he had reached man's estate, when he announced his intention of taking the vengeance so long delayed. The position was so complicated that Tu himself could take no part in the business, but that difficulty could be surmounted; the aid of Whiti-Patato, a famous chief of the Ngati-Raukawa was bespoken, and he very willingly marched to avenge the death of Te Ata-inu-tai. That night the *pa* of Ngati-Tu-whare-toa, Turi-roa was attacked, but the chief, finding that he had been surprised and that the enemy were already in his *pa*, escaped to a cave that was near at hand. It was not, however, intended by either party that he should escape, since it was necessary that someone of rank should die, and to this end Whiti-Patato was directed to his hiding place. When old Turiroa heard the footsteps of the war party outside his cave, he realised the position, and enquired who led the *taua*, and whence they had come. Whiti-Patato replied, "I have been chosen to avenge the death of Te Ata." On hearing these words the doomed man knew that escape was impossible, and being a Maori, and therefore alive to the exigencies of the case, he replied calmly, "It is, good proceed," and met his death without further protest.

It may be conceded that as a rule the Maoris would prefer to avenge an injury on the actual offender; but if this be the rule the exceptions are numerous. When the Ngati-Maru had been defeated at the Totara *pa*, Thames River, by the guns of Nga-Puhi, they migrated to Maunga-tautari, and for a while lived side by side with Ngati-Raukawa, not altogether in amity, but rather in a state of mutual watchfulness. About this period a party of the Ngati-Maru visited Tauranga, and were there treacherously attacked, and Te Hiwi and others slain. Now, the Ngati-te-Rangi, of Tauranga, were not more numerous nor were they so warlike as the Ngati-Raukawa, it

might, therefore, have been fairly anticipated that Ngati-Maru would have attacked those who deserved to suffer; they, however, did nothing so reasonable, but were satisfied by an attack on the former tribe.

It will not be out of place to say that, however low in rank or insignificant a man might be, his death at the hands of a strange tribe was invariably avenged. There was, however, an exception to the rule, for if he had been taken a prisoner of war he had become a slave, and from that time forth he was dead to his tribe, therefore, his subsequent treatment, however atrocious, would not only not be avenged but would hardly provoke comment.

All war customs were not, however, cruel or barbarous, for occasionally we find traces of something like kindly feeling, but such traces are rare and attributable for the most part to a sentiment often very strong among Maoris—viz., that blood is thicker than water. When the whole strength of the Waikato confederation had for two months besieged the Ngati-Raukawa in the Hangahanga stronghold in the Upper Thames District, and had reduced that unfortunate tribe to the last extremity of hunger and thirst, so that a few more days would have settled their fate, Te Akanui, of Ngati-Maniapoto, remembered that he was related to them, and taking advantage of the fact that his own tribe were guarding the *pa* for that night he visited his half-starved friends, and advised them to fly at once, promising that his own people should cover their retreat. His advice was taken, and most of the Ngati-Raukawa escaped. It is true that the aged and infirm members of the tribe were overtaken and slain by the fierce Waikato, but that mattered little, for the flying tribe were rather strengthened than otherwise by getting rid of their impedimenta.

All of this is very dreadful, if we take the modern humanitarian view, for at present we seem to take a mysterious satisfaction in the announcement that Mr. or Mrs. So-and-so had lived to the great age of 95 years; but we also forget to mention the fact that for the last 20 years of their life these same people had been an economical loss to the State, and, more or less, a nuisance to themselves and all connected with them. It is also our custom to save and doctor up all hereditarily unsound and lunatic people in order that they may reproduce their ailments throughout succeeding generations. The Maoris understand their duties to their tribe better than we do, and it is probable that in the next hundred years, when the food supply becomes restricted, we also may have to eliminate the useless members of each community by a process of natural selection.

That the *toa* did, in almost every instance, die a violently natural death does not verify the old adage "that those who live by the sword shall die by that weapon." The Maori view that so long as the *mana* of a *toa* endured so long was he unconquerable, and by parity of

reasoning, if a man was slain he must have lost his *mana*. Such loss might occur in many ways—either by his own act or default, or by the act or default of others. A person of inferior rank stepping over another as he slept would for the time being deprive the person so treated of his *mana*; and it is known to every good Arawa that it was this very thing that deprived their great *tohunga*, Te Unuaho, of his influence with the gods on the day that Mokoia was stormed, when Te Unuaho attempted to redeem his promise and swamp the Nga-Puhi canoes as they crossed Lake Rotorua. The Nga-Puhi say that Te Unuaho did raise a storm, but that he was out-manouvered by their man Kaiteke, who calmed the waters by the simple expedient of placing the bones of a celebrated ancestor therein. Woe to the man who would decide where *tohungas* differ!

Above all, it behoved a *toa* that he should pay attention to omens and such like, but, unfortunately, this class of man was so constituted that they paid but little attention to any law (either human or divine), and for this reason a *toa* seldom attained to the three score and ten so much desired by civilised communities. To organise a war party while the house of the head chief was in course of erection, was regarded by the Maoris as a defiance to the gods, and, therefore, it has ever been their rule that a house of this description must be finished before any important project could be entertained by the tribe; but even here the *toa* has been known to interfere to the utter destruction of his tribe. About the year 1889, the chiefs Te Kotuku, Whakarau and others, conceived that they had been injured by the Nga-Rauru, of Waitotara, and consulted Te Heuheu, the greatest leader of all Taupo, as to raising a war party to attack the common enemy. About that time Te Heuheu was building a house, and he naturally replied that nothing could be done until the house was finished. Probably the chief had been abrupt in his manner, and had thereby affronted these men whose rank was certainly equal to his own, but whatsoever the cause, Te Kotuku ignored Te Heuheu and went his own way, with the result that very few of his men ever returned to Taupo, and all the chiefs were slain. Te Kotuku performed prodigies of valour, but none the less his bones whiten the Patoka Hill.\*

“*Te Kuri unu toto.*” The dog that draws blood, is a proverb that has been applied to a very famous chief of the Tuhoe people. This man, Te Purewa, died so lately as the year 1880, and among other brave actions recorded in his favour, it is said that while on his way through the forest to Ruatahuna, accompanied by one slave only, he came suddenly face to face with a war party of Ngati-Pahauwera.

\* The spot where he fell was *tapu* to all the people of the district even up to within 20 years ago, and may be so still to some of them.—Ed.



He was instantly recognised by Te Horua, the chief of the party, who shouted "*Te ika o te kupenga*" (the prize fish). Te Purewa toa though he was, had at first tried to hide himself by springing behind a giant *totara*; he was, however, seen before he reached its shelter. Te Horua rushed forward to attack him, but Te Purewa, armed only with his *mere*, "*Te Kapua*," slew him before his people could come to his assistance, and then raising his voice to its utmost pitch shouted, "*Kokiri! kokiri!*" (charge! charge!) His slave joined in this war cry, and the forest echoes taking up the cry, caused the warriors to believe they had met a numerous section of Tuhoe. This belief, together with the fall of their chief, made them hesitate and fall back, and so sealed their fate, for Te Purewa who was a man of great physical power and activity, charged them at once, and followed the flying warriors even to the borders of their own country. It is said that but few of them reached their homes. This, however, may be taken for what it is worth, but the fact remains that Te Purewa, by virtue of his skill, courage, and activity had defeated fifty men with severe loss.

No account purporting to describe the great fighting men of the Maori people would be complete if Tu-whaka-iri-ora, of the Ngati-Porou be left unmentioned. This man rose to power and eminence among his fellows by his own unaided efforts, depending nothing on his birth, and having no tribe at his back. He nevertheless succeeded in all his undertakings, and for some years before his death was the acknowledged chief of all the numerous families of Ngati-Porou, and his *mana* extended from Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty, to Poverty Bay in the south, and to this day the chiefs of Ngati-Porou are in every instance descended from his eldest son.

The father and grandfather of Tu-whakairi-ora were not great chiefs, they were moreover, fugitives from Whangara, whence, for some small offence, they had been driven to take shelter at Opotiki. The mother of our hero (Te Ata-a-kura), was a woman of very great force of character, and one who had many injuries to avenge, for her father, Porou-mata, had been murdered by the Ngati-Ruanuku, and his people driven from their homes and scattered among the kindred tribes of Turanganui. To avenge these wrongs, Te Ata-a-kura solemnly devoted her unborn son, using the most powerful invocations known to the *tohungas* of her tribe, and to this fact the Maoris ascribe the ability both political and warlike, that was subsequently shown by their great ancestor. Whatsoever the cause may have been, very certain it is, that this man did accomplish the apparently hopeless task set him by his mother; and to his credit it may be said that he did not follow in the footsteps of so many warriors and degenerate into a mere bloodthirsty savage; nor did he for the most part reduce those whom

he had to chastise into a condition of slavery; but none the less by his own nobility of mind, and force of character, he rose from the position of a tribeless and landless man to be the leading chief of his tribe.

Every tale that is told of this chief shows how superior he was to all the men of his generation. That he did kill men when the occasion arose is quite true, but the killing of men was not the purpose of his life, as it was with so many great warriors.

At this stage of his life Tu-whakairi-ora had neither land nor tribe, he had therefore, no easy task before him when he resolved to attack the Ngati-Ruanuku. But nothing is impossible to a really great man, and as our hero was the fortunate possessor of an imposing presence, great courage, and skill with his weapons, he did not find it difficult to ingratiate himself with the neighbouring tribes, and impress them with his strong individuality, with the result that many of the bolder spirits of the Ngati-Ranginui of Tauranga and Ngati-Uekahikatea of Opotiki attached themselves to him and promised whatever support he might require.

The first step of Tu-whakairi-ora on the road to fame led him to Whare-kahika, or Hick's Bay, where he visited Te Aotaki a chief of the Ngai-Tuere, and had the good fortune to be accepted as the husband of his daughter, Rua-taupare. The Ngai-Tuere had obtained their footing in Hick's Bay only a few years previously, when they had joined with Uetaha, and assisted him to take the lands of his maternal ancestor Rua-Waipu from the intruding Nga-Oho. The marriage with Rua-Taupere laid the foundation of her husband's power, for he forthwith established himself in the O-kauwharetoa *pa* on the banks of the Awatere Creek on land given to his wife as a marriage present. About this period also, his brother Hukarere married a daughter of Uetaha, which still further increased the family power and gave them all the land between the Awatere and Karaka-tuwhero streams. Here the brothers lived for many years, consolidating their power and keeping steadily in view the vengeance to be taken. It was probably with this purpose that Tu reconnoitred beyond the East Cape, accompanied only by his two dogs Tamure-haua and Tu-moana-wairau. On his return journey these dogs were allowed to roam about in advance of their master, and so turned off the beach in the direction of Rangi-ahua *pa*. When Tu missed his companions he called to them only one responded, and knowing that the Maori of that day had a very decided taste for dogs meat, he went to the village below the *pa*, where he met two men and a woman, and asked them if they had seen his dog. They replied that they had not, but as he turned away he heard a sneering remark from one of the men that convinced him that they had killed the animal. Tu was prompt to act, and in an instant

he had drawn his *mere paraoa* and the two men, Whata and Wahieroa, lay dead while the woman fled shrieking to the *pa* for aid. Having executed this very natural act of vengeance, the chief calmly resumed his journey, undisturbed by the knowledge that all the warriors of the *pa* were now in full pursuit and thirsting for his blood. When Matapokia, the swiftest of his foes had nearly overtaken him, Tu turned suddenly, warded off the thrust made at him, and slew his enemy. The same fate overtook Pito, and then Tu-whakairi-ora knowing that one man cannot fight a war party without some advantage of position, made for a rocky islet known as Te Hekawa, which may still be seen just below high water mark. This rock has but one narrow path by which it may be climbed, and on the summit our chief took his stand, surrounded by his foes and scarce fifty feet above them; but in such a position that the aforesaid foes were by no means anxious to come to close quarters.

Here Tu defended himself for some time, aided by the chivalrous behaviour of one of his foes Putekiteki, who was so pleased with the address shown by our chief that he threw him a spear, and called to him to catch it. While these things were passing, his brother, Hukarere, who was fishing at a short distance, recognised that his brother was in difficulties, and brought his canoe as near to the rock as possible, and Tu, seizing his opportunity, leaped into the sea and was rescued.

No bad feeling resulted from this little episode, indeed, the very men who had tried to kill Tu-whakairi-ora were subsequently his best friends, for they formed part of the army with which he avenged the death of Poroumata, and destroyed the Ngati-Ruanuku. This tribe is said to have been brought by Tahu from the South Island of New Zealand, but wherever they may have come from, I am of opinion that they were a section of the tribe of the same name who may still be found living on the island of Mangaia, of the Cook Group, and like all of the people of the East Coast had migrated from that group.

It would be wearisome to write a history of all the achievements of Tu-whakairi-ora, it will be sufficient to say that he established his family permanently, so that we have in our own time seen their *mana* in the person of Te Kani-a-Takirau, who was not a warrior, but nevertheless the greatest chief of New Zealand. His grand mother, the famous Hine-matioro was regarded as absolutely sacred.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [173] New Zealand Origin of the Manihiki Islands.

It is a very singular thing that the people of Penrhyn (Tongareva) and Manihiki Islands, lying north of Rarotonga, insist that their ancestors came from Hawaiki-tautau (which is the Rarotongan name for New Zealand), though they cannot now say whether it was Mahuta or his ancestors that came thence, but I fancy the latter. Old "Bob" who is the present representative of the Mahuta family, had a long talk with me not long ago, and told me that before the times of Tangia and Karika of Rarotonga (*circa* 1250) people came to these Northern Islands from New Zealand.—W. E. GUDGEON.

(We may add to the above, that the Manihiki people have preserved certainly one, if not more, of old Moriori traditions, not recorded by the Maori, or apparently by the Rarotongans. It is quite possible, though evidence is wanting, that these stories may have been taken to those parts by Awa-morehurehu of the *Tangata-whenua* people of New Zealand, who went to those parts about the time of Tangia mentioned above.—ED.)

### [174] Nuku-mai-tore, the Manihiki Version.

I was talking with a chief of Manihiki Island, not long ago, and he told me the following: "In early days of their history, the 'Ara-a-toka' canoe, under the direction of the chiefs Tu-ao, Toka, Toko, and Tikitiki-a-rangi sailed away on a voyage of discovery, and among other places visited was Nuku-mau-tere, on which island they found only women living. One of the crew named Wai-kohu went among the women, and in the struggle as to who should keep the man, he was killed. On the return of the canoe, the crew reported that it would take a thousand nights to reach the nearest land. For this reason the Manihiki people stayed at home for many generations, until at last a young *ariki* led the way and re-discovered Samoa, Pukapuka, and other islands."

(In the above story we may recognise the incidents related in the Maori story of the voyage of Whiro and Tura, who visited an island inhabited solely by women, one of whom Tura married. These people were called Nuku-mai-tore, a mere dialectal variation of the Manihiki name Nuku-mau-tere.—ED.)



## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

MINUTES of a Meeting of the Council held on Monday, 5th December, 1904.

Present:—Messrs. W. L. Newman, in the chair, W. Kerr, J. H. Parker and W. H. Skinner.

Minutes read and confirmed.

The President notified that His Excellency Lord Plunket had accepted the position as Patron to the Society.

The following new members were elected:—

- 361 Right Hon. Sir Samuel James Way, Bart., P.C., Chief Justice, Adelaide, South Australia. Nominated by Dr. Hocken.
- 362 J. W. A. Marchant, Surveyor-General, Wellington. Nominated by S. P. Smith.
- 363 H. J. Matthews, Chief Forester, Wellington. Nominated by S. P. Smith.
- 364 Wellwood Reeve, Tolaga Bay, Gisborne. Nominated by Rev. H. W. Williams.

It was resolved that five members should be struck off the roll for non-payment of subscriptions.

The following list of exchanges, &c., was read:—

- 1649-50-51 *The Geographical Journal*. April, May, June, 1904.
- 1652-3 *Na Mata*. May, June, 1904.
- 1654-5 *Science of Man*. May, June, 1904.
- 1656 *Nests and Eggs, Australia and Tasmania*. Part IV., Australian Museum.
- 1657-8 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie*. April, May, 1904.
- 1659 *The American Antiquarian*. Vol. xxv, No. 6.
- 1660 *Records, Australian Museum*. Vol. v, No. 4.
- 1161 *Archivio per L'Anthropologia*, Vol. xxxiii, No. 3.
- 1662-3 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. May, June, 1904.
- 1664-5 *La Géographie*. Nov., Dec., 1903.
- 1666 *Vorläufiger Bericht über den Palolo wurm*. Dr. W. McM. Woodworth.
- 1667 *Preliminary Report on the "Palolo" Worm of Samoa*. Dr. W. McM. Woodworth.
- 1668 *The Alaska Boundary*. By Geo. Davidson, San Francisco.

- 1669-70 *Journal Anthropological Society*. July-Dec., 1903. Jan.-June, 1904.
- 1671-2 *Proceedings Canadian Inst.* July, 1904. *Transactions Canadian Inst.* March, 1904.
- 1673 *Mededactingen Omtrent Beloe of Midden-Timor*. Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel liv.
- 1674 *Karo-Bataksche Vertellingen, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel lvi.
- 1675 *Catalogus der Munten en Amuletten van China, Japan, Corea, en Annam, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap.
- 1676 *Dagh-Register, Casteel Batavia, year 1677*. Bataviaasch Genootschap.
- 1677 *Tijdschrift voor Indische-, Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*. Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xlvii, Af. 5
- 1678-79-80 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xli—Af. 4—Deel xlii—Af. 1 and 2.
- 1881-2 *Kongl Vitterhets Historie, &c. Manadspälad 1898 och 1899. 1901 och 1902.*
- 1683 *Register of the Kamehameha Schools, 1903-4.*
- 1684 *Occasional Papers, Bernice Pauahi. Bishop Museum.* Vol. ii, No. 2.
- 1685-6-7 *The Geographical Journal*. July, Aug., Oct., 1904.
- 1688-9-90 *Revue Mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris.* June to Oct., 1904.
- 1692-3-4-5 *La Géographie*. Vol. ix, 2, 3, 4, 5.
- 1696-7-8 *Bulletins et Mémoires, Société D'Anthropologie de Paris, 1904.* 1, 4, 5.
- 1699 *The American Antiquarian*. Vol. xxvi, No. 1, 3, 4, 5. 1700, 01, 02.
- 1703 *Annual Report, Department of Mines*. N.S. Wales, 1904.
- 1704 *Report of Trustees, Public Library, Museum, &c.* Melbourne, 1903.
- 1705 *Australian Museum, Nests and Eggs of Birds, &c.* Vol. 1. Title, Contents, &c.
- 1706-7 *Science of Man*. Sydney, July and August, 1904.
- 1708-9-10 *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*. Vol. iv, No. 37, 38, 39.
- 1711-12-13-14 *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Parts 1 and 2 1903, 1 and 2 1904, part 3 1904.
- 1713-14 *Transactions Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*. Vol. xiii, part 2. Vol. xiv, part 1.
- 1715 *Transactions, Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania*. Vol. 1, parts 1 and 2.
- 1716-17-18-19-20 *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Band xxxiii—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Band xxxiv, part 2.
- 1721 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. July, 1904.
- 1722 *Records of Australian Museum*. Vol. 5, No. 5.
- 1723 *Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, Australasia. S.A. Branch*. Vol. vii.
- 1724 *Journal, American Oriental Society*. Vol. 25-1.
- 1725-26-27-28-29 *University of California, American Archaeology and Ethnology*. Vol. i, No. 1 and 2. Vol. ii, No. 1, 2, 3.
- 1730 *Twentieth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*. 1898-99.
- 1731 *Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution*. 1902.
- 1732-3-4-5-6 *Na Mata*. July to November, 1904.



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# THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE SOCIETY.

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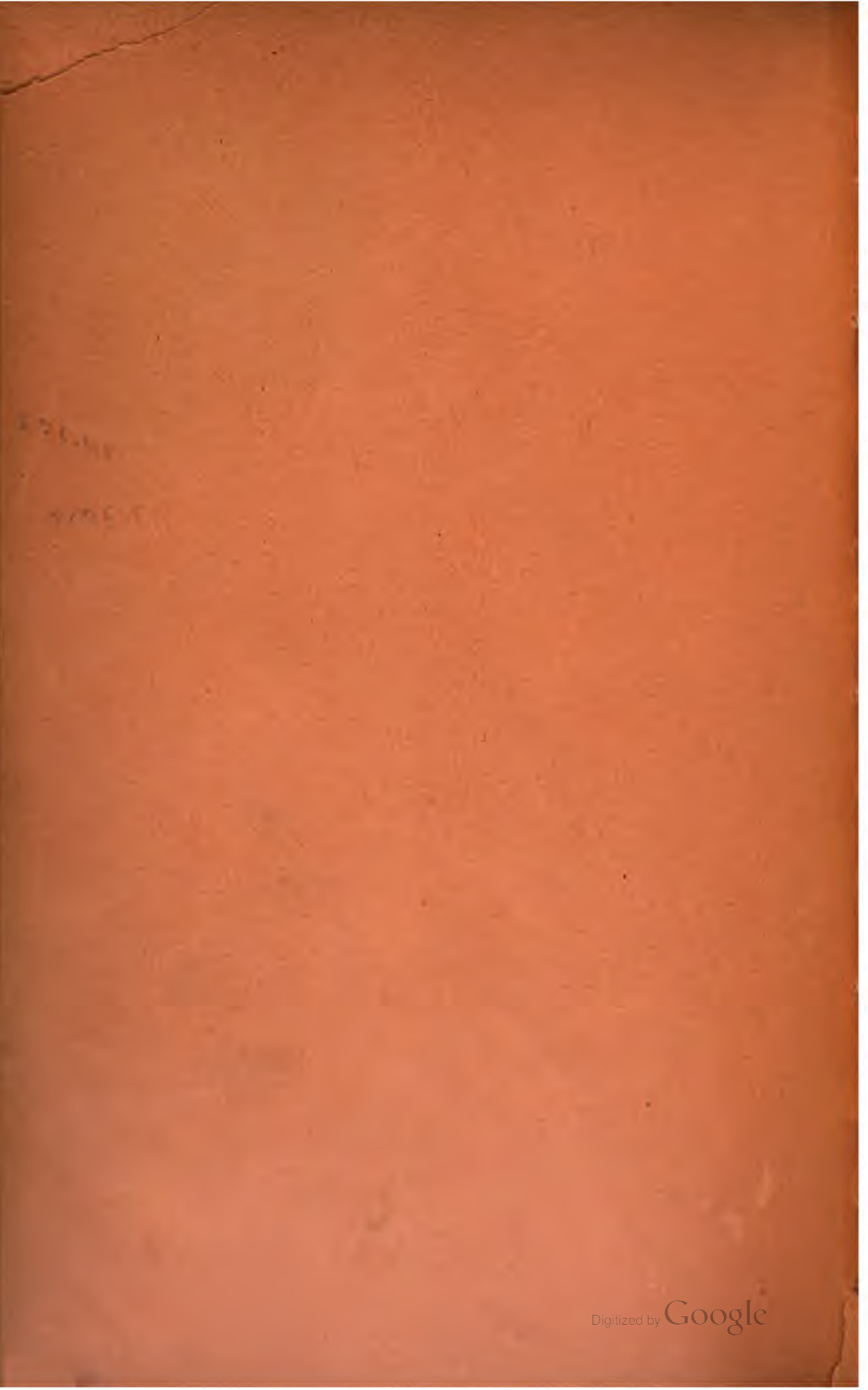
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VOL. XIV.

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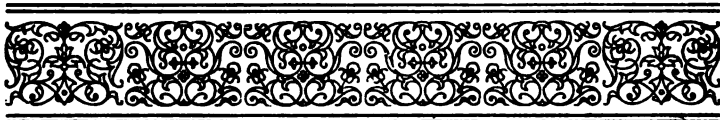
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Cambridge Philosophical Society, Cambridge, England.

Faculté des Sciences de Marseilles, Marseilles, France.

General Assembly Library, Wellington, N.Z.  
Géographie, Société de, de Paris, Boulevard St. Germain 184, Paris.

Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.

Institute, The Auckland, Museum, Auckland, N.Z.  
Institute, The Philosophical, Christchurch, N.Z.  
Institute, The Philosophical, Wellington, N.Z.  
Institute, The Otago, Dunedin, N.Z.

Japan Society, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademen, Stockholm, Sweden.  
Koninklijk Instituut, 14, Van Galenstraat, The Hague, Holland.

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.

Museum, Christchurch.  
Museum, The Australian, Sydney.  
Minister of Education, Wellington.  
Minister, Right Hon. the Premier, Wellington.  
Minister, Hon. The Colonial Secretary, Wellington.

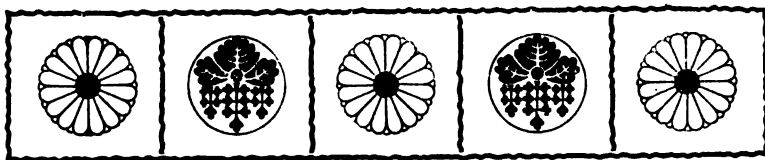
Na Mata, Editor, Suva, Fiji.

Public Library, New Plymouth, N.Z.  
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 Peet, Rev. S. D., Ph.D., Editor of "The American Antiquarian," 5817, Madison Avenue, Chicago.  
 Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A.

Reading Room, Rotorua, N.Z.  
 Royal Geographical Society, 1 Saville Row, London.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Brisbane.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, c/o G. Collingridge, Waronga N.S.W.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 70 Queen Street, Melbourne.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Adelaide.  
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 Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 87 Park Street, Calcutta.  
 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London.  
 Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona, Spain.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington.  
 Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.  
 Secretary, General Post Office, Wellington.  
 Secretary (Under) Colonial Secretary's Department, Wellington.  
 Secretary (Under) Justice (Native), Wellington.

Wisconsin Academy of Science and Arts, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.



## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

*Held at New Plymouth, N.Z., 31st March, 1905.*

**T**HE adjourned Annual Meeting was held as above, the President (Mr. S. Percy Smith) in the chair, the following members being present:—Messrs. W. L. Newman, W. Kerr, J. H. Parker, F. P. Corkill, W. D. Webster, and W. H. Skinner.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting, together with the Annual Report and Balance Sheet, were read and confirmed, and ordered to be printed in the next JOURNAL.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—President, S. Percy Smith; Secretary, W. L. Newman; Council, Messrs. W. Kerr, M. Frazer, and W. L. Newman; Hon. Auditor, W. D. Webster.

The following new members were elected:—

866. Honorary Member—Professor A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S., "Aram gah,"  
79, Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead, London, N.W.

367. Corresponding Member—Major H. P. Tunui-a-rangi, Turanganui,  
Martinborough, N.Z.

368. Ordinary Member—R. H. Ashcroft, care of Taupo Timber Company,  
Litchfield, N.Z.

At a previous Council meeting, Mr. W. H. S. Roberts (365), of Newborough, Oamarn, N.Z., was elected an ordinary member.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1904.

*Presented to the adjourned Annual Meeting, 31st March, 1905, in terms of Rule No. 31.*

**I**N presenting its Thirteenth Annual Report the Council desires to congratulate members on the continued well-being of the Society. No incident of any importance has marked our proceedings, but matters have, as ever, gone smoothly on, whilst we may fairly claim that the object for which the Society was founded has made some progress. Our quarterly JOURNAL has appeared not quite so regularly as during the preceding year, due to the continued absence of the Editor, but it is hoped that the ensuing year will see a return to its normal conditions in that respect. Volume XIII. contains a few more pages than the preceding one, and a good many illustrations. It has often been stated that the size of the JOURNAL might be increased, as there is plenty of matter on hand, if some of our members would assist in translating the many papers we possess, some of which are of great value, and should be rendered available for members. There are over twenty members of the Society who are competent Maori scholars, and who might undertake some of this, and thus relieve the Editor of some of this onerous work.



## JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

The Society has, for some years, been without a Patron—indeed, ever since Her Majesty Liliuokalani, ex-Queen of Hawaii, ceased to hold her high office as Queen of that group—but during the year His Excellency Lord Plunket, Governor of New Zealand, has most graciously consented to accept this office.

In our last year's report we referred to the new Maori Dictionary, which the Rev. H. W. Williams has in hand. We learn that fair progress is being made in the matter, and that many contributions from gentlemen who have made collections of words have been received, and others promised. As Mr. Williams proposes visiting Capetown during this year, advantage was taken of this opportunity to request the Right Hon. the Premier to put Mr. Williams in communication with the Premier of the Cape, with a view to his ascertaining the value of the Grey collection of Maori documents, now at the Capetown Library. It is hoped that the short time at Mr. Williams's disposal at the Cape will enable him to obtain some idea of what the value of the collection is for, at least, philological purposes.

We regret that death has removed some of our members during the year, amongst whom may be mentioned Te Kahui Kararehe, of Rahotu, Taranaki, a former contributor to the JOURNAL; and John Fraser, LL.D., of Maitland, N.S.W., a frequent contributor to our Transactions.

On the 1st January, 1905, our numbers stood as follows:—

Patron	..	..	..	..	1
Honorary Members	..	..	..	..	8
Corresponding Members	..	..	..	..	16
Ordinary Members	..	..	..	..	164

189

This shows a decline of six members as compared with the previous year, and is due to the fact of a considerable number of members having been struck off the roll for non-payment of subscriptions.

Our financial position is much as it was in previous periods, as a glance at the Accounts attached will show. Our total receipts (with balance from last year) were £179 8s. 3d., whilst the expenditure was £138 4s. 6d., leaving a balance in hand of £41 3s. 9d., all of which was required to meet liabilities. The Capital Account increased by £18 9s. 5d. The members in arrear were:—One year, 18; two years, 13; representing a sum amounting to £44.

# POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER 1904.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
January 1st 1904—Balance at Bank of N.S. Wales	27 5 3	
January 1st to December 31st, 1904—Members Subscriptions	138 5 6	
January 1st to December 31st, 1904—Sale of Journals	8 17 6	
Donation from Liliuokalani, ex Queen of Hawaii	5 0 0	
	<u>£179 8 3</u>	
Whitcombe and Tombs, Publishing Journals—		
No. 4 of Vol. xii. ...	...	31 14 7
No. 1 of Vol. xiii. ...	...	46 7 6
No. 2 of Vol. xiii. ...	...	36 10 0
Stationery, etc. ...	...	1 8 5
		<u>116 0 6</u>
Beick & Young, "Old Manawatu"		0 12 6
<i>Otago Daily Times</i> , Half-tone Blocks		1 6 0
Purchase of early Nos. of Journal		1 4 0
Stationery and Engraving		2 9 0
Stamps, Exchange and Petty Cash		1 2 6
Bank Charges		0 10 0
		<u>7 4 0</u>
Transferred to Capital Account, New Plymouth Savings Bank	...	15 0 0
Balance in hand, Bank of N.S. Wales	...	41 8 9
		<u>£179 8 3</u>

## CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
January 1st, 1904—Balance Brought Forward	84 0 3	
September 30th, 1904—Received from Current Account at New Plymouth Savings Bank	15 0 0	
December 31st, 1904—Interest New Plymouth Savings Bank, 15s. ; Wellington T. L. & I. Co., £2/14/5	3 9 5	
	<u>£102 9 8</u>	
December 31st, 1904—Invested with Wellington T. L. and I. Co. ...	...	70 15 8
December 31st, 1904—New Plymouth Savings Bank	...	31 14 0
		<u>£102 9 8</u>

Examined and found correct—H. W. SAXTON, Auditor.  
February 20th, 1905

W. H. SKINNER,  
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer Polynesian Society.





# The Journal of the Polynesian Society.

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VOL. XIV., 1905.

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## MAORI MEDICAL LORE.

NOTES ON SICKNESS AND DISEASE AMONG THE MAORI  
PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND, AND THEIR TREATMENT OF THE  
SICK ; TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS  
BELIEFS, SUPERSTITIONS AND RITES PERTAINING  
TO SICKNESS, AND THE TREATMENT  
THEREOF, AS COLLECTED FROM  
THE TUHOE TRIBE.

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BY ELSDON BEST, OF TUHOE LAND.

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### PART I.—CONTINUED

#### THE NGAU PAEPAE RITE.

THE singular performance known by the above name is one of the most extraordinary customs of a strange people—extraordinary even for a Maori. It consists of causing a sick person to bite (*ngau*) the beam of a latrine, with which native villages were provided in former times. By sick person is meant any one suffering from *hara* (transgression of laws of *tapu*) or of witchcraft, *i.e.*, any person afflicted by the gods ; and the vast majority of ills, pains, and diseases were so caused, according to Maori ideas. The one idea which seems to pervade this ancient rite seems to be that the *paepae hamuti*, or latrine, which is very *tapu* and possesses great *mana* (power, prestige) holds the power of being able to prevent or avert the effect of the anger of the gods and the shafts of magic, which latter, although directed by man are really carried out by the gods.

It is not the intention to here give all matter connected with this subject, which would lead into many byways in which, I believe, are traces of an ancient system of phallic worship, or of a recognition of and belief in the male and female forces—the active and the passive—as applied to the universe. My notes on these matters are getting somewhat numerous; we will reserve them for a future paper, giving here some explanation of how such beliefs influenced the treatment of the sick.

These rites performed at the latrine are described as a *whiti i te mate* (averting the evil of death or sickness), or as a *parepare*, which means the same thing, or as a *ripa*, which signifies to deprive the gods of power, to put bounds to their power for evil. But the general term for the rite is *ngau paepae*. An old man said to me, “The *paepae* is the *tangata matua*, it is the *hau ora* of man. It is the destroyer of man; it is the saviour of man.” Should a person be going on a journey he will first be conducted to the latrine and caused to bite the beam thereof. That will avert the magic arts of those he is going amongst. Persons going through this rite always stand in front of the bar, for that is life. The other side, the rear of the bar, is death, and is termed *kouka*. It is the *Po*,\* it is the *rua iti*, it is the realm of Hine-nui-te-Po. When performing rites of magic at the *paepae* whereby to slay man the performer stands at the front of the bar, for that is the world of life. Should the *wairua* (spirit) of his enemy cross to the *kouka*, it will assuredly be destroyed.

But that sick person has yet to be cured. In the evening, when the sun has set, the priest conducts his patient to the *paepae*. They place themselves before the bar, the priest saying, “*E ngau to waha ki te paepae*,” *i.e.*, commanding the person to bite the bar, which he does. The priest repeats :—

“Ka kai koe ki tua  
Ka kai koe ki te paepae  
E takoto nei  
Koia nga tapu  
Koia nga popoa  
Koia nga whare  
Koia nga urunga  
Koia nga tapu nei.  
He atua kahu koe  
Haere i tua  
Haere i waho  
Haere i te rangi nui e tu nei  
Mahihi ora  
Ki te whai ao  
Ki te ao marama  
Ko rou ora.”

They then return home; the rite is over.

\* *i.e.*, Hades, the realm of darkness.

It is said that the demon who has been afflicting the person would sometimes be seen to leave his body and fly off into space, and in the gathering shades of night a shower of bright objects would be seen flying off, these being the offspring of the expelled demon.

When a person had been guilty of trespassing on a sacred place, such as already explained, the *ngau paepae* rite will take the *tapu* off him and save him from the effects of his act, *i.e.*, save him from being afflicted by the gods. Here is the sort of *karakia* used on such occasions :—

“ Ngaua i te pae  
Ngaua i te wehi  
Ngaua i te upoko o te atua  
Ngaua i a rangi e tu nei  
Ngaua i a papa e takoto nei  
Whakapa koe ki te ruahine  
Kia whakaorangia koe  
E tahito nuku, e tahito rangi  
E tahito pamamao  
Ki Tawhiti i Hawaiki.”

In time of war any interference with *tapu* objects, persons, or places has the effect of causing the person to be afflicted by Tu-mata-rehurehu, *i.e.*, he will become nervous, apprehensive, listless, and also lose his power of second sight; hence he will be of no use in the fray. These afflictions may, however, be cured by the above rite, or by the *hirihiri*.

#### KAI URE.

Anyone suffering from the numerous ills caused by witchcraft might be cured by the process or charm known as *kai ure*. Or it may be utilised in order to ward off the shafts of magic, which you believe some person to be directing against you. In repeating this spell or charm the reciter must clasp his *membram virile* in his left hand. The following is a specimen of the incantation used—possibly not complete.

*Ka rere te ringa mau ki te hopu ite te tawhito, ka titoiria, ka karakia atu :—*

“ Kai ure nga atua  
Kai ure nga tapu  
Kai ure ou makutu.”

Another *kai ure* spell is that beginning :—

“ Whakataha ra koe  
E te anewa o te rangi e tu nei  
He tawhito to makutu  
E homai nei kei taku ure.” &c.

Which averts or wards off the magic arts, and after which is recited the *tuaimu* spell, in order to destroy the wizard :—

“ Kei te imu te ruhi  
Kei te imu te mate.” &c.

These incantations have already been given in full in a former paper on "Maori Magic."\*

Another "warding-off" spell commences:—

"Kai ure  
Kuru ki whakataha te mate  
Tau e patu ai ko taku ure."

#### WHAKANOHU MANAWA.

The rite or invocation known by the above name was for the purpose of causing the breath of life to be retained by a dying person, and it is said that it was used to restore to life those who had died. Information regarding the actions of the priest are lacking, but below are given specimens of the invocations repeated:—

"Ko to manawa, ko taku manawa  
Heuea mai  
Tutakina mai to manawa  
Hoki mai ki roto nei  
He urunga, he tapu  
Kei te whiua, kei te taia  
Mata taitaia te ibi nei  
Mata taitaia te atua e patu nei  
Haere i tua, haere i waho  
Haere i te pu, haere i te more  
Ka whiwhia ka rawea  
Ka puta ki te whai ao,  
Ki te ao marama  
Ko rou ora."

*He karakia whakanoho i te manawa o te tupapaku:* A charm to cause the breath of life to be retained by the sick.

"Ko to manawa  
Ko taku manawa  
Ka turuturua, ka poupoua  
Ki tawhito o te rangi—e  
Ko wai te atua e patu nei?  
Ko moana nui, ko moana roa  
Ko moana te takiritia  
Ki te whai ao  
Ki te ao marama  
Ka uru te ora, ka uru ki roto  
Ka uru te mate, ka uru ki waho  
Uru, toro hei."

The following example is a good one. A reference to the *whare o aitua*, heretofore mentioned, may be observed therein.

"Kai hea?  
Kai hea te pu o te mate?  
Kai runga, kai raro  
Kai te hikahika nui no Hine-nui-te-Po

\* See "Nga Moteatea," p. 305, for an interesting *kai ure*.

Wetekina i runga, wetekina i raro  
 Wetekina i te ate  
 Wetekina i te manawa  
 No hea te atua?  
 No runga, no raro te atua  
 He tipua koe, he tawhito au  
 Wetea,  
 Wetea mai te whiwhi  
 Wetea mai te hara  
 Wetea kia matara, kia mawheto  
 Tawhito te rangi te taea  
 Tiu hara nui, hara roa  
 Kati te riri  
 Kati te patu e te atua  
 Ka pikitia e koe te tuahu nei  
 Ka kakea e koe te ihi tapu  
 Pikipiki, kakekake  
 Kia kite koe i te hua mokimoki  
 Tu te rupe, tu te kawa  
 Ko te kawa i numinumia ai  
 Ki te pa tuatahi, ki te pa tuarua  
 Ka haramai, ka whakakiki ahu mai  
 Ahu mai ki te ao marama  
 Mo te ao ano koe  
 Kai hea to ara e piki ai koe?  
 Kai te rangi tuatahi, kai te rangi tuarua  
 Kai te rangi tuatoru, kai te rangi tuawha  
 Kai te rangi tuarima, kai te rangi tuaono  
 Kai te rangi tuawhitu  
 Tukua atu tama kia puta ki te ao  
 He ohorere te tokomauri  
 Tihe mauri ora ki te ao marama."

The following is said to be a charm or invocation to ward off all evils from the people. The last lines are those of a charm to heal wounds.

"Tua mai te whiwhia  
 Tua mai te rawea—oi!  
 Hao ki uta  
 Hao ki te rangi nui e tu nei—oi!  
 Haere ki waenga tapu  
 Tapu ihi, tapu rangi  
 Toro i rangi  
 Tonoa mai te pu  
 Tonoa mai te more  
 More ki tua, more ki waho ra  
 Hukia mai te ihi  
 Hukia mai te hata papatea  
 Korihi te manu  
 Korihi te po, te ata haea  
 Huna mai te ruruku  
 Kohera mai te ruruku  
 Uru ki tua, uru ki waho  
 Kei te awheanga, kei a tutaka rewa  
 Mahu akuanei, mahu apopo,  
 Mahu a takiritanga o te uaua (? ata)  
 Toro hei."



A charm known as *titikura* was used by the priests of old to restore persons to health.

When you have been compelled by the exigency of war to strike down a relative, and you do not desire that he shall die, you expectorate into your hand and then rub the spittle on the prostrate body of your relative, repeating as you do so—

“Mau ka hoki mai

Hoki mai ki te ao nei.”

(Return to this world—i.e., to life.)

For in war time you are under *tapu*, and hence your saliva is also *tapu* and possesses power, both healing and destructive. A warrior spits on his weapon when repeating a charm to make its thrust or blow effective. A tree-feller spits into the kerf or scarp in order that his arms may not become weary.

Speaking of the Aboona, or Archbishop of Abyssinia, Winwood Reade, in his “Martyrdom of Man,” says—“This ecclesiastic is regarded with much reverence. . . . by way of a blessing he spits upon his congregation, who believe that the episcopal virtue resides in the saliva.”

We have seen that, when a person's illness has been caused by magic, the priest can identify the individual who performed the magic rite, either at the water side or at the *paepae*. But if the person be dead when the priest arrives, then he will find out who caused his death when the body is buried, either when the grave is being prepared or when the body is being placed in it, or sometimes afterwards.

Affections of the throat were thought to be caused by the eating of sacred food, such as that prepared for the *tapu* persons who were engaged in burying the dead, or in exhuming the bones thereof.

A choking person was relieved by means of such charms as the following, the sufferer being slapped on the back at the time of repetition :—

“Kaitoa ano koe kia raao

Nau ka ngau mai, ngau mai

Nau ka ngau atu, ngau atu

Te horo a te kawau

Horo mania, horo panuku

Horo, puhaina mai ki waho.”

or the following :—

“Te whai whiti raao, tapa raao

Kaitoa koe kia raao

Na to kai tu, na to kai rere

Na to kai haere

Na to kai tama-wahine

E hia ou kai ?

E rua ou kai

I horomia e koe

Ko nini, ko nana

Ko te patari o Wahieroa  
 Tama wahine, whakaruakina  
 Raa ki waho  
 Hokaikai ana ou ringaringa  
 Hokaikai ana ou waewae  
 Hotu nuku, hotu rangi  
 Hotu pakia  
 Whakaruakina  
 Nau mai ki waho

Charms for the relief of choking and those to cure burns and wounds all come under the generic term of *whai*.

#### WOUNDS.

The Maori can stand a good deal in the way of wounds. He recovers from severe wounds very often in a most surprising manner, as I myself have seen. Tales are told of the warriors of old and how they often fought on, though severely wounded: How Pa-i-te-rangi fought Tapoto, of Te Kareke, until eight spear wounds brought him down; how Te Ika-poto, of Tuhoe, received six spear wounds in the desperate affair at Papakai, and then managed to escape from the victors of that Homeric combat; how Kai-namu, of Te Arawa, received six wounds from musket balls at Te Ariki, and lived.\*

I have heard natives state that half-castes sometimes die from the effects of slight wounds.

In regard to wounds, there were formerly two methods of treating such. One was the time-honoured mode of the neolithic Maori—viz., by rite and charm. The other was by the use of certain simples, which we will describe in the latter part of this paper.

If a person cut himself, say with a stone adze while working, he would first apply the implement with which he cut himself to the wound, and then repeat a charm such as the following, in order to stop the flow of blood and cause the wound to heal:—

“Te whai one tuatua, one taiaia  
 Te haehaea, ko te piere  
 Te ngawha, tē katikati  
 Torokina, toro wheua  
 Toro katikati te uaua  
 E mahu, e mahu—e!  
 Werowerohia atu nei taku tao  
 Werowerohia ai Utupaoa.  
 E te toto pouri, nau mai ki waho  
 E te toto potango, nau mai ki waho  
 Kinikini, panapana  
 Ko mata te hakuwai  
 Ki wai ora, ki wai te mumuhu  
 Te ara maomao, te tini kai mata  
 Ki te ara ki Otuimukia (?)  
 Ka puta kai waho kai te mokopu roa  
 E mahu—e!  
 E mahu—e!”

\* See St. John's "Pakeha Rambles through Maori Lands," p. 29, for some good instances of Maori fortitude.

Here is another *whai* charm for healing wounds :—

“ Te whai one tuatua, one taitaia  
 Ko te piere, ko te ngawha  
 Ko te kapi ka—pi  
 Mahu akuanei, mahu apopo  
 Koi tae mai ki to kiri tipu  
 Ki to kiri ora, ki to mataniho  
 Kai tai rori i tai pupu  
 Tenei te rangi ka ruruku  
 Rukutia i o kiko  
 I o toto, i o uaua  
 E mahu—e ! ”

And yet another :—

“ He nonota, he karawa, he au ika  
 Ko Tane tutakina te iwi  
 Tane tutakina te uaua  
 Tane tutakina te kiko  
 Tane tutakina te kiri  
 Tane tutakina te parapara  
 Tane tutakina te kapiti rangi  
 E mahu akuanei  
 E mahu apopo  
 E mahu a takiritanga o te ata.”

In the case of a broken limb, a piece of *manuka* bark was placed lengthways on the limb so as to cover the fracture, and then wrapped round the limb and tied, and there left until the bone set. The process, however, was expedited by the repeating of a charm known as a *hono*.

The following is a very ancient method of treating a person who has been wounded, or has a bone fractured, or has been bruised by a fall, etc. The priest would proceed to *takahi* the sufferer—*i.e.*, he would, as the person lay on the ground, place his left foot on his body, and repeat the invocation, termed *haruru* :—

“ Haruru ki tua  
 Haruru ki waho  
 Haruru ki runga ki tenei tangata.”

The priest then repeats the following charm, termed a *hono*.  
 (Were it a burn he would repeat the *whai wera*.)

“ Tao ka tu  
 Ka tu ki hea ?  
 Ka tu ki runga  
 Ka tu ki waho  
 Ka tu ki te uaua nui o rangi  
 Ma wai e mimi ?  
 Ma tahito e mimi  
 Ma wai e mimi ?  
 Ma te atua e mimi  
 Taku kiri nei  
 Taku kiri tapu  
 He kiri ka toetoea

Ka hahaea ki te taha o te umu  
 Hai!  
 Ka toro te kiri ora  
 Ka mahu te kiri ora  
 Mahumahu akuanei  
 Mahumahu apopo."

The priest places his left foot on the patient's body because that foot is *tapu*. The *manea* of his left foot will give power, efficacy, etc., to the rite. *Manea* is a term applied to the *hau* of the human foot and footstep. It is the sacred vital principle, prestige, power, of that member. The *manea*, is the caretaker and salvation of man; its influence is very great.

## BURNS.

The following is a charm repeated in order to cure a burn. It is termed a *whai wera*, and is said to have originated with Tawhaki, a remote ancestor who possessed strange powers.

"Te whai, te whai  
 Te turitaku, te poko taringa  
 Te ruahine matua.  
 I wera koe ki hea?  
 I wera ki Tarahanga a ue Tawhaki  
 Hoki taku tama  
 Ka tokia to kiri ki te wai ti  
 Ki te wai ta\*  
 Ka ka te motumotu  
 Ka ka te ngarahu  
 He wera iti te wera  
 He wera rahi te wera  
 He wera kaupapa  
 Mahu akuanei, mahu apopo  
 Mahu a tikiritanga o te ata."

Splints for fractured bones were sometimes made of the thick leaf base of *phormium tenax*.

## PART II.

We now come to the second part of our paper—viz., the treatment of disease, wounds, etc., by various simple remedies. This part will not cover much space, inasmuch as the Maori of old relied principally upon his priest when attacked by sickness, and the priests did not deal in simples, herbal remedies, etc., but believed firmly that their cryptic *karakia* and strange rites were the sole means of saving the patient's life. Ridiculous as these beliefs were, it will yet be seen that we are not yet out of the wood ourselves, and holy relics, wells, etc., are still believed in by the superstitious. Our praying for rain and fasting are also survivals of barbarism which die hard.

\* Whai ti and whai ta in another version.

In regard to the following account of the various simple remedies used by the natives, I am by no means prepared to state that all such here given were used in olden times — *i.e.*, before the arrival of Europeans. In fact, I believe most of them to be modern, being based on the European methods of treatment of the sick. The use of simples was not encouraged in the days of old, for that would have lessened the power of the priests, who relied principally upon their absurd rites and incantations. For no Hippocrates had appeared to separate medicine (!) from theology, and shamanism was rampant.

#### DIARRHOEA (*Korere*).

Several native remedies obtain for this complaint. One consists of the lower part of the young undeveloped leaves of the *toetoe* plant. These are simply chewed. The young leaves of the *kokomuka*, a *veronica*, are also used in a similar manner, as also are the roots of the flax (*phormium tenax*).

The bark of the *manuka* tree is also used for diarrhoea and dysentery. Pieces of the bark are boiled until the water is dark coloured, and this decoction is drunk. Here, again, superstition steps in. The aged lady who gave me this note states that just twelve pieces of bark must be used—neither more nor less—and they must all be cut of an even length and size. If this be not done, then the medicine will not be effective. The bark of the white *manuka* only is used, the branches of which are drooping and the leaves fragrant, and which is said by the natives to be the male tree (*rakau toa*).

A diet of fern root causes severe constipation, in which a stick was often used to assist evacuation.

#### MATE POKAPOKA.

The above term is applied to diseases which eat into the flesh, and certain forms of venereal disease would come under this head. It is applied to *patito* (ringworm) and *hura*. The latter is a very disfiguring complaint, of which I do not know the European name, and seems generally to attack the neck and side of the head, which gets into a dreadful state. When cured it leaves the skin much marked, drawn and seamed. This complaint is also termed *hore*. It is said to have been common here before the arrival of Europeans.

The *patito* is here given as the name of an eruption on the head. It frequently attacks children. I have also heard that it is applied to ringworm. The following is the the local method of treating these complaints:—Some wood ashes are placed in a small vessel, and over them is poured a liquid made by boiling or steeping pieces of the bark of *kowhai* and *manuka* trees in water. This delightful mixture is

stirred and allowed to dry, when it sets hard. When used, the skin is scored with a sharp instrument, and some of the block of ashes is scraped off and rubbed into the scored lines. This ash mixture is termed *pureke*.

This scoring of the skin is very common among the natives. It is done for headache and almost any pains affecting the body. The skin is scored with a needle, and then either pain-killer or vinegar is rubbed in, as a rule.

The above treatment of *hura* is probably modern, as the *mate pokapoka* are thought to be caused by Ruamano, one of the gods, or rather demons, of the Tuhoean Pantheon, and divers other *atua*, or demons. Tarakumukumu is another demon of this class, and is the cause of the disease to which the same name is applied. It is a *mate poka* (ulcer) which appears on the thighs. Bathing with hot water is the modern remedy. The *papaka* is another *atua*, or disease of the *mate poka* class. It will heal up and then break out in another place. Deaths occur from it. It does not seem to have any special treatment. It is said to have originated with the Whatu-i-apiti people of Hawke's Bay.

#### MATE TOKATOKA.

The above complaint is, I believe, what we term piles. One method of treating it is frequent bathing in a sulphur spring. The method employed in this district is for the person to sit over a small, smouldering fire of chips of totara wood. I am told that *tokatoka* is the same complaint as the pre-European *paipai*, or allied to it. Eating of *taro* causes, it is said, an intense itching of the anus with some natives.

#### NGERENGERE (LEPROSY).

This complaint is said to be peculiar to the Taupo district, but I give here the few notes I have obtained concerning it. It was unknown in Tuhoealand. The disease termed *tuchenua*, mentioned in native tradition as having formerly afflicted the Ngati-Whatua tribe, may have been something similar. *Ngerengere* is a species of elephantiasis.

A singular belief exists among the old natives, that the *ngerengere* disease is caused by the fish of the sea\* and by the land birds. The aged Pio, of Ngati-Awa, said to me:—"Another *atua* (god, demon, affliction) of the Maori people is the *ngerengere*. No one recovers from that disease. The persons who destroy the Maori people by that

\* This belief seems to support a theory lately enunciated in the *London Times*, to the effect that leprosy results from the eating of stale fish.—Ed.

complaint are the fish of the ocean and the birds of the land. I say that the *ngerengere* is a plebeian complaint, unlike the *whewhe* (boils) and *hakihiaki* (cutaneous diseases), which are aristocratic complaints. If a person appears to be recovering from the *ngerengere*, that means that the cause of the disease has fled to the ocean, but ere long they will return and again assail the person. Then he will die. This disease was first introduced by the Ngati-Whatua tribe. It appeared at Taupo a long time ago, and the first person afflicted by it there was cast into a cave called Oremu."

It is said that certain persons had the power of causing others to be afflicted by the *ngerengere*—i.e., by means of a magic rite termed *wero ngerengere*. As the disease progressed, the person's extremities dropped off joint by joint. Some assert that Te Whetu, of Taupo, still possesses this power.

Now, in an article on leprosy, contributed by M. Dastre, to a French magazine, the writer states that several experts have maintained that the use of decayed fish and thirst-giving salted meats as food is one of the most efficacious causes of leprosy.

The two songs here given were composed by Te Rohu, of Taupo, when he was attacked by the *ngerengere* :—

"Ka ura mai te ra, ka kahi au he mahara  
E hoa ma—E! He aha tenei hanga, E te rau e pae  
Tirohia mai ra aku pewa i taurite  
Tenei ka titiko kai te ngaru whakakeo  
E tere i Taupo  
Ko te rite i taku kiri, ka ura mai i te rangi  
Ka riro aku taonga i a Te Anga-a-mai i tawhiti  
Tutata a Ngati-Whatua  
Whakarongo mai ra, E koro!  
I Tongariro, i te puke ronaki  
Te uru ki te whenua i mahue matau  
Te tira o te taniwha  
Me i hurihia iho, e au aua taku moe  
Ki taku makau tipu—e!"

Te Anga-a-mai—or, perhaps, Te Anga, is said to be the name of the ancestor, who was the *ariki* of the *ngerengere* disease.

#### A LAMENT.

By Te Rohu. *He tangi nana, mona e ngaua ana e te ngerengere.*

"Pera te ata iti hohoro mai koia  
Matatu noa ana ko au nei anake  
Kai te mura tonu o te pu a Rewi e ka ana  
E pa! I heria mai i tua  
Kia rongu atu au i te papa koura  
Hai taoro iho mo te kino  
I taku tinana ka tuaketia  
Ko tahau repera pai tonu tenei e te tangata

Ko te tika i to pono  
 Horahia mai ra, kia ui atu au  
 Ko wai to ingoa? Ko te ana i Oremu  
 Ko tau rakau kai te mata *ngira* tonu  
 Te ngotongā ki roto ra  
 Aue! Te māmāe ra!"

#### TENGA (GOITRE).

Goitre is common in this high lying district, but those afflicted by it are mostly women. No attempt seems to be made to cure it. The term *tenga* is a singular one (here pronounced *tena*). It is applied to the Adam's apple of the throat, and also to a bird's crop. Only three cases of men being affected by goitre have I noted among this tribe, but many women have it, some of them being quite young girls.

#### WHEWHE (BOILS).

This appears to have been a fairly common complaint in former times. When ripe they are squeezed, so as to force the core (*whatu*) out, and in former times human milk was then applied. A sort of decoction made from the leaves of the *karakawa* shrub (*piper excelsum*) is now used; it is drunk as a blood purifier. It is probably a modern item. Another decoction, made from the *rauriki* plant, is also used to cure carbuncles and that sort of thing. Captain Mair relates a singular rite of yore connected with boils.\*

*Tapoa* is a name applied to an abscess, as also is *maiao* and *makimaki*.

*Maki* is applied to a scab.

*Huahua* is applied to pimples or a rash on the skin.

*Hoipu*, a blister containing water.

*Murupo*. This term is applied to a sort of rash which breaks out on the lips. It itches very much. Many small pimples (*huahua*) appear, and the lips feel hot and appear red. Then blisters (*hoipu*) appear.

The sap of a plant called *parani*, a wild daisy, is used to cure an ulcerated (*maoa*) mouth. Fronds of the *kiwikipi* fern are chewed for sore mouth or tongue.

The term *mate pukupuku* is applied to any complaint in which the skin becomes rough or pimply (*ka papa hueke katoa te kiri* or *papa uku*). It includes *karakawa* or low fever, and other complaints, such as measles.

\* See *Ahi tapoa*, Trans. N.Z. Inst., Vol. 35, p. 30.



## НАКІВАНІ.

*Hakihaki*, a severe form of itch, a skin disease, is common in this district, which is not to be wondered at when one notices the native diet, mode of living, and aversion to soap and water. It is known as *harehare* among some tribes. This distressing malady was formerly treated by the use of a sort of lotion applied to the affected parts. The outer bark of the *munono* (*coprosma grandifolia*) was scraped off that tree, and the inner bark obtained. This was squeezed in order to express the sap, which was applied as above, the affected parts being first rubbed with oil or fat in order to soften the same and expose the diseased parts. The sap of the *horopito* (*drimys axillaris*) shrub was also used to cure skin diseases.

The *paipai*, another pre-European cutaneous disease, obtained here. It was cured by means of the smoke of a fire of *totara* wood, elsewhere described. The name has also been applied to gonorrhœa, introduced by Europeans. Remedies for the latter are the sap of the *horopito*, tobacco leaves, and the bark of the *toromiro* tree (*podocarpus ferruginea*).

*Kotureture*.—A venereal disease. It affects both sexes, and causes the skin of body and limbs to turn a hideous white, in large blotches. Copper filings from a penny are used to cure the *kotureture*. The natives pretend to believe that this disease is caused by eating the liver of the shark. Another method of treating this and other venereal diseases, as also piles, is to make a hole or short tunnel in an earth bank, with a small shaft for an outlet. A small smoky fire of chips or shavings of *totara* is made in this tunnel, the smoke escaping by the shaft, over which the person sits, covered with a sheet or old cloak, to prevent the smoke from escaping too rapidly.

*Pakewakewa*.—If a woman uses her own or another woman's clothing for a pillow, she will be affected by the complaint known as *pakewakewa*. The skin of her face and neck will become rough (*wekewehe*), possibly pimply, or covered with eruptions. The *pakewakewa*, it is said, is followed by the *kiri hoko* or blotched skin, repulsive white patches appearing thereon (see under *kotureture*). Possibly the *pakewakewa* may be some form of venereal disease. Oil is rubbed on affected parts. It seems to me that syphilis is not nearly so prevalent among the natives as it was twenty or thirty years ago.

*Patuheni* is said to be another name for the *paipai* Maori or original *paipai* (see *ante*).

*Mimi taeturi* is applied to painful and difficult urination. The parts are bathed with water in which leaves of the *hutiwai* plant have been boiled.

In cases of venereal disease a moss known as *angiangi* is steeped in water and placed on the affected parts. *Paea* (? fire) seems to be a term for gonorrhœa. It is accompanied by retention of urine. In these cases a plant known as *maawe* is boiled, and the water applied to parts.

The affections of the eyes which trouble the natives are probably caused by their mode of living—the smoky state of their huts in winter time.

*Tōriwai*.—This term is applied to a weakness of the eyes, in which state they are always watering. For anything of this nature the sap of the *aka kura*, a creeper, is used. A piece of the creeper is cut into short lengths, one end of which is placed in the mouth, and by blowing the sap is forced out at the other end. This is collected and applied to eyes.

*Toretore*.—This is an inflammation probably. It is a redness of the corners of the eye. It does not affect the whole eye. The sap of the *kopukupuku* plant is applied to the eyes.

*Kiritona*.—This is what we term a sty on the eyelid. When *maoa*, or ripe, it is squeezed to express the core (*whatu* or *nganga*), and human milk is then applied to the place. Another method of curing(!) a *kiritona* on the eye is simply to point the finger at it. Yet another is to hold, with both hands, a piece of fern stalk close to the affected eye, so as just to touch the *kiritona*. The stick is then bent until it snaps, while in that position. This process is repeated. My informant added—"That will cure the *kiritona* for a time, but it appears again."

*Paehena* is a term applied to the discharge from sore eyes, or to the effect of it upon the skin adjacent. "*Ka paehena katoa i waho o nga kanohi i te pirau*." It sounds suspiciously like our word "poison."

*Paua* is a term applied to a light coloured spot, mark, or growth on the pupil of the eye.

Eye complaints were sometimes said to be caused by *atua kahu* (see *ante*).

#### TOOTHACHE (*Niho tunga*).

Some singular cures for toothache are used by the natives, and the old people state that toothache has become much more common since the natives have become Europeanised—*i.e.*, since the advent of the white man. One method of treating toothache is to place one end of a small stick against the tooth and then to strike the other end a smart tap with another stick. A Spartan-like remedy this. Another cure is for the person to hold some of his urine in his mouth for a time. This is done early in the morning. This is said to kill the *ngarara* (insect, grub, or reptile) which causes the pain, according to native belief.

In olden times charms were repeated in order to cure toothache, as also others to cause children's teeth to grow. A modern cure is to place in the tooth a piece of the chestnut (*maki*) of a horse's leg, but the patient must not see the article, or no cure will be effected. He must get some one else to procure it and place it in his mouth. Another way to cure toothache is to apply to the toothe a piece of the tough, leather-like cocoon of a kind of caterpillar which is found attached to branches of the *manuka* shrub. The sap of a plant known as *kopukupuku* and *mārūrū* is also used. The leaves are clenched between the teeth of the suffering person, who is then told to sleep, and when he awakens the pain will have disappeared. But, as in the former case, the sufferer must not see the leaves, or they will lose their virtue. A piece of the bark of the *ngaio* tree (*myoporum laetum*) is also used as a cure for toothache, and I think that I have heard, on the West Coast, of *pukatea* bark being used for the same purpose.

In cases of difficult menstruation a decoction made from flax root and a creeper called *aka taramoa* is used. Another medicine used for the same is made from the bark and berries of the *rohutu* tree.

#### WOUNDS, ETC.

A decoction made by boiling in water pieces of bark of the *rātā* tree (*metrosideros robusta*) is said to be an old time lotion for wounds. Another lotion for a like purpose is made from the barks of the *rimu* (*dacrydium cupressinum*) and *tawa* (*nesodaphne tawa*) trees, the bark of the former being cut into pieces and that of the latter scraped, and the whole then boiled or steeped in water, together with some leaves of the *tutu* shrub (*coriaria ruscifolia*).

In preparing such things in former times either stone boiling (*huahua*) or steeping in water was practised.

Another such lotion is made from a plant called *namunamu* (*geranium molle*). Mr. Cheeseman informs me that this plant is probably an introduced one, but that opinions differ on the subject. The *namunamu* and *piripiri*, and sometimes other herbs, are boiled or steeped in hot water, and the water is used to apply to open wounds, or rubbed on as an embrocation for contusions. It is said to be an antiseptic. The leaves are also applied as a poultice.

An infusion of the barks of the *korhai* and *manuka* trees is drunk for internal pains and applied outwardly for pains in the back or side.

Children apply the sap of dock leaves (*paewhenua*) to abrasions. If I can trust my memory through long years, we used to rub dock leaves on the hand when stung by a bee.

When women have been tramping the rocky beds of these mountain streams engaged in netting the somnolent *kokopu*, they find their feet (the women's, I mean) sore from treading on rough and sharp stones. To ease this feeling they heat leaves or plants at a fire and apply them as a sort of dry poultice, the process being known as *tāpi*.

Wounds are sometimes cauterised, a piece of half dry *pirita* (supplejack, a creeper, *rhypogonum scandens*), being burned at one end held close to the wound.

In the case of a cut, or any slight wound, a native will often urinate on the same, believing that it will prevent swelling or inflammation. This is a very old method.

A sort of embrocation, applied outwardly for divers aches and pains, is made by steeping pieces of *rātā* bark in cold water until the latter is discoloured. It is, however, necessary that the person who procures the bark does so early in the morning, and no member of the household may eat or smoke until he returns, or the medicine will lose its virtue.

In cases where a swelling appears in the groin, as from a wound in foot, etc., two cooking stones are obtained from the nearest steam oven. One of these stones is held on the swelling while it is struck with the other stone. This will cure the swelling—at least so say the Maori.

To restore a person apparently drowned, the process known as *whakapua* is employed. The person is held so that the smoke of a fire will enter his nostrils, which will bring him to (*ka ketu ake te manawa*).

Pimples, termed *huahua*, are simply squeezed when ripe.

*Kopito* is a term applied to pains in the stomach.

*Hawaniwani* is a skin disease which affects children. It is said to be cured by applications of the sap of the *veronica* and *hangehange* shrubs.

Natives are affected by two kinds of worms, termed *ngaio* and *iro*. Some assert that both are modern complaints. The *ngaio* is so named because it resembles a worm of that name found sometimes in the *kokopu* fish and in the *kaka* bird. Both these worms are collected when passed, and cast into a fire. Should they burn with a slight report or explosion, that is a sign that the worms will soon leave the person. Should they not so explode, then the person will not get rid of them.

The bark of the *manono* tree, a *coprosma*, is crushed and applied to cuts and bruises.

The water which exudes freely from a broken young shoot of the supplejack (*rhypogonum scandens*) is applied to wounds.

A sort of steam bath was occasionally used by the Maori, in some cases by women suffering from soreness after parturition. When, having given birth to a child, milk does not flow from the mother's breasts, they are bathed with warm water to cause the milk to flow and prevent the affection of those parts termed *u taetae*, in which the breasts get very bad. In cases of retention of the placenta, a modern custom is to make a decoction by boiling leaves of *kopakopa* (*plantago major*), clover, and *puwaha pororua*, in which some salt is put. This is drunk by the sufferer, and everything will then come away.

The disease termed *hura*, before mentioned, commences its ravages on the neck, and extends upwards to the ears and downwards to the shoulders or armpits. Then, in some cases, death ensues.

The placing of sick persons in cold water, immersion in streams, was, and is, a common habit, and seems to be done quite regardless of what the person's complaint may be. When the siege of the Matai pa, at Waihora (Turanga), was lifted, the rescuers found the garrison in the most dreadful state from starvation, etc. So they collected the numerous sick and immersed them in the stream hard by—to cure them.

The expression *ahi mate* (extinct fire) is applied to places where all the people are ill of some epidemic sickness and so cannot keep fires alight. It is the "cold hearthstone" of Celtic peoples.

We have already noted the disastrous effects of various epidemics which, at different times, decimated the Maori tribes. Captain Mair mentions one such which carried off great numbers of the aborigines of the Chatham Isles in 1839, and adds that in the same year a great plague of influenza committed great ravages among the New Zealand Maori.\*

Some remarkably interesting, though brief, notes on disease among the Maori people, by Dr. Newman, will be found at p. 488 of Vol. XII., Trans. N.Z. Inst.

#### POISONS.

The poisonous substances in this district are the *wharangi*, *tutu*, *waoriki*, and *puapua-a-Autahi*. The latter is a kind of toadstool, and, if eaten without being properly cooked, affected the eater severely. He would be unable to walk properly, but would stagger about (*ka ruriruri te tangata nana i kai*). This article was formerly wrapped in layers of *rangiora* leaves and baked in hot ashes. In modern times it has been boiled. These modes of cooking render it harmless.

To cure a person poisoned by *tutu* berries, the old method was to place him bodily in the water, but in late times salt and water has come into use, presumably as an emetic. The poisonous properties of

\* See Trans. N.Z. Inst., Vol. III., p. 312.

the *tutu* berries are termed *huarua*, and are said to be contained in the seeds. The sufferers were usually children, and, when affected, their bodies would be immersed in a stream. They would sometimes recover.

The *waoriki*, a swamp plant, is poisonous to animals, and the honey of the blossoms is also poisonous, and sometimes causes death. It appears to bloom in the fall of the year. Tatu, of Tuhoe, died of eating some *waoriki* honey. A companion took a dose of painkiller and recovered.

The leaves and honey of the *wharangi* shrub are poisonous. Horses poisoned by it are sometimes cured by being bled, or running them about until they sweat profusely.

The bite of the *katipo* spider is treated by the *whakapua* process already described—i.e., by holding the person in the smoke of a fire. Some state that the sufferer was first placed in a stream.

The placing of sick persons in cold water appears to have been always a habit of the Maori, and doubtless has caused many deaths.

The wound inflicted by a sting-ray was, I have heard, treated in some way with the *para* of that fish, though what that particular *para* may be, I know not.

Insanity was formerly believed to have been caused by the gods, and such persons were often credited with possessing powers of second sight. It is also believed that persons were sometimes rendered insane by magic arts, as a punishment for theft. Insane persons often wander aimlessly about, repeating meaningless words or sentences. Others are said to become insane through being possessed of a *kikokiko*—i.e., the spirit of a dead person. An insane person is here termed a *keka*.

Delirium in sickness is termed *kutukutu ahi* and *kuawa*. It is said to be the aimless talking of the *wairua* or spirit of the sick person, and is viewed as a fatal sign.

A tradition of this district is that it was Irakewa, father of Toroa, of Mātātua, who introduced disease into this island. Irakewa and Wairakewa were probably the same person. He seems to have visited this country in some mysterious manner just before the coming of the Mātātua canoe. Before the arrival of these voyagers it is said that disease was unknown here—a dubious statement.

Suicide was by no means a rare cause of death among the natives in former times. The women seem to have been more given to suicide than the men. They sometimes committed suicide on the death of a husband, or on being deserted by a husband, or when made the subject of ridicule. A woman of the Arawa tribe committed suicide by jumping into a boiling spring, because her husband had favoured another woman.

We will now proceed to note a few customs, expressions, etc. applying to sickness, as collected in this district :—

When a native is taken ill away from his own home, it has ever been a common thing to carry him back to his own place, there to recover or die, as the case may be. The most probable reason for this is the desire that he shall die and be buried on his own lands. I have known sick persons and bodies of the dead to be so carried on litters (*amo*) for forty miles over this very rough country, and seen dying children carried on men's backs when every movement must have been agony to them. I have, moreover, encountered bitter hostility when endeavouring to dissuade the people from moving children in such a state.

When Te Puehu was taken ill at Oputao, it was resolved that he should be carried to his own place lower down the valley. When the bearers arrived at the descent to the Rua-tahuna stream they stopped to rest, putting the litter on the ground while they did so. Afterwards a post was carved *a la Maori* and set up at that spot, and a small shed built over it. When the shed decayed another was built. On the post were suspended articles obtained from European traders, such as pieces of bright coloured cloth, handkerchiefs, etc. Another such post was set up at Te Whakatakanga o Te Piki, where the bearers also rested. The latter post was destroyed by the Native Contingent during Whitmore's raid on Tuhoeland in 1869, but the other one still stands. This custom no longer obtains.

The reason of thus marking the above places so was that they were *tapu*; an important chief had lain there when at death's door. The post set up is termed a *tuapa*. It will be fully explained in a future paper on "Death and Burial."

*Tapohe* is a term applied to the polluting of persons, etc., by placing *tapu* objects in common places. The placing of the food, or remains of food, of a *tapu* person in a common place—*i.e.*, a place not *tapu*, would be a *tapohe*. If it happens to be the *maanga* (remains of a meal) of a sick person, the invalid will have a relapse, and the person who committed the dread act of *tapohe* will also be taken ill. If a sacred oven is *tapoheria*, it spells death for the offender, unless he takes time by the forlock and hies him to the priest, or a *mātāmua*, who may shrive him of his sin.

*Whakahehe*.—This is what we would term a change of air. When a person is ill, and the priest or wise man sees that the cause of his illness is located where he is residing, he tells him to go away to another place, and there live for a year or two. The trouble will not assail him there. This refers to illness caused by *atua* or malevolent spirits, witchcraft, etc., and ills of that nature.

Some years ago a woman of this district was betrothed to a man of the Ngati-Awa tribe at Te Teko. An aunt took her to that place, but the young woman found she had no liking for the man, and hence returned home. Some time afterwards a party of Ngati-Awa came to Rua-tahuna on a visit, and contrived to obtain a fragment of the clothing of the woman. This they took home with them to serve as a *ohonga*, or material medium through which to bewitch the woman and her relatives. The victims of the magic arts were saved by a *tohunga*, or wise man, who was the medium of the god Taimana. He sent them all to Waikare-moana, where they lived for two years at the Mātūāhu pa, leaving there just before Lieutenant Witty's expeditionary force found that place deserted.

I am exercised over the word *rātā*, which appears to have been applied to European doctors in the early days. Williams appears to consider it a *pakeha* word. But what is it? *Rātā* is, I believe, a genuine Maori word, and signifies the power of second sight—at least, according to the Tuhoe people. "*Mehemea ka moe iho ahau, ka haere toku wairua, ka kite i tetahi aitua mo taku tamaiti, mo toku papa ranei—he rātā tena.*" (If, as I sleep, my spirit wanders forth and notes some impending misfortune for my child, or my father—that is a *rātā*.) Williams has *rapa Maori*—a familiar spirit—and under *rata* (as a Maori word) gives its common Polynesian meaning of "tame, quiet, friendly." Tregear gives the latter meaning only, but in the Polynesian comparatives gives: Mangarevan — *aka rata*, to pretend inspiration, to assume to be the mouthpiece of a deity, a prophet, a sorcerer, a man possessed of an evil spirit. Observe also an article by Mr. Tregear, on the word *rata* or *lata*, in Trans. N.Z. Inst., Vol. XXIX., p. 83. Now, in the above Maori sentence, written as spoken to me by an old native, *rata* appears to = *matakite* or something similar. I am convinced that there is a kind of sacerdotal meaning of this word which we have not yet obtained.

A woman of this district, near to death, was taken to the hospital of the white man, and her life saved by an operation. When she returned home, her friends, who had never expected to see her again, came to greet her. An old man said—"Tena ra koe! E whakamaui ake nei." She had, as it were, risen from the dead, like unto Maui of old. Hence the singular expression.

When a person feels listless and weak (*iwingohe*) in summer-time, it is said to be caused by Rehua (a star), or rather by his summer wife, Whakaonge-kai.

Ever among the Maori have the sick been much neglected. A sick person was, and is, never allowed to remain in a house, but is taken away outside the village. In former times a rough shed would



sometimes be built, but afforded little protection to the sufferer. In these times a tent is often used. Some person remains in attendance on the sick person, but the attendance is of the poorest kind.

This custom of making sick persons lie out of doors on the ground probably sprang from the racial ideas of *tapu*. If a person died in a house, that house would become *tapu* and be no longer habitable, but allowed to fall to pieces and decay.

Sick persons are not wanted in the social system of the Maori—a fact which may be noted among many barbarous peoples. No attempt is made to provide the sick persons with comforts of any kind. Any such given by Europeans for the use of the sick are probably eaten by their friends. I have often prepared food for sick persons here, but find it necessary to take the food myself and watch the invalid eat it; otherwise he or she would see but little of it.

It is but seldom that one can detect any sign of affection for, or loving care of, a sick person among these natives, except sometimes in the case of children. But, when death comes, then the most extravagant demonstrations of affection and sorrow are made, accompanied by much eating of the foods provided on such occasions.

<i>Kōngēngē</i>	}	Terms applied to death from sickness.
<i>Mate aitu</i>		
<i>Mate aitua</i>		
<i>Mata tara whare</i>		Death from old age or sickness.
<i>Mate atua</i>		Death or sickness caused by the gods.
<i>Mate taua</i>		Death in battle.
<i>Koohi</i>		Wasting sickness.
<i>Kārawa</i>		Inflammation.
<i>Kirikā</i>		Fever.
<i>Haura</i>		An invalid.
<i>Tūpāpākū</i>		A sick person. Corpse.
<i>Tūrōrō</i>		A sick person.
<i>Mangeo</i>		Itch, tickle.
<i>Wairau</i>		Discoloured, as bruised flesh.
<i>Kumāmā</i>		Denotes the desire of a sick person for certain food.
<i>Papa reti</i>		A term applied to an epidemic. So named from the toboggan board formerly used to ride on down a slide.
<i>Inaho</i>	}	Scurf or dandruff on the head, said to be cured by applying ashes thereto. Ashes are rubbed on the head.*
<i>Maihi</i>		
<i>Maiaorohea</i> = <i>maioroh'a</i>		Applied to an uneasy feeling in the stomach—perhaps indigestion.

<i>Mate whakapioi roa</i>	Applied to the illness of a person who looks very bad, and appears to be dying, but yet lives on for a long time.
<i>Mate whakauru</i>	A new or fresh complaint contracted when recovering from another.
<i>Matahoki</i>	A relapse in sickness.
<i>Mate kikokiko</i>	Illness caused by spirits of the dead.
<i>Matihe</i>	Sneezing; is looked upon as an evil omen, a token of coming disaster or sickness. Several short charms are used to avert the trouble. Some simply repeat the words " <i>Mahihi ora.</i> "

The above completes the notes on sickness and the treatment thereof, as collected from the Tuhoe tribe. It is, of course, very incomplete, but will serve to give some idea of how the old-time Maori viewed and treated sickness, together with his opinion as to its cause.

I have said that many of the simple remedies, prepared from barks, leaves, and roots, herein mentioned, have most probably been devised since the advent of Europeans. Here is an extreme case: When Tuhoe collected at Rua-tahuna in order to march northwards to fight the *pakeha* in the Waikato district, their *tohunga* prepared a decoction from various barks, plants, etc., which he put into bottles and gave to the fighting men, telling them to drink of it in the hour of battle, and no harm could then come to them, no bullet touch them. That medicine did not act up to expectations.

We have therefore seen that most of the ills which afflicted the Maori were looked upon as *mate atua*, caused by the gods, and were only to be cured by arts of sorcery, necromancy, and superstitious rites of divers kinds. His mind had not risen above this plane; it was clouded by superstitious beliefs in magic, in demonology, in the malignant powers of the dead. Yet the Maori shows to better advantage in other channels of thought. Superstition, that heavy drag on advancing civilisation and the evolution of the human race, has truly been as a millstone about the neck of the Maori.

\* Scurf, said to be caused by poor diet, or to accompanying poor condition. Pigeons are affected by it when feeding on leaves and in thin and poor condition.



## PRINCIPLES OF SAMOAN WORD COMPOSITION.

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WORD COMPOSITION in Samoan exists more as a necessity arising in the orderly arrangement of the dictionary than in the free use of the language, an attempt to remedy an incompatibility in the effort to deal with a language of one type through the apparatus which has come into being in conditions characteristic of language of another and very distinct type. To those who think in Samoan there is a recognition of that intangible yet easily recognizable element known as the *Sprachgeist* or genius of the language. Under its conditioning influence the ready speaker brings into association such roots as may express and shade the ideas he would convey, making a momentary compound word. In like manner his hearer notes the elements of such a compound, senses the value and the relationship of each element and comes into possession of the idea sought to be conveyed. Thus Samoan speech may, and does, compound each vocable with each other vocable save as they are essentially incongruent. Such a combination serves well its immediate purpose and dissolves into its elements without leaving of necessity any trace. When the same need again arises the same elements once more assemble. In proportion as the need is apt to arise frequently so does the compound word tend to take its place in the armamentarium of the speaker. According to the frequency of its usage and the persistency of the need for it any particular association of ideas may give to the language either an evanescent consociation of roots or a permanent addition to speech in the shape of a new vocable. In theory the one is as much entitled to a lexical place as the other; in practice, however, a valid distinction will be found to subsist. The evanescent consociation must, from the very underlying conditions of its being, be such that

its meaning shall be patent at its very first hearing and, therefore, at any subsequent hearing; we may, therefore, class it as self-evident and self-explanatory and save the space in our dictionary. But when such a compaction of roots comes into general currency it becomes subject to the universal law which governs speech-units in living languages, it takes on sometimes amplifications and sometimes restrictions, through metaphor it acquires new connotations, in a word it lives its own life and in its maturity may retain scant moral and physical resemblance to its infant estate. In our own tongue we may see such a change; for an instance, dilapidation began by meaning the taking of one stone down from another in a wall, it winds up by becoming a term that will apply to the dropping apart of a wooden house or an old hat, and the formerly essential concept of stone to which the root *LAPID* still unfalteringly points has vanished from the word.

It is for the lexicographer to certify himself that any given compound has entered upon its career as a speech-unit before entering it in his dictionary.

That the Samoan regards the article and the noun as forming a compound word is immediately manifest.

Note that the terminology of the grammar of the inflected languages is used for convenience in this early discussion. Later when this paper is elaborated to fill its proper place in a comparative grammar of the nuclear Polynesian (it being now in the nature of a prolegomenon thereto), will be time enough to present these relations more accurately in terms proper to the grammar of the agglutinative, or earlier, languages. In such a statement we should amend the foregoing to read that the Samoan regards the demonstrative and its modifying attributive as forming a compound word.

To any one who feels the spirit in which the Samoan speaks it is clear that he uses the noun and the article as together forming a single vocable. The same appears in the more vivid of the modern languages of the post-inflected, *i.e.*, analytic type. In French we say, as we write, *l'enfant*; an outward and visible sign of the fact that noun and article are treated as one vocable. Just at present it is a little out of the fashion to allow it to appear in the literary dialect of our English, yet so very respectable a performance as the metrical version of the Psalms admits it freely and calls attention to it by the use of the apostrophe, as:

Bend all their counsels to destroy  
Th' Anointed of the Lord.—Second Psalm.

Inasmuch as the recurring accent maintains all Samoan speech, with scant exception, in a constant trochaic rhythm there is very little opportunity for elision, and such as there is does not affect the

demonstrative *le* when used with a noun in the function of an article. Accordingly this unification of article and noun does not appear at all to the eye and may pass unrecognized upon the ear. That article and noun are really compacted up to the point of being compounded is seen at once on inspection of secondary compounds where the compound of article and noun is subjected to a new compounding. Here are a few of just a single type of such compounds, yet enough to illustrate the point :

<i>fa'aleagaga</i> (spiritual)	<i>fa'ale'ele'ele</i> (earthly)	<i>fa'alēpō</i> (a dream)
<i>fa'aleaiga</i> (domestic)	<i>fa'alelagi</i> (heavenly)	<i>fa'ale'itino</i> (bodily)
<i>fa'aleatua</i> (godly)	<i>fa'alenu'u</i> (country fashion)	<i>fa'alevaō</i> (rustic)

Any one who has attentively heard Samoan spoken must have recognized that the proper names involving the article are a single word in usage, that is to say a compound. Take in the Fa'alupega of Solosolo, the official name of the ruling chiefs, Leota. On Samoan lips it is as clearly a single compound word as is the English surname Goldsmith or Nasmith. Yet that it is immediately resolvable is shown in the formal phrase :

*Tulouna a lua Ota ma le falefia a Leota.*

(Saving the grace of two Otas and the three-house of Leota).

It is, in effect, as though one were similarly to salute Goldsmiths and Nasmiths collectively as "Ye two Smiths."

We may go further and say that the spirit of Samoan speech looks upon a noun (with or without article) and an adjective as forming together a compound vocable. Instances of such compounding where the noun with modifiers is treated as a unit are of the type :

<i>fa'alenu'upō</i> (as of the land benighted)	<i>fa'aleolanei</i> (as of this life)
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A further development, where a preposition and a noun thereby governed form a secondary speech unit, which then is compacted with the article into a tertiary unit and that again enters into a quarternary compound will be seen in :

<i>lagi</i> (sky)	<i>lalolagi</i> (under-sky)	<i>lelalolagi</i> (the earth)	<i>fa'alēlalolagi</i> (earthly)
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Other cases are shown where noun and adjective are used as verb, and the fact that they are regarded as together a single vocable is deducible from the fact that they take the so-called passive termination as a unit.

Of this type are :

<i>aga</i> (conduct)	<i>leaga</i> (bad)	<i>agaleaga</i> (to ill-use)	<i>agaleagaina</i> (to be ill-used)
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From the most cursory examination of these principles it should be patent that we cannot pretend to include in any reasonable dictionary all those words, amounting at times to whole clauses, which in the Samoan sense are compound units of speech. It would cause an absolute duplication of entries; nay more, it would amount to a geometrical progression, if every vocable were entered in the dictionary with every other with which it might be compounded. In its simplest form it would mean that every noun substantive would have to be entered under its stem and under the article, definite and indefinite. Thus, the noun *fanau* would have to be split up among the entries *fanau*, *lefanau*, *sefanau*, with resultant great confusion. In the case of the verbs it would be even worse, for we should have to recognize a compound of each negative, *lē* (not) *le'i* (not yet), resulting in a triplification of entries; as, *alu*, *lēalu*, *le'ialu*.

Among our existing authorities on Samoan there is no uniformity. In general it may be said that Pratt in his dictionary compounds rather freely, that the text of the Tusi Pa'ia compounds very little. In each are to be found in one place words as compounds which elsewhere are two words. And this inconsistency is more marked when we come to the effort to develop some system or principle out of their usage. The most that can be said is that Pratt in his vocabulary represents a more advanced stage of his ultimately great facility in the Samoan and that therein in a certain crude and unphilological fashion he has come to recognize the fact that many of the expressions in the text of the Tusi Pa'ia (Bible) needed to be expressed as compound units of speech. The limit of disintegration is reached by Meisake in Dr. Stuebel's collection, where the language is represented almost in words of one syllable. Fortunately "Samoa o le Vavau" includes practically all this material communicated by a more sagacious Samoan authority. A reading of a considerable amount of the matter printed for the use of Samoans, even down to the current "Sulu," shows that no diligent attempt has been made to come to a settlement of this matter. Powell in "Le Tala i Manu" is both inconsistent with himself and out of harmony with Pratt, at least in so far as Pratt shows any consistency. In the volume of "Pese ma Vi'iga" it is scarcely fair to expect much consistency, inasmuch as the hymns are the work of many different hands extending over a considerable stretch of time; yet on the contrary, there is such a gratifying degree of internal concord as to argue that the revising editor of the collection gave the matter his thought. I pass by the Samoan school books and other such matter available and mention finally Mr. Beveridge's excellent, though illogical, "Le Fa'amatalaga o le Gagana Samoa," based upon a preceding and unfinished work of Mr. Newell. This reference to Mr. Beveridge's little volume relates solely to this topic of word-composition.

Yet the opportunity should not be neglected to say that this slim volume should prove a most valuable instructor for such as seek to acquire a working knowledge of the speech. In the matter of composition the author has proved self-consistent and has evidently set before himself the purpose of securing some system that shall prove of general application.

Yet, if it is clear that for lexical reasons we may not pretend to cover all the shifting phases of Samoan composition of word elements, it should be no less plain that any truly scientific treatment of our materials calls for a clearly defined working plan of word-compounding. In any such plan we must never lose sight of two prime and basic essentials; that it be in the direction of the flow of the language and never counter; that it be simple, a system so simple as to accord with the vivid simplicity of agglutinative speech.

That such a need exists may be shown all through the Samoan. I adduce, here, but one example.

For the verb *nofo* Pratt gives the five significations, to sit, to dwell, to live with, to cohabit with, to remain.

For the verb *mau* he gives the four significations, to be firm, to have abundance of, to dwell, to be unwavering.

Now when the Samoan says "*ua nofomau 'o ia*" he means to present a certain distinct and definite meaning which will be found by a combination of the significations of each element. In this case the compound, as we shall see in its proper place, is of the determinant class; that is to say, the second member, *mau*, is supplied to determine in which of its senses *nofo* is employed, namely that one which the two elements have in common, to dwell. As that is the meaning of the compound vocable *nofomau* a dictionary of Samoan speech should take cognizance of the word and the sense. Otherwise we should be forced, on every occasion of its employment, to combine each of the four significations of *mau* with each of the five significations of *nofo* and essay to select from the resultant twenty senses that which fits the case. Furthermore, as soon as *nofomau* has through use become an established vocable and not a merely temporary association of ideas, the psychology of speech takes hold of it as a speech unit, subjects it to expansion, selection, metaphor, limitation, all under rules which we can recognize though which we cannot account for until we shall have learned the secrets of the third frontal convolution of the brain and its obedient machinery, the apparatus of speech embraced between the larynx and the lips. If *nofomau* be not entered in our dictionary we are completely in the dark as to this series of derived and secondary meanings. If this point, to wit, that for lexical purposes we must establish a working system of word-composition, really needed any proof it would easily be found in the effort to read a single paragraph

of unfamiliar Samoan with no further assistance than the existing vocabulary of our educated by uneducating George Pratt. If this be doubted it is easy to test it, try to read the material on pp. 41-50 by the aid of the remainder of the volume.

At this point before proceeding to establish a few necessary definitions, it will be in order to present as postulates certain data as to agglutinative speech and its methods which, when this subject shall have been elaborated in the comparative grammar of the nuclear Polynesian, will have preceded it with a freedom of treatment for which there is here no room.

It is to say, then, that the families of languages are, in order of evolution :

- The Monosyllabic (Chinese)
- The Agglutinative (Magyar)
- The Inflected (Sanskrit)
- The Analytic (English)

Our care is with the agglutinative family, yet with the necessity of harking back for origins into the monosyllabic, and with a lively expectancy as to the germ of termination and other apparatus which make the inflected family. For the Samoan is a miocene tongue revealing in its methods an eocene speech.

The agglutinative is in evolution the second of the great families of speech. It lies on the anterior face of the highest formal development of language as found in the inflected tongues. Therefore it is everywhere characterized by great fertility of resource and intense activity of trying, proving and adopting new methods of expression. From the monosyllabic it differs by a very slight, yet all-important, distinction in that it may compact two roots with a distinct subordination of one, which determines and modifies the sense of the root syllable. This subordinate root in the later stages of speech still classed as agglutinative may undergo change progressing gradually to the extent of atrophy. Such change of the subordinate root may consist of change in form, in sound, in sense, in any or all. Monosyllabic and agglutinative share the immutability of the root syllable, agglutination has taken the further step of changing the form of the subordinate root.

Now all our authorities are at one in classing the Polynesian as among the languages of the agglutinative family, and I am not prepared at the present to dispute this classification, though I have my doubts. I will at this time do no more than put on this record the statement that with a very few exceptions (which, in turn may prove reducible on further study) the secondary roots in the nuclear Polynesian have not yet begun any such alteration in form, sound or



sense as would suggest atrophy, except as it may be forecast for the distant future from the general laws of the growth of language. It may, accordingly, become necessary at a later stage of our research to vacate the position taken by our systematic philologists and to class the Polynesian as a monosyllabic speech; and this we may do with all the more assurance because of the fact that all the philologists from Humboldt and Fr. Mueller down who have set our Polynesian in the agglutinative family have also bracketed it with the Malayan group, a consociation which will now find few supporters. I shall for the present continue to speak of the Polynesian as agglutinative, but with full reservation of rights to alter the classification.

If, then, the subordinate roots in nuclear Polynesian show such an absence of progression toward that atrophy which is required to bring them within the agglutinating class, it is, on the other hand, to be noted that there is a marked group of principal roots (the closed roots) which have undergone alteration through the elision of a final consonant, apparently to establish a concordance with the otherwise universal law of these languages to employ only open syllables. Taking cognizance here of just the modern phase of Samoan (nuclear Polynesian develops some further instances) I illustrate with a single example from each of the sub-groups of consonants worn off:

root end	current stem	earlier root	deduced from
<i>f</i>	<i>oso</i>	<i>OSOF</i>	<i>osofia</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>POG</i>	<i>pogia</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>AUL</i>	<i>aulia</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>tanu</i>	<i>TANUM</i>	<i>tanumia</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>su'e</i>	<i>SUKEN</i>	<i>su'ena</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>tagi</i>	<i>TAGIS</i>	<i>tagisia</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>NAT</i>	<i>natia</i>

The great majority of the seemingly primary stems, in fact all save for 45 monosyllables in Samoan, are dissyllabic. For the reduction of these characteristic dissyllable stems, there lack to-day the method by which, and the data upon which to work. Leaving for further study as we must, the solution of these dissyllables into monosyllabic roots, we find a fresh point of departure in the statement that from the composition of these few monosyllables, and of the 525 dissyllables which is the maximum number that can be formed from the present alphabetic elements of the Samoan (a maximum by no means reached, but whose net value I have not yet fully established) from these 570 primary stems are derived by composition alone the polysyllables which form so much of the Samoan speech.

What then, is composition? What is a compound word?

In the next higher family of language, the inflected, that which stands forth as the highest development of the form of speech, we shall

find composition to be the compaction into one of two or more words, each of which is, or may be traced back to one that is, separately intelligible. One of the indicia that two or more roots or stems are in composition—and it is only roots or stems which are compounded—is the loss of their individual accents. Another is the possession of but one set of inflexions, instead of the individual inflexions of the words whose roots have thus entered into combination to form a new word, which has its own inflexion as a new speech unit. Apart from the fundamental fact that compounds in the languages of inflexion are not the combination of words, but of the roots or stems of those words we have other criteria by which to distinguish compounds from mere juxtaposition of the simple words of which they are or might appear to be compounded. Such are :—

1. The two words not being used together as simple words.
2. One or both not being used at all independently in the form at which they appear when compounded.
3. One or both losing their proper terminations or inflections.
4. A vowel being changed or omitted owing to the words being brought under one accent.
5. The meaning of the compound being different from or more than the sum of the meaning of the two elements.

Just how much of this is an accident of inflection and just how much is inherent in the nature of compounds may best be determined by examination of what constitutes a compound in the final evolution of speech, the analytical family of languages. In analytic languages (I cite Whitney), a compound is generally a shortened or abbreviated description of something, and, though really made up of two, comes to seem only one to us ; sometimes the elements stand in the compound just as they would in the sentence and seem simply to have grown together into one ; but much more often they have such a relation to one another that if we used them separately we should have to change their order or put in other words to connect them, or both ; the two main ideas are put side by side and the mind is left to infer their relation to one another from the known circumstances of the case.

In the compounds of the inflected type of languages we see from the fact that the composition is of roots or stems that word-composition is an inheritance from an earlier phase in evolution, namely from speech of agglutination at the least. In the compounds of analytic language we see that the principle which has endured through at least one preceding phase of evolution is that two ideas may be set in juxtaposition and the inference of the manner or kind of relationship may safely be left to man's common sense. Such also we are to find

compound words in the languages of agglutination, only in far greater freedom and perhaps less fixity, as befits the quick vitality of this type of speech.

We may, then, look to find our Samoan compounds in the following classes, deducible as the permanent element which has been found to extend through the inflected into the analytic family.

1. Where two or more roots are compacted into one word which expresses either more than the sum of the two units, or presents the meaning of the units more distinctly than either can do, or indicates a different signification or usage.
2. Where the two elements used singly would need other words to express their relation.
3. Where the accent of the compound varies from the accent of either of the units.
4. Where the affixation of formative elements, or the employment of embracing grammatical apparatus shows the two units to be used as a single speech-unit.

In composition in the inflected family our attention has been directed to one prime character, namely that it is not between words but between roots or stems that composition takes place; and thence we have argued that the active principle of composition was so thoroughly established in a prior and agglutinating stage as to fix the rule and method of compounding even inflected words. Likewise we may see how that in analytic languages word-composition is so strictly bound by the rule established in at least a penultimate stage that the inflected form of each compound word (that is, the inflection proper to it as a speech-unit) sloughs off the inflection as far as is possible. Now in our nuclear Polynesian the rule that roots or stems, not words, enter into composition holds so universally that the need for its statement might escape the attention were it not that we see its importance in the developed principle in later types of speech. With the possible exception of certain irreducible formative adjuncts, or at least of adjuncts whose proved or probable reducibility it is not necessary here to establish, all words are existent as roots. Yet as we change the direction of our view and look backward for origins we may need to regard them in turn as stems and to look for their roots in the preceding and probably primal phase of monosyllabism.

One prime distinction we cannot recognize too soon nor keep too clearly in our thought. In the nuclear Polynesian we find that we are engaged upon a grammar distinctly anterior to the parts of speech. The noun is not, and the verb has not yet come into being; ages must pass before the adjective and the adverb are to become differentiated from either; the conjunction, the preposition, the pronoun

in all its various phases and the particles of place and time are as yet merely functional one of the other. None the less do we find a grammar, active, vivid in tone, in one aspect expressing the usages of speech and in another phase sufficiently powerful in its own existence to modify speech into conformity with a majority usage. Though real, though recording and directing by turns, our Polynesian grammar contains few of those categories of grammar which have arisen out of the needs and usages of a later stage of speech-evolution. For an example, the rule that a verb shall agree with its subject in number is so widespread that we regard it as inherent in the essence of grammar. Yet when we examine into the philosophy of it we shall see that it dominates grammar *Θέσει* not *φύσει*, by usage and selective imposition upon the forms of speech by those who consciously use it, not as inherent in the nature of things. There was a time in the integration of speech forms when it was an even chance whether the concord of the verb should hang on its subject or on its object. We shall not comprehend the syntax of the Polynesian if we neglect to recognize this other and parallel rule, that a verb may agree with its object in number.

It is essential to bear in mind this prime characteristic, that we are prior to the differentiation of the parts of speech. Yet we find still a marked division between two classes of speech-units, possibly three if we grant to the expletive or interjection or ejaculation the great value which inheres in it as the cry, that first phase of vocalization, the beginning of speech which we hold in common with much of the chain of life below us. Praetermitting this subject as not absolutely germane to this more restricted inquiry, we find in keen existence and already rigidly delimited these two parts of speech, the demonstrative and the attributive. These two classes, abundantly differentiated in our nuclear Polynesian, are sufficient to establish the later parts of speech. For as we chain our course to the first monuments of the survey of the languages of inflection we shall discover how the demonstrative differentiates into the pronoun in one phase and into the connective (the conjunction and the preposition) in another; how the attributive splits off the particulars of noun and again of adjective and retains its nucleus as verb. These processes are in the doing at the horizon of our nuclear Polynesian. The attributive words are the expression of acts or qualities. The demonstrative words are those rudimentary words which serve to specify the act or quality contained in the attributive, to localize it as to person variously involved, as to place, as to time, as to its relation to other ideas which may have preceded or may yet be to come.

Having regard to these two parts of speech we may deduce a diagrammatic scheme of the possible nature of all the compounds

which may be made in the Samoan, and in the nuclear Polynesian from which it has been so freshly derived, and in its later and more highly evolved congeners at the distal ends of the cruises of the era of Pacific voyaging. This is the scheme:

1. Demonstrative with demonstrative: *ana*.
2. Demonstrative with attributive: *'afai*.
3. Attributive with demonstrative: passives, nouns, in *ga*, &c.
4. Attributive with attributive.

It is the most elementary mathematics that there can be no other classes, this diagram has exhausted all the possibilities. Compounds of each of these classes will be, as new speech-units, either demonstrative or attributive and as such may and do form members of new compounds, but such new compounds are yet reducible within this classification. We may here note that the compounds of the types demonstrative plus demonstrative or demonstrative plus attributive are themselves demonstrative, that those of the types attributive plus demonstrative and attributive plus attributive are attributive. From this we derive the rule that compound words in Samoan take the quality of their initial member. This rule concords with the genius of the language, which presents the theme first and the modifiers in succession.

We will now pass to a more detailed examination of the compounds of these several categories. It will be here sufficient to present a few examples of each, just enough for explication. In the later elaboration of this paper as a chapter in the grammatical study of nuclear Polynesian it will probably be found advisable to present a list of the compounds of the first and second categories with an analysis of each word. In the following examples it is deemed proper to select typical cases in illustration of the principle, the more complex and doubtful cases being reserved for the detailed dissection and discussion which they shall receive in the fuller analysis of the demonstrative roots.

In that section of the work it will be shown, among others, that the sound *a*, the first sound of human speech, the sound involving the least complicated intervention of the apparatus of vocalization, represents in its ultimate reduction the non-ego and the non-tu, that which is neither speaker nor person addressed, but which is outside of each and beyond the conditions under which they are momentarily placed—it is the third person as a pronoun, in place it is the not-here, in time it is the not-now, it is centrifugal, peripheral. Qualified by other sounds it distinguishes between he, this, that; it becomes near or distant in space, before or after in time. The detailed consideration of this fruitful subject will find its proper place in a projected monograph on "Pronominal Particularization of the Polynesian Demonstrative." This peripheral conception runs through the several

vocables *ma*, *sa*, *na*, *ia*, *a*, &c. Let us look at some cases of its entrance into composition with other demonstratives, forming thereby compounds which are themselves demonstrative.

(a) Personal, the non-ego non-tu. The *a* in this sense combines with another demonstrative *i*, which seems to exist in some uses without assignable individual signification of its own but rather to serve as an accent upon the meaning of the element with which it is combined. When one is dealing with these usages of the childhood of speech he must not omit consideration of the other manifestations of intellectual activity that accompanied them, above all the gesture. Any one may try this for himself, for surely we are not forbidden laboratory investigation in linguistics now that thought itself is measured with machinery and the utmost speed of the quickest witted may not prove too swift for record on the chronograph. In conducting this little experiment do not make the mistake of being too refined, remember that you are trying to put yourself in the situation of a very primitive man, it may be with no more refinement than cave man. Stand with all the vocal organs relaxed and lips open. To carry out the idea of force clench the fist. Now raise the arm and point out some object remote, at the same time exhaling the breath, not failing to put a few ounces of force into the gesture. Listen to the sound that the breath makes and see if it be not *ā*. Now, when you have made yourself familiar with that phase try the gesture with the forefinger extended, a case of sharper definition. Observe the sharp snap of finger, eye and brain when the finger rests upon the object. Now it is that sharp fining of the sight on the target that the *i* represents, it may be not as a sound we can prove to develop naturally from the motion but certainly as a sonant expression of the physical fact of the case. Last of all try the gesture in this latter form consciously sounding the two vowels, the *i* while the finger is finding the target and the *ā* when it has rested. In all study of gesture this can mean nothing but that-one, the fundamental conception out of which arise both that and he. Thus we have *ia* as the basis of the Polynesian third personal pronoun. In like manner *lenā* is of the third person, but with an obscurer personal element just in proportion as *le* is less incisive than *i*; *lenā*, therefore, comprises the senses in which we use "this" and "that."

(b) Of time, the not-now. In the specialization process the unmodified *ā* retains the more vivid signification of time yet in front of the speaker, the future; all of which we see in the substantive clause '*o le ā 'ou te 'a* representing a definite future "I shall go away" but more literally reaching that sense through saying "the that-time my going-away." With a more general and less definite sense we find it in the attributive modifier in *le fafine ā fanau*, literally "the woman

that-time giving-birth" and corresponding to our future periphrastic "the woman about to give birth." Time in the other direction, time behind the speaker, past time, finds its expression in *na*. As a sample of its demonstrative compound look at *ana*, in which to the "when" or "if" signification of this *a* the *na* adds the preterit sense.

(c) Of place the not-here. A typical compound involving this signification of *a* as *na* is shown in *i'inā* there.

In the second of these classes of compounds, the demonstrative plus an attributive resulting still in a demonstrative, we have abundance of examples, none difficult of resolution into their elements. Such are *afai* and *apau*, *a* as "when" or "if" with the attributives *fai* and *pau* respectively. Let us give a passing glance at *afai* which is no more than a determinant of *a* as "if." The attributive *fai* is polyphase, it underlies a host of different meanings and enters into many locutions in different ways where the basic signification is far to seek. In this case it carries a signification which Pratt failed to see, yet one of particular moment in Samoan; it is the substantive verb, it means "to be." It is not Samoan alone that feels a need for strengthening its "if," our own English folk-speech, even if not the literary dialect, employs exactly the same fortifying agent in the by no means uncommon locution "if so be." Into this same class of compounds fall also the non-singular forms of the personal pronouns of which *māua* and *matou* are the type. Here the subordinate members of the compound, the attributives *lua* and *tolu*, have undergone a modification in form which is not in nuclear Polynesian by any means so common as in later developments of agglutinating speech.

The third class of compounds that in which are attributive compounds with a demonstrative, is of peculiar interest, for in it we see the beginning of the process out of which is at a later stage to arise the principle of inflection. While there are many examples of this class of compound the number of groups which may be established is small, because not many demonstratives are at our period brought into use as the second and subordinate member of the compound. Just as foreshadowing the fuller discussion for which there is not now space I note a few examples of several groups.

1. *i*. 'E*lei*, to apply color to *siapo*; from 'e*le*, the earth used as pigment, and *i* in a localizing sense.
2. *a'i*. U*lua'i*, to be first; from *ulu*, the head, and *a'i*. This demonstrative enters characteristically into the formation of many reciprocals with prefixure of *fe-*, the *i* seeming to be the reciprocating theme.
3. *a*, passive. Tu'*ua*, from tu'*u* and *a*.

4. *ia*, passive. *Alofagia*, to be loved ; from *ALOFAG*, to love, and *ia*. This termination is applied to the closed roots in general.
5. *a*, adjectival. *Tagatā*, manned, peopled ; from *tagata*, man, and *a*.
6. *ina*. The characteristic formative adjunct of the so-called passive (and middle). It is a compound demonstrative compacted of *i* and *na*.
7. *ga*. Though this suffix are formed from verbs several classes of nouns, less frequently are met verbs which seem to have been formed through this agent. In this case, and in the possibly cognate instances of *-gatā* and *-gofie* I am not prepared to make a definite determination as to whether these elements are demonstrative or atrophied attributives.

I may here mention another point as to which I have as yet arrived at no satisfactory solution. That is the function and character of the *a* in such compounds as *tanumāga* and *feasogi*. To say that it is euphonic seems a mere begging of the question, and its structural position is still obscure.

Mention has already been made of the principle of a shift of accent as determining that root-compaction amounts to a full degree of composition, and this is an appropriate place to give the topic a little more detailed consideration. The normal incidence of accent in the Samoan, in nuclear Polynesian in fact, is on the penultima. That of an equal chance to find the incidence of the voice ictus on the former or latter of two syllables we find it uniformly on the former I cannot regard as at all fortuitous. Remember that the whole system of the language consists in the enunciation of the principle idea, the theme, and the secondary position of its modifiers. So also in the psychology of speech the voice ictus gravitates to the theme. Take so simple a statement as "I will go" and see how widely the sense varies as we accent the pronoun, verb auxiliary or the verb principal. If, now, such a dissyllabic stem as *tu'u* is invariably accented *tú'u* we are led along this line of inquiry also to face the possibility that in these dissyllabic stems we are again dealing with the compaction of roots, monosyllabic and very primitive, even primordial. In the example which we have under examination I incline to divide the root elements as *TU* and *KU*. The other disintegration of *TUK* and *U* is schematically possible, and I have already called attention to the fact that closed syllables are not impossible in the Protosamoan, for one must feel that it is only recently the final consonants have dropped off. The crowded significations of *tu'u* may, indeed require us to accept a devolution from both *TU-KU* and *TUK-U*. But whether it be *TU* or *TUK*, that is the theme,



the prime member of the compaction, the arsis, the voice ictus falls upon it; the modifying *KU* or *U* as being the subordinate member rests in the thesis. Therefore *tú'u*. In 5 preceding, I have noted one class of compounds which prove in effect oxytone. This is but superficial; *tagatā* is only *tagata* with *-a*; then *tagatāa*, following the uniformity of penultimate accent; then the two vowels coalesce by crasis under the accent, which remains where last set. Having then a uniformity of penultimate accent the language enjoys the power to call particular and distinguishing attention to a word by altering the order from arsis-thesis to thesis-arsis, from a trochee to an iambus. It will be seen how that must break the rhythm, must challenge the attention as anything unusual does, must fix more closely the mind upon the word so inverted. To remain effective such a device must not be used too often, and that we find is the case in the Samoan. Between stems of the same component syllables it serves as a mark of distinction, as between *mālu*, a shade, and *malū*, soft. It even serves to mark out a terminus ad quem, possibly to compensate for the uncertainty which in the current phase of Samoan must subsist as between the two prepositions *i*, in, and *'i* to; thus we may say '*ou te folau 'i Saluafutā*, "I am sailing to Saluafāta." There are uses in which it conveys a strong moral connotation, thus:

'*A e alu 'ifea?*      Whither goest thou?  
'*Ou te alu 'i fafo*    I go outside.  
'*Ou te alu 'i fafō*    I am going to get out of this.

The former reply is merely a statement of fact, colorless. The latter reply may contain a congeries of connotations even up to the point of conveying a deadly insult, as were one to snap forth in scorn "I shall not stay in this house." Such a thing eludes translation, but an angry Samoan knows how much venom he can put into the change of accent from paroxytone to oxytone.

As with the simple words, so with the compounds. There are not many which employ the device. *Amuli*, "hereafter," will serve to illustrate the class.

The fourth class of compounds are the attributives formed by the compaction of attributive with attributive. Their number is limited only by mutual incompatibility of the two roots in sense, awkwardness in sound, or the lack of need in island life for the possible compounds which we do not chance to encounter. It is the more particularly in this class that we find the need, initially referred to, of some system whereby we may keep our compounds within the bounds of a dictionary on the one hand, and on the other avoid falling into the aridity and baldness of style of the Tusi Pa'ia. We shall now pass from the formal consideration of compounds with reference to the nature of their

components and enter upon a new system of classification, that in respect to signification and other characters not formal.

All our Polynesian languages (with the interesting hyloglyphs of Te Pito te Whenua standing sole as an exception) have been reduced to written record at approximately the same point of time, the middle of the nineteenth century, but at somewhat different stages of development. In the case of these languages, no more than in the case of others, does the reduction to writing and more especially the printing and circulation of the Bible in the vernacular, entirely serve to arrest development, but it is certainly a case of putting on the brakes. There is one important conditioning factor that modifies the braking action in the case of these languages. They are as yet instinct with expectancy of advancement to the crowning phase of formal speech, inflexion; they are under the inertia of constructive evolution. The Indo-European languages have passed the divide, their evolution is away from form, destructive of inflection, their expectancy is of analysis and not of synthesis. The currency of the Tusi Pa'ia, current verbatim in the marvellously retentive Samoan memory, tends to establish a norm of speech. The vigor of evolutionary growth, restricted in certain directions by the mental presence of this norm, must in other directions find its outlet. There naturally has begun to result a wide erasure of exceptional forms and seemingly irregular uses, a smoothing out of independent construction into accord with more general usage as indicated in the now written speech. How powerful such a movement may be needs only a glance at our own English to see. Observe how much we owe to this smoothing out process, powerful enough to swallow the most brutally false analogy. Look at our old, strong conjugations of verbs and see how many forms familiar to us our very children at school are taught to reject and to regard as proper only in the pulpit. Look in the dictionary and see what "adder" and "newt" and "ouch" were before our forebears tripped up in trying to make the articles uniform. Observe how irresistibly "demean" is borrowing larceniously from "mean" and is coming to suggest an idea of "abasement," an influence so strong as to disregard entirely the presence of its derivative "demeanor" to point the true meaning. If such things can be in the speech of an educated community think what will happen on an island of the sea, even though the Samoans have learned to boast of their delimitation from the *fa'alenu'upō*.

For the purpose of the present investigation I wish to call attention to the movement toward uniformity in the expression of the various sorts of dependency in the Samoan. We find a movement now spreading to express all objects of action by the employment of the preposition 'i and 'ia; all locatives by i; agents and instruments by e; objective clauses by e; purpose by ia; and so forth. Yet we

must not permit this to lead us to lose sight of the fact that before this harmonizing began these locutions were not of uniform application, that some of them might be regarded as having reached the rank of rules to which there were many exceptions, others less fully accepted were entitled to be held as exceptions to general rules. We fail to grasp the genius of Samoan speech if we lose sight of this predominant characteristic; relationship of whatever sort is normally expressed by juxtaposition, the character of the relation being left to inference. That factor will be found prime in all compound words, patent particularly in these compounds of two attributives.

The tendency of the recording grammarian is to invent rules, to draw fine distinctions. As far as is possible I aim to avoid that. While in a general way I find it convenient for the present to make mention of nouns and verbs and other of the classic parts of speech I do not believe that there are such things in the speech of the Samoans. It is only for a present convenience that I employ the terms, for positive distinctions I refer to the conceptions of demonstrative and attributive.

Thus I might erect any number of classes of these attributive compounds, a class for each conceivable relation which might be imagined to subsist between the two compacted roots. This I will not do, for in the Samoan *Sprache* such relations exist only as temporary manifestations of the single principle of inferential relation per se. I will, however, call attention to a few groups of compounds in order to show some of the various manifestations of relationship, and solely for convenience in reference do I assign names to such manifestations, the same being descriptive terms and not classes.

Let us recur to an instance which I cited at the beginning of this study, the verb *nofomau*. Let us set in order under each of these stems the main themes of meaning:

<i>NOFO</i> =to sit	<i>MAU</i> =to be firm
to dwell	to abound in
to live with	to dwell
to cohabit with	to be unwavering
to remain	

Each of these vocables exists for our purpose as a stem, each is crowded with significations, the combination would theoretically yield us the resultant of two significations for *nofo* plus *mau*. As a matter of fact the resultant is lost in the original force, the parallelogram has vanished in the line. As a matter of fact *nofo* means too many things to lend itself to precise statement, and in any speech the proof of the fact that any vocal sound is a word and not mouthing of gibberish is that it avails to bridge the gap between the mind of the speaker and the mind of the hearer for the safe passage unchanged of an idea. *Nofu*

by itself will not do this, it needs some corrective to make it precisely manifest that in any given phrase it is intended to mean "to dwell" and not any one of the four other senses. Add, therefore, another stem which also, *inter alia*, means "to dwell." The mind ranges the four significations of *mau* alongside the five of *nofo*, and when "to dwell" of *mau* comes in line with "to dwell" of *nofo* the two come together with a click, verbal circuit is made, the current of idea at once passes. We find *nofomau*, then, to mean "to dwell" and to mean that without any of the peradventure subsisting in each of its component stems. We may call compounds in which this relationship holds determinant compounds, for the subordinate stem determines the sense in which the principal stem is sought to be used. This is no new invention devised to account for the many compounds of this sort in our nuclear Polynesian, a very early type of agglutinative speech, if indeed it be found to be even so far advanced as that. Looking back into the preceding phase of undeniably monosyllabic speech we find this method of determinants one of the most valid constructive agencies. If it were not used, the Chinese, the most cultured of monosyllabic languages might never have been able to develop its 450 roots into nearly 50,000 words. I will cite an instance which in principle exactly parallels the *nofomau* we have just had under consideration. Let us similarly arrange in columns for the two Chinese roots *tao* and *lu* the significations with which each root is crowded:

<i>TAO</i> =to reach	<i>LU</i> =to turn aside
a flag	a road
to lead	a vehicle
to tear away	a jewel
to cover	dew
corn	to forge
a road	

Each of these roots means too many things. But put them side by side. Again the same mental process of sliding the *lu* scale up and down alongside the *tao* scale, at "road" in one and "road" in the other they click and stop, the current passes and *tao* combined with *lu* can mean but one thing, namely "road."

A group of compounds may naturally be assembled in which the action of the subordinate member is regarded as simultaneously effective with that of the principal root. We thus have the familiar types of compounds expressing the modifications of the root idea as to time, manner, means, place, degree and the like, so simple that we need do no more than mention them, for examples such as *alofatele* "much-love," will readily suggest themselves in abundance.

Another order of relationship is represented by a very considerable number of compounds, sufficient to win for it recognition as an active

principle of word construction. In this the subordinate root follows upon the action of the principal member, and is not, as in the determinant compounds, simultaneously effective with it. For this reason this class may be described as sequential compounds. After this prime characteristic of sequence the relations which may be expressed in this class may and do ramify to a great degree. They may cover the result of the action of the principal root, its object, its purpose. As in the preceding classes let us consider a single example which may be regarded as sufficiently typical.

*Pipi'i* (root *PIKIT*) signifies to cling to, to stick to, to adhere to. The senses of *mau* have already been given. Together they form a sequential compound, *pi'imaui*, "to cling firmly to." That is to say, *mau* in its signification of "to remain" comes after the signification of *pipi'i* "to cling" and expresses the result that "it clings and remains," it "sticks and stays."

This example has been chosen for the reason that it will serve to introduce another topic to be considered in this matter of word-composition. I have already set forth the fact that the composition is not of words but of roots or stems. That this is a vital condition of word-composition appears in the fact that it endures into the last development of the analytic languages. We may not know just why the Samoan should find an objection to *pipi'imaui* and harks back to the older or root form to form *pi'imaui*, but we must see in it the preservation of a principle handed down from a monosyllabic period. It equips us to argue that such methods of composition are anterior to the development of reduplication, a view of the matter otherwise supported on *a priori* grounds if we look upon reduplication as a germ-manifestation of inflection.

Another large class of compounds, limited only by the degree of sense-compatibility between the two members, is that in which the subordinate member appears as the object upon which the action of the principal member passes. Take such an example as *patilima* from *pati* "to clap" and *lima* "hand." This is a natural association of ideas which we in English compound in the noun "handclap" though not as a verb. It is a compound because it is an abbreviated statement devoid of the connectives which would be necessary were it to be expressed in a phrase, as *e pati ona lima*.

Of like frequency are the compounds in which the subordinate shows that of which the principal is composed, *punavai* "spring of water"; that which it contains, *fagu'u*, "bottle of oil."

We find thus early a full expression of the method of adjectival compounds in which the subordinate qualifies, limits, defines the principal in order that they may form a conjoint modifier of yet

another vocable; thus, *lima* "hand" and *malosi* "strong" unite in the compound *limamalosi* "stronghanded," which we may then use to qualify a noun, as *le tagata limamalosi* "the stronghanded man."

We now come naturally to the *Fa'a* compounds, the most of which are of the sequential type. I shall not in this place go deeply into their consideration, for they offer a field of study sufficiently rich to warrant a chapter to themselves in the grammar. The logic of the language as I interpret it will lead me to deal with them as compound words, yet with full recognition of the view taken by the most excellent authority that they fall under the head of inflectional development of their second root. To this view I oppose the facts that we put our Polynesian in an untenable position if we attempt to discuss it in terms of the grammar of inflection, that these forms on which the suggestion of inflection is based are more simply susceptible of explanation on the basis of the grammar of agglutination, and furthermore that I shall show that *fa'a* is not the subordinate but itself the principal root and that it may exist as an independent vocable.

This leads me naturally to the consideration of the composition members which suggest the expectancy of inflection. It would be no difficult task to arrange these in a diminishing series from such forms as *vao*, a plural sign in logic, in the compound *le vaotagata* "men," which is really and grammatically the principal member of the compound; down by successive steps of obscuration of sense and failure to conserve the dignity of position; until at last we reach *fe* as in *feu* or *feaga'i*. Of this we know that it is used to form reciprocals and some senses of plurals, but its inherent meaning is still by no means clear. It is atrophied, it looks like a prefix, but I cannot consent to acknowledge it to be inflectional in nuclear Polynesian. If that were granted we should have to yield on *fa'a* and so on back along the line to *vao*, and that is a *reductio ad absurdum* just so long as it is possible to interchange *le vaotagata* and *le vao o tagata*. Such things are not yet in themselves inflection, they contain the germ that may develop into inflection when ignorance of their primal signification supervenes and they become mere empty forms. In nearly the same degree of atrophy as this reciprocal *fe-* are the composition members *-a*, *-ia*, *-ina*, which have the guise of grammatical terminations and the apparent function of creating a passive (middle) voice for the verb. So far as I have yet delved the root sense of *fe-* has not been turned up; not so with these "passive terminations." They are demonstratives which limit the action of the principal member of the compound, and they are almost personal at that, for they are not limited to verb-ideas but are to be found with noun-ideas as well. This subject, also, is entitled to treatment by itself, for the mere fact

of composition is less important than the coloration which these members give to the verb-idea. I mention in passing that there are other so-called signs of this or that which add to the picturesqueness and vigor of the Samoan, yet which may easily be proved to be compounds of one sort or another and by no means as yet mere grammatical apparatus. That comes with age and death, our Polynesian is alive and growing.

It is proper to take note that some changes, even though slight, may in the process of composition be made in the form of the components, all being in the line of the least resistance. Thus, *'avatu* is reached by a simple crasis from *'ave atu*. In like manner are developed the *lona*, *sona*, *mona*, *lana*, *sana*, *mana*, *lo latou*, *la latou*, forms of pronominal possessives.

It may be found possible to show in the case of *'aumai* that we have a more complex modification from *'ave mai*, the loss of the final *e* and the reduction of the sonant spirant *v* of the labial series to the sonant and nearly labial vowel *u*. This is a modulation which becomes very familiar in the next family of speech. It would, therefore, be of particular moment to find it beginning in agglutination.

Another type of modulated compound is represented by *alofa*. *Alo*, apparently grouping its significations about a basic sense of the front part, we find in use as a genteel designation of the belly in exactly the same usage in which we in English employ the word "backside" as more seemly than a more precise distinction of the parts. Thus in *alo* we come to the region of the great pneumogastric nerve, and it is there that all the emotions are felt; see how we assign them to the heart, the Greeks to the diaphragm ( $\phi\phi\eta\nu$ ), and many peoples select the liver for at least certain of the emotions. Unskilled anatomists fail to observe the pneumogastric in their crude autopsies, but whatever emotional organ they select is close to the tract of that nerve. In *OFAG* we find the sense of feeling certain emotions. Putting the two elements together with the simple and incidental detail of merging *o* and *o* by crasis, we have *alofa*, to feel emotional excitation of the peripheral nerve-endings of the pneumogastric, to warm the cockles of the heart, to feel a sinking at the pit of the stomach, to be phrenetic. Thus we find *alofa* doing equal duty for love and grief.

Now in closing it will be well to lay down the few simple principles upon which I decide in the recognition of a compound for admission as such into the dictionary.

When two or more roots are in turn compounded with the *-ina* etc. of the conveniently designated passive termination I shall enter them as a compound speech-unit. In this I have a general rule of

application to all the formative composition elements, that when two or more roots are treated as a speech-unit in entering into other compounds they are a compound word.

When two or more roots form an abbreviated statement which would otherwise require particles of relation, that is a compound.

Where they vary in meaning or in use from the component parts, that is a compound.

On the other hand I must avoid overloading the dictionary with compounds so simple as to explain themselves. Thus it is not necessary to make an entry of every negative compound, although such a form as *lēaogā* is in a Samoan sense a speech-unit. In the same way almost all words may form a compound of degree with *tele*, yet that is self-explanatory. So with the directives, *mai*, *atu*, *ifo*, *a'e*, even though we find cases where the passive termination is applied to verb plus directive, as in *'avatua*, the compounds are of evident signification. Such a form as *'o le faimeau'amea*, blacksmith, (maker of hard things), is a compound of the third degree, the compaction of *fai* and *meau'amea*, yet it is not necessary to make an entry of *meau'amea*, for that explains itself as the association of *mea* and *u'amea*, of which the latter only will find a legitimate place in the dictionary, and that for the reason that while its components *u'a* and *mea* are readily seen and each maintains an independent existence it is not self-evident why they are associated in an order that seems to vary from the normal arrangement of principal and modifier in the language.

Equally shunning indefinite looseness on the one hand and too rigid formalism on the other; recognizing that the precisian's apparatus of unalterable grammatical rules and fixed exceptions has no place in a living tongue but can only be used of the dead, I deal with each case on its merits and the few plain principles that I have outlined. Basing my studies on scientific method I aim at clarity, I seek to avoid redundancy.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [175] Some Middle Island, N.Z., Place-names.

Enquiries instituted among the Maoris of the South part of New Zealand on a recent visit resulted in some information which may be of interest:—

*Motu-rau* is an ancient name for the lake called by Europeans *Mana-pouri*. [This name seems to fit the lake, for its meaning is "Many islands." But the name of the lake as given to me by Horomana Patu, an old chief of Ngai-Tahu, was *Manawa-pore* (*pore*, abbreviated form of *popore*), which probably means the "anxious heart," and the name may have arisen through the anxiety of some early voyager on the lake as to whether he would survive the squalls common there, in his frail canoe.—EDITOR.]

*Manawa-pore* is the name given to the larger and most northern of the two lakes called *Mavora*.

*Hikuraki* (*Hikurangi* in northern dialects) is the name given to the smaller and southern *Mavora* lake.

*Te Rua-o-te-moko* is a name given to the extensive mountainous district lying westward of the Waiau river, and is connected with *Tamatea*, the reputed captain of the *Taki-timu* canoe, a name given to the mountain range east of the Waiau, and called by Europeans *Takitimo*.

*Te Waka-a-Maui*, a name given to the Middle Island, *i.e.*, *Maui's* canoe. [It is said by the Ngati-Kuia natives of Pelorus Sound that *Maui* fished up the North Island (or *Ika-a-Maui*—*Maui's* fish) whilst standing on the Middle Island.—EDITOR.]

*Te Puka-a-Maui*, a name given to *Stewart's Island*—*Maui's* anchor. Its ordinary name is *Raki-ura* (*Rangi-ura* in Northern dialects).

*Mahutu-ki-te-rangi*, said by the *Moeraki* Maoris to be an ancient name of the Middle Island, and was originally that of a canoe. It is mentioned in the following fragment of an old *haka*:—

Kowai tou waka e—  
E Heu E! i manu atu ai—  
Ko Te Raka-a-matua a-i—  
Ko Mahutu-ki-te-rangi e."

By some Maoris this canoe is said to be identical with that called "*Māhunnui*."

*Titi-tea* is the Maori name of Mount Aspiring, as *Henare Te Maire*, of *Waihao*, says, and may be translated as the "upright glistening" mountain.

JAMES COWAN.

### [176] Honorific Terms used in the Middle Island, N.Z.

The *Murihiku*—or extreme south of Middle Island—people use the following terms when welcoming Maoris from the North:—

*Te Poroporo-ki-Huariki*, used in speeches of welcome and applied to the North Island people.—"*Haere mai, E Te Poroporo-ki-Huariki*." The old people explain that the allusion is to the *poroporo* fruit (*solanum*), which grew in *Uenuku's* garden in *Hawaiki*, and which was stolen by *Tama-te-kapua*, of "*Te*

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Arawa" canoe. This fruit, they say, was brought to New Zealand by Tunui-raki, the captain of the "Tairea" canoe, and planted in the North Island. Huariki, according to Herewini of Moeraki, is the name of a place in Hawaiki.

*Tarere-ki-whemua-uta*.—This is a poetical expression referring to the sea-cliffs of Muri-hiku, when welcoming visitors to that district.

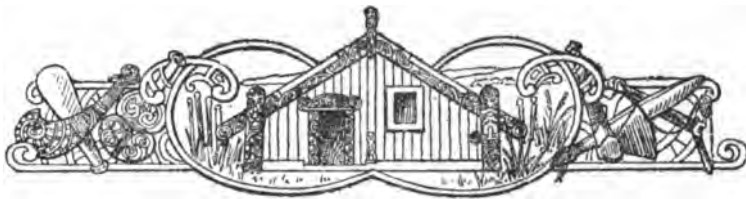
JAMES COWAN.

[177] Hawaiki.

The following fragment is from Herewini, the oldest Maori at Moeraki, and who is probably about seventy-five years old. There were two Hawaikis:—Hawaiki-kai, and Hawaiki-raro. The Maori people came from the former. Hawaiki-raro was inhabited by the Nuku-mai-tore people (see "Journal," Vol. XIII., p. 265), who lived *i waenganui i te ora* (in the midst of plenty), whose hair never grew grey, and whose children were born by the mother being out open; they had no necks, and their hands grew straight out of their bodies, that is, they had no arms. They continuously chattered. In that land the *kumara* grew spontaneously: no cultivation was needed. Te Whiti, of Parihaka, Taranaki, also says that Hawaiki-kai was the full name of their ancestral land, and was so-called because of the abundance of food there, and little labour needed in procuring it.—JAMES COWAN.

[With reference to Hawaiki-kai, we think this is not really the name of the ancient home of the Maori, but that *kai* is added to the name as expressive of the abundance of food growing spontaneously there, i.e., in the Tropics. Hawaiki-raro is to this day the Eastern Polynesian name for the Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga groups, whilst Hawaiki-runga is the name given to Tahiti and the adjacent islands. For an account of the Nuku-mai-tore, see John White's "Ancient Maori History."—EDITOR.]





## MANA TANGATA.

BY LIEUT.-COL. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

IN any description of Maori life or character, the word *mana* will occur frequently, and as a rule the general reader will be left to give his own interpretation to the word, which is probably one of the most expressive and comprehensive to be found in any language. It must, however, be remembered that this word relates to certain abstract conceptions of a spiritual phase of mankind that will not readily be understood by Europeans. I have grave doubts whether I can do this subject justice. I will therefore deal with the matter generally, and illustrate it by incidents taken from well known Maori history in which the important element of *mana* has been a factor.

Personal *mana* is, I think, closely connected with the old Polynesian religion, and its continuance seems to depend very much on the observance of the laws, and rites connected therewith; there are, however, certain classes of *mana* which would seem to be the result of heredity rather than religion. *Mana*, it may be said, is the result of hereditary characteristics transmitted through famous ancestors, and strengthened in every instance by the belief—shared by all true Maoris—that a man of this type must be under the special care of the gods.

A man is said to have *mana* when he possesses genius, audacity, and good fortune in a marked degree, for these are the signs of *mana*, and so long as he can retain these gifts he is regarded as a man altogether above the common herd, and one not lightly to be offended. Indeed, such men have been regarded in the light of gods against whom it was hopeless for mere mortals to contend, even though they might be as ten to his one. *Mana* of this description was held in the highest esteem by the tribe to which the fortunate man belonged, forasmuch as in war time the element of *mana* was very conspicuous, and invariably used in the interest of the tribe; but it was, after all, but a low type of *mana*, for it depended entirely on success, and was easily lost, as has been shown in my paper on the “Toa.”\* I do not wish it to be

\* Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. xiii. p. 238.

inferred that men possessing even this sort of *mana* were ever very numerous among the Maoris, for they were not. They come within the application of the proverb, "*He kotuku rerenga tahi.*"\*

There were cases in which the *mana* of a man depended upon the facility with which he could communicate with the spirits of departed ancestors, that is, upon his capacity to enforce the aid and attendance of these minor deities. To this end every man with any pretention to *mana* had a knowledge of certain forms of invocation by which he could summon the spirits of long departed heroes and ancestors, but it must not be supposed that these invocations would necessarily have power in the mouths of all men, for such was not the case. The efficacy of a *karakia* or invocation depended in part on its method of delivery, and in part on the *mana* of the man who used it.

The following is an instance of *mana* : When the chief Whakanehu lived at Te Poroporo, his son Te Hourangi died, and was buried at Tikapa. That same night, the spirit of the dead boy appeared to two men in their sleep, and said, "*E tama ma, kua pau au e te tangata*" (my sons, I have been eaten by men). This speech and vision was at once reported to Whakanehu, who forthwith inspected the grave, and found that the body had been removed. The chief returned to the *Tore-akaia pa*, and remained there until dark; then Whakanehu summoned to his aid a familiar spirit or *kehua*, whom he intended should precede the party who were about to search for the body. At Te Karaka the *kehua* became luminous, and rested for a moment over a certain place; it then moved on to Tuparoa, where it again became luminous, and hovered over a large stone by the roadside. By these signs Whakanehu knew that those who had carried the body had rested for awhile at each place, and placed their burden upon the ground. From Tuparoa the *kehua* led the avengers direct to the Ohineakai *pa*, in Waipiro Bay, where it once more became luminous over a *hangi* (native oven), and thence settled on the ridge of a food store. This place was examined by the chief, who found a hand and other remains, sufficient to show that the people of this *pa*, who could be heard practising a *haka* in the large *whare*, were the guilty parties. Whakanehu waited quietly until his enemies slept. He then invoked the aid of Tawhirimatea (god of storms), who answered the call by sending a very hurricane of wind, during which the outraged father set fire to the *whare*, and then, standing at the doorway, speared and tossed back into the flames those who tried to escape.

To what extent the old Maori religion governed the law of *mana* cannot at the present day be ascertained; those who might have collected and recorded the ancient history of the Maori did not do so.

\* The one flight of the white crane, i.e., to be seen only once in a lifetime.

We had no Wyatt Gill among our old missionaries, who, for the most part, were sincere though narrow-minded men, who did much to soften what we will charitably call the asperities of the Maori character; but they died, and left no literary record by which succeeding generations might remember them.

Sir George Grey and John White alone of the men of their generation have rescued the legends, songs, and a fragment of old New Zealand history from Christian intolerance. The late Judge Manning has left us an admirable sketch of the Maori character as it was in his time, and indeed in mine; the chief merit of the same resulting from the fact that the Judge thought in Maori while writing in English. I submit, however, that we have no reason to thank him for these small mercies, for he might have left us ten volumes equally readable, but did not do so.

"Te Ika a Maui," by the Rev. Richard Taylor, is not only readable but instructive, whenever the author succeeds in disentangling himself from the "lost Tribes," and that is seldom enough. There are probably many others who are more or less conversant with the language and customs of the Maoris, and who may have some notes on those subjects, for they possess the ability requisite for the task; but the hoarded manuscripts which in many cases are supposed to exist, and which are vaguely referred to by the supposed authors, have not yet seen the light. Indeed, it is only since Messrs. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best have taken the matter seriously in hand, that those who are interested in the history of the Maori people could gratify their thirst for information.

Briefly, then, we may say that we know something of the history, songs, and tradition of the Maori, but of their religion next to nothing. Mr. C. O. Davis, in one of his pamphlets, says that he learned casually from a Maori that they recognised the existence of a Supreme Being, whom they called Io, but that he could learn nothing more than that bald fact. Now, Mr. Davis was a man very learned in matters Maori, and it may perhaps be thought that if he did not know, it was only because there was nothing to be learned. Mr. Davis was, however, the exponent of a lachrymose species of religion of the miserable sinner type, and though the Maoris had faith in him politically, as the mouth-piece of those who initiated the King movement, they none the less recognised in him the extreme of Christian fanaticism, and would therefore decline to disclose the secrets of their ancient religion to him. It may be, of course, that the Maori from whom he derived his information knew but little more than the name of the deity, and I have reason for thinking that this may have been the case inasmuch as they do not at the present day know much of their old superstitions.

I have asked many men questions about the god Io, and in nearly every instance the reply was that they knew of this deity by name only, that he was the greatest of all gods, but they knew no more than that. I have met only two men who had real knowledge of the Maori god Io, and it was to one of these that I repeated the remark of Mr. Davis' as to the existence of Io. He replied. "Yes, it is true, but that name must not be mentioned in a house; if we have occasion to speak of Io, we go away from the dwelling-places of men into the wilderness, where Nature is sacred and unpolluted."

Among the old *tohungas* or priests of the last generation there was a good deal of traditional knowledge concerning many things which have now been lost to the young people. On a certain occasion I asked a man who was recognised by all as a learned man to tell me what a *marae* was, for I believed that on this point my knowledge would prove superior to his. He replied, as I expected, that it was an open place in a *pa* or village, sometimes a platform, from which in ancient times the chiefs and priests used to address their followers. When he had finished his explanation, I said: "To your ancestors the name implied more than that," and went on to explain that on some of the isles of the Pacific there were *marae* that were truncated pyramids, built in steps, platform on platform, and that it was thought that these structures were primarily built for religious purposes. He listened very attentively, and then said: "All of this has been made known to me by tradition, and I will prove it by asking you: Why were the *marae* built, and why the platforms?" I had now to confess my ignorance, and he then explained that the steps were for the accommodation of the various ranks of the priesthood—the *Tauira* above the people, while the *Pukenga* were above both, and above all was the chief priest of the particular deity to whom the *marae* was dedicated, who took this elevated station in order to bring himself into more intimate communication with those gods who could not approach too near the common surface of the earth, which was regarded as *noa* or common by the Maoris, and therefore the reverse of sacred. In fact, his explanation showed that they held the same ideas as to the nature of the gods that we find of old among the Jews, whose high priest deemed it necessary to go up into the mountains in order to communicate with Jehovah. My *tohunga* friend thought that the New Zealand Maoris knew but little of their ancient religion or of the wisdom of Hawaiki, inasmuch as of old all knowledge was confined to the higher ranks of the priesthood, of whom but one (Ngatoro-i-rangi) is known to have come to New Zealand. There may be something in my friend's view of the case, for it will be remembered that the Tahitian Tupaea, when on board Captain Cook's vessel, had a conversation with the Maoris, and subsequently told the great navigator that they were a people who knew

but little of their history or religion. The Maori knowledge is, of course, deficient in the matter of the ancient migrations, but in all of the ceremonies and forms of his ancient religion he has a knowledge that the true Polynesian has never acquired. This interesting fact has not yet been explained, but it may be that these ceremonies, like the carving and tattooing of the Maoris, is an indigenous growth, though it is probable that this theory would not be generally accepted. The only possible solution of the enigma appears to be that the early migrations found a people in possession, whose weapons, carving, tattooing, canoes, and even paddles they adopted, for all of these things are now characteristic of the Polynesian of New Zealand only—exceedingly symmetrical, and the weapons beautifully balanced, altogether unlike the heavy, awkward clubs of the Polynesians of the Pacific.

As I have said, the Maori has a form of invocation, and a ceremony to provide against all the ills incidental to savage life; but many of these rites, though well known to the *tohungas*, are seldom practised, and it would seem that certain things can only be done successfully by a few of them; we may therefore assume that great personal *mana* is required in such cases. An instance of this description came under my notice about the year 1872. A girl had quarrelled with her lover, and as a natural sequence, he had left her and gone to one of the chief towns of the Colony. After his departure, the young woman regretted her impetuous behaviour, and wrote to him to return. This he refused to do, and when his reply reached the girl, she alarmed her relatives by declaring that she would commit suicide. Here, there was every chance of a tragedy, for a Maori girl is very unlike her European sister, inasmuch as she will, as a rule, announce her intention to commit suicide before she does it. I was therefore somewhat surprised to find her laughing and talking with her companions shortly after I had heard all of these things. Probably my face expressed my astonishment, for she saluted me by saying: "My husband is returning to me." Naturally enough, I asked when she had heard from him, and was met with the reply that she had not heard from him, but that she knew he must come. This speech was sufficiently curious to cause me to enquire how she had acquired the conviction that her lover would return, and it then transpired that her threat that she would destroy herself had so alarmed her relatives that they had appealed to a *tohunga* uncle to exercise his magic powers, and bring back the fugitive.

The nature of the ceremony that was performed I never could ascertain, either from the girl or her uncle; but the former told me that, so far as she was concerned, it was a very serious matter, since she had now become sacred to this man by the intervention of the gods, and therefore if at any time she proved unfaithful to him, the penalty



would be death. She added that her uncle had duly warned her to this effect, and that she was quite prepared for the consequences. Strange to say, the recreant lover did return within a month after these incantations had been performed, and I need hardly say that the *tohunga* took the whole credit due to himself; but he behaved with the philosophic composure that is characteristic of his profession, and did not on any occasion express the smallest anxiety or doubt as to the success of his magic art; indeed, he regarded the whole affair as settled and done with. When I subsequently expressed a doubt as to the *mana* of his gods over any *pakeha*, he laughed as though he recognised the point, and said: "Ordinarily they have not, but this is not ordinary work; the man will return, and the girl will die. I have warned her, but I know her character, she will never behave herself." In 1886 I met this same old gentleman, and in course of conversation, asked him where his niece was. He looked at me queerly for a moment, and then said: "She is dead; you will bear me out that I gave her due warning."

Many years ago, while stationed in Taupo, I had two places pointed out to me which would seem to have acquired *mana*, and both of these were of great interest to my companion, whose ancestors had been leading actors on the occasion. One of the places to which I refer was called Te Tapapatanga-a-te-Rangitekahutia, and at that date was a small conical hillock, barely seven feet in height, and not more than that diameter at the base, situated only a few feet from the old war track leading from Runanga to Te Awa-o-te-Atua. From the account given to me, it would seem that about eight generations previously the ancestor, whose name has been given to the hillock, found himself alone in the presence of a hostile war party who were passing down the valley, but who had not yet observed him, though they were too close to permit of his escape by flight. Under these circumstances, Rangi-te Kahutia called upon his ancestral gods for aid, and threw himself flat against the hillock, while, scarcely daring to breathe, he saw his foes file past him almost within touch, in happy ignorance of the valuable prize that lay almost within their reach. This tale appeared to me to be slightly improbable, and I hinted as much to my friend, who replied: "This is a *pukepuke whai mana*" (hillock possessing *mana*). To a Maori this answer would have been conclusive, but at that period of my life I was too much of a *pakeha*, and had the bad taste to question the truth of tales that bordered on the marvellous. In this instance my disbelief was probably apparent, for Maoris, having carried their lives in their hands for several generations, are exceedingly observant, and presently my companion said: "This is a place of many *tipuas* (uncanny things). I will show you a place where the spirit of a man

has existed in the form of a *koromiko* (veronica) bush for the last five generations," and so saying led me to the spot, and there I saw two large circular depressions in the ground, evidently old ovens, and in one of them a small shrub, about eighteen inches high, was growing. "Here," said my guide, "the two chiefs, Te Huriwaka and Te Whakatarewa, were slain, cooked, and eaten by a war party. From that time the ovens have never filled in, and the *koromiko* bush has always been there. It is now in the same condition as when I first saw it more than forty years ago; verily, it is the spirit of Te Huriwaka, and a sign that his *mana* is still over his land."

Things inanimate may, it would seem, possess quite as much *mana* as things animate. I have known at least two weapons that were almost dangerous to man by reason of the peculiar *mana* attached to them, both being the shrine of certain gods. The "*Taiaha-o-Tinatoka*,"\* sometimes called "*Nga-moko-a-te-Aowehea*" is an instance. This weapon was always consulted by the Ngati-Porou tribe before they ventured to engage in battle with another tribe, and this fateful ceremony was held in the presence of all the leading warriors of the tribe, in order to ascertain their chance of success. If the omens were favourable, the *taiaha* would, I am informed, turn itself over as it lay on the mat, in such a manner as to be seen by all. It was, however, in single combats that this weapon shone with its greatest lustre, for then it never failed.

Pahekauri, the famous *mere* of Te Heuheu, has *mana* even greater than that of the *taiaha*, inasmuch as it is universally credited with the power to render itself invisible to anyone but its lawful owner or guardian for the time being.

A very curious instance of the alleged *mana* of weapons has been related in a Maori newspaper. In White's ancient history of the Maori it will be found recorded that, when the children of Heaven and Earth (Rangi and Papa) had finally resolved to separate their parents, one of the axes with which the props were cut, in order to keep them apart, was called "*Te Awhiorangi*." It will not be necessary to expatiate on the antiquity of this weapon, since we find it already in existence at the beginning of all things—before the earth-born but god-like inhabitants of this planet had ever seen the light of the sun, and long before the advent of man. This being a fact proved beyond all argument, so far as the Maoris are concerned, it will be readily understood that this axe was and is exceedingly sacred, being, as its historian relates, left to mankind as a governing power over all the stone axes of the world.

\**Taiaha*, a weapon combining the advantages of both spear and quarterstaff.

This famous weapon had been handed down from eldest son to eldest son from the time of Tane, the man-god, to Kakau-Maui, and thence through unnumbered generations to Turi, who braved the dangers of the Sea of Kiwa in his canoe "Aotea," and settled at Patea, on the West coast of the North Island. I need hardly say that he brought with him the sacred axe, and when he returned to Hawaiki, gave it to Te Hiko-o-te-Rangi, his eldest son. The origin of this weapon is necessarily obscure, but there is a paragraph in the narrative from which I quote that justifies me in saying that it was not even wrought by the gods of Maori tradition, but was sought for and found by Rangi-te-Tipua in the shades among the "Kahui kore,"\* and remained in possession of the *Ariki* line of the Turi family, down to the time of Rangitaupea, who lived some seven generations ago. This old man, when dying, informed his children that he had, in accordance with Maori custom in such cases, hidden "Te Awhiorangi" in a sacred burial ground known as Tieke, and probably gave other directions to enable them to find it; but if he did so, they must have been faulty, for the Nga-Rauru tribe were never able to find the axe, and from that day to the 10th December, 1887, "Te Awhiorangi" was lost to the world. The supposition that the rightful owners of this sacred heirloom had neglected to search for it cannot be entertained for one moment, for the mere possession of such a weapon was a sign of *mana*, and patent of nobility; but it may be that the search had not been too keen or inquisitive, forasmuch as the place where the axe had been hidden was dangerously sacred, and not lightly to be meddled with.

This long lost weapon has now been found, and in a very curious manner. On the date I have mentioned a party of Nga-Rauru were in the neighbourhood of Okotuku engaged in gathering fungus, and among them a young girl of another tribe, who fortunately had not heard of Tieke, or this tale had never been told. As the party scattered in search of the fungus, called *hakeke*, the girl Tomairangi took the direction of Tieke, and there found a tree covered with the growth she sought. As she stretched forth her hand to grasp the nearest cluster, a blinding flash of light appeared to issue from the tree. The girl started back, and then, for the first time, noticed the axe at the foot of the tree. This sight appeared to alarm her so that she fled screaming from the spot, and her terror was increased by a sudden and violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which warned her that she had in some way offended some potent Maori deity. Scarcely less alarmed were Tomairangi's friends when they heard her cries; but among them was Rangi-Whakairione, a *tohunga*, who grasped the situation at once. He first quieted the elements by a *karakia* of great potency, and then

\* Spirits of the void.

asked who had visited the sacred place Tieke. Tomairangi asked, naturally enough, "What is this Tieke?" and when that matter had been explained, and its position in one of the bends of the Waione creek described to her, she admitted that she had probably been at the place, and pleaded that, being a stranger, she was ignorant of the sacred places, that she had seen but one thing which was like unto a god, and being afraid, had run away, calling for help.

From this speech the *tohunga* knew that "Te Awhiorangi" had at last been found, and calling on the party to follow him, proceeded to the place indicated by Tomairangi, and there they found the axe, and brought it away in triumph. No man doubted, as he gazed upon the weapon, that this was indeed "Te Awhiorangi," the property of their great ancestor Turi, for they were its natural custodians, the descendants of Tu-tangata-kino and Moko-hiku-waru,\* and the *mana* of the axe had been made manifest to them. After the *tohunga* had uttered many *karakias* over the long lost weapon, in order that there might be no danger to the common people while handling it, it was carried to the village, where it was wept over, as though it had been a long lost and dear relative. As to the subsequent proceedings, when the leading descendants of Turi assembled to do honour to the axe, it is perhaps well that I should not speak, for it may be that the men of the present day would not believe me: but it is said that when the *tohungas*, Te Kapua Tautahi and Tapuhi, led the party into the presence of "Te Awhiorangi," the sky grew dark, and thunder and lightning burst forth, and that the elements were only stilled by the magic force of the two *tohungas*.†

The purport of this article was *mana tangata*, that is, the *mana* of men; but rivers, mountains, lakes, and trees may possess *mana* in a high degree, and this Maori conception finds expression in the tribal *pepeha* (boasts). That of the Heuheu family of Taupo runs as follows: "Tongariro is the mountain, Taupo the lake, and Te Heuheu the chief." At times it seems doubtful whether it is the tribe who own the mountain or river or whether the latter own the tribe. The *mana* of Tongariro is altogether unusual, for a war party crossing the Rangi-po desert at the base of that mountain, would, in the good old times, carefully abstain from looking at the summit, and by this caution would avoid the blinding snow storms by which the spirit of the Peak punished undue curiosity, on that high bleak plateau.

\* Two gods of *makutu* or witchcraft, according to the Taranaki tribes.—Ed.

† See Vol ix, p. 229, for a full account of the finding of this celebrated axe and with some of the ancient songs connected with it.—Ed.

There are instances in which trees have been objects of veneration to the Maoris, not because they were trees, but chiefly for the reason that they were deemed to be capable of absorbing *mana* from either man or weapons. Until quite lately, there was an exceedingly old *totara* tree lying in the Manga-o-Rongo stream, at no great distance from Otorohanga. This tree was a first class *tipua* of great *mana*, and was known to everyone by the name of Papa-taunaki. The name was derived from the fact that some thirteen generations ago, one Ruateki, an ancestor of the Ngati-Maniapoto tribe, while snaring birds, noticed that there was a nest of young parrots in this tree, and in order to reach the young birds, used his greenstone axe Papa-taunaki to enlarge the opening. While so engaged the axe parted from the handle and was lost forever within the hollow tree. Now this axe, like many notable weapons of old days, was possessed of great *mana*, indeed it was the shrine of a spirit and it would seem that its sacredness must have been communicated to the tree, which from that time forth was regarded as an object of veneration. Very gradually the tree fell into decay, and was at last uprooted by a gale of wind; but even then it did not lose its *mana*, for we are told that about the beginning of last century, the great warrior Wahanui paid a visit to the fallen monarch, and addressed it in the following terms. "So you are the sacred tree of whom the Ngati-Matakore are so proud; let us see if your *mana* be proof against fire." So saying he lighted a fire on the prostrate trunk. When the fire had kindled sufficiently to give forth some heat, the huge log, it is said began to tremble, and finally with one mighty effort rolled itself into the Manga-o-Rongo stream. Here it lay for nearly eighty years, until the Native Land Court opened at Otorohanga in 1885, and then Papa-taunaki broke loose from the position it had so long occupied, and floated some distance down the stream. This circumstance was noted and referred to by Hausuru, chief of Ngati-Matakore, in the Court, as an ill omen denoting that the *mana* of his tribe was about to pass from them.

As for Wahanui who had committed this wanton outrage on a sacred tree, his punishment followed quickly, for *tipuas*—(demons) may not be injured or insulted with impunity. Up to this period he had run a long and successful career as a warrior, and though he had on more than one occasion shown remarkable skill and activity in getting away from the Whanganui people, yet he had a good reputation as a fighting man. A man cannot always be brave or successful, but Wahanui had had his full share of good fortune, and in the opinion of the best Maori authorities might have died on his bed but for this freak of childish jealousy against "Papa-taunaki." As it so happened he fell in battle against Ngati-Raukawa only a few weeks after the

events above recorded, to the great satisfaction of the latter who had a long list of injuries to wipe out. Wahanui was one of those old time warriors, concerning whom most marvellous tales are told, but it does seem to be true that he was a man of great strength, and that he used a spear like unto a weavers beam, with which he was wont to spear men and toss them playfully over his head.

"Papa-taunaki" no longer exists as a tree, for Mr. Edwards of Te Kiokio has not only split his ancestor up and used him for fencing posts, but worse still, has used the chips and splinters for cooking purposes; an act of cannibalism which had the effect of relieving him of the presence of his tribe for many months; they at any rate could not tolerate such awful impiety.

The most desperate fight of modern days was fought solely to preserve the *mana* of the Whanganui river intact. This battle took place in 1864, between a party of one hundred and twenty Hauhau fanatics, belonging to many tribes, on the one side, and one hundred men of Whanganui on the other. The battle was, as I have said, fought to preserve the *mana* of the river, for there was really no cause of quarrel between the two parties, who only a short time before had been amicably fighting side by side against the Europeans at Taranaki. Moreover, the up river Whanganui men had always been most consistent in their hostility to us, and would not allow any *pakeha* to ascend the river. With a few exceptions they were rabid Kingites, and not at all disposed to look with favour on the European; but in one respect they resembled Mark Twain's hero, Buck Fanshawe. They would have peace within their boundaries, and to retain that blessing were prepared to kill half New Zealand.

It was while the Whanganui were in this frame of mind that the Hauhau—(carrying with them the preserved head of a European soldier as the shrine of their god)—marched through the forest from Waitotara to Pipiriki, and appeared suddenly among the Whanganui. Here they succeeded in converting the most powerful chiefs of the up river district, viz., Turoa and Te Kaioroto, and elated by this success, sent messengers to Ngati-Hau, who lived about ten miles from them, ordering them to prepare to receive the Hauhau religion, preparatory to an attack on the town of Whanganui. The covert menace contained in this message deeply offended the Ngati-Hau. But they returned no answer, for they were by no means certain that the enemy had not told the truth when they claimed to be invulnerable to shot or steel. Being in this condition of uncertainty they made no reply to the messenger other than that they would consider their position, and having thus rid themselves of the Hauhau envoy, they left their *pa* and fell back on the Ngati-Buaka tribe of Ranana. To this place they were shortly followed by the Hauhaus, who camped at Tawhitinui on

the opposite bank of the river, and again sent messengers to the two *hapus* (sub-tribe), but on this occasion the message was couched in much milder terms, for they merely requested to be allowed to pass down the river, in order to attack the town of Whanganui. This request was sternly refused, and the Hauhaus were told that no alien war party had ever broken the *mana* of the great river nor would ever be allowed to do so. The reply was short and to the point, to the effect that they would clear a passage for themselves.

The challenge was joyfully accepted, and Te Aoterangi, Tamehana, and other leading chiefs of Ngati-Hau, called on their foes to meet them on the island of Moutoa, in mid channel between the two parties. The preliminaries were settled that evening, the Whanganuis as owners of the soil were to occupy the island during the night with one hundred men only, thus leaving most of their warriors as mere spectators, the Hauhaus were to attack at grey dawn, and were to be allowed to disembark from their canoes before the firing commenced. This chivalrous but astute arrangement was approved by both parties, by the Hauhaus because it seemed all in their favour, and by Ngati-Hau because they had enormously increased the *mana* of their tribe by the arrangement that 100 men should fight the 120. In my "Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand" I have given a brief sketch of this most desperate fight, and therefore I need only say that within fifteen minutes of the firing of the first shot three-fourths of the Hauhaus were dead and some sixty of Ngati-Hau either dead or wounded, but in either case perfectly happy, for the *mana* of the tribe and river had been preserved.

No better instance of tribal *mana* can be adduced than that which occurred at Patea on the South side of Ruapehu. An important meeting had been convened at that place, by the tribes of the district, in order to settle certain boundaries that had long been in dispute, and which if undefined were likely to cause trouble in the near future. As usual in such cases the arguments were not only forcible, but very much to the point. One chief maintained that his title was without flaw, inasmuch as an ancestor of his when injured in certain domestic relations by an ancestor of his opponents had not only slain the offender, but had also made a bird cage of his ribs and backbone and therein had kept a tame parrot as a sign of his *mana*, and had moreover set up this very cage on the land in dispute, and that these terrible insults had never been avenged. He further stated that if the meeting wanted further proof that he would produce it in the form of a message from the other world, that it was known to all that the gods themselves recognised the *mana* of his tribe, forasmuch as whenever they moved out of their village in a body, whether for peace or war, they were

invariably greeted by thunder from the direction of Rangipo. Furthermore he expressed himself willing to abide by this test; he and his people would ride in the direction of Rangipo, and if they were not greeted with the thunder aforesaid, they would surrender their claim to the land, he challenged the opposition to ride with him, and pledged himself that if they had any doubts as to his *mana* the thunder would soon remove them.

To refuse such a test would have been a confession of the weakness of their case; so horses were saddled and the party were ready to set out, when suddenly the clouds—that had been gathering all the morning—broke with a loud peel of thunder, and one of those violent storms so common on this high plateau drove the disputants back to their tents and *whares*. When the storm had passed away, the chief again addressed the assembled tribes and asked if there was anyone so obstinate as to deny his *mana* in that district. To this there was no reply, for no one was so bold as to deny a *mana* that had been already acknowledged by the powers of the outer world.

A tribe may lose its *mana* in a very simple manner, or it may believe that it has lost it, and this I submit will amount to the same thing. Such was the position of the very noble tribe of Ngati-Raukawa, who, up to the date of the death of their renowned chief Hape, had held their own against all comers, but had subsequently been driven from their ancient home at Maungatautari, and were forced to take refuge with Te Rauparaha at Otaki. These misfortunes have been ascribed to the fact that the burial place of the great Hape had been disclosed to his Waikato relatives, who had thereby been enabled to perform a ceremony that ought properly to have been done by his own tribe. This was a terrible blow to Ngati-Raukawa, and for the time being deprived them of the *mana* that was essential to their very existence, and as a natural sequence caused all their subsequent misfortunes, commencing with the battle of Hurimoana and ending with Omakukara, and Roto-a-Tara, where the Nga-Puhi and Kahungunu tribes, under Te Wera and Pareihe, avenged their ancient injuries and defeats at the hands of Ngati-Raukawa.

As a tribe may lose its *mana* so also may individuals, and this position may be brought about in many ways. For instance, we are apt to regard forbearance as a virtue, but the Maori makes no such mistake, for he knows full well that in no possible way can *mana* be more easily lost; even the little Englishman would seem to have a dim conception of the truth of this fact. The Maori regards forbearance as mere weakness of character, and in illustration of this statement I will quote an East coast tradition.

Some thirteen generations past and gone, the chief Kapi-horo-maunga was the sole owner of a rock known as Toka-mapuhia, the chief value of which was that it stood in fairly deep water, and was a convenient



place whereon to stand and catch the fish called *kahawai*. Now this rock was also coveted by his younger brother Tautini, and he in order to establish a right over the rock, took possession of it early one morning and began to catch fish. While thus engaged he was observed by his brother Kapi, who did not at once recognise the intruder, but none the less resolved to kill him whoever he might prove to be. On his way to carry out this very proper resolution he met one of his followers, and asked who it was that dared to fish from the flat surface of Toka-mapuhia. The man replied, "It is your brother Tautini." Then Kapi hesitated, for like all weak men he began to conjure up possibilities, and it occurred to him that perhaps their father Kahu-kuranui has instigated Tautini to take this action in order to deprive Kapi of his *mana*. With this doubt in his mind he went to the old man and ask him whether he had urged his brother to sieze the rock. The reply he received was hardly satisfactory, but it was at least characteristic of the Maori. "As you have not killed your brother, and avenged his trespass and insult, you had better remain here and grow food for him !" Such indeed was the result of Kapi's forbearance, for from that time forth Tautini took the position of elder brother, and governed the tribe, the elder brother having shown that he lacked the decision of character, which would alone enable the tribe to hold its own in troublous times. His duty was quite clear, he should have killed his brother first, and asked his father for information afterwards.

*Mana* plays a leading part in the ability of a leader, or successes in war of celebrated warriors. When a man frequently undertakes daring deeds, which ought under ordinary circumstances to fail, but none the less prove successful, he is said to possess *mana*, and thereafter is regarded as one peculiarly favoured by the gods, and in such cases it is held that he can only be overcome by some act or default; such as a disregard or neglect of some religious or warlike observance, which has been shown by experience to be essential to success in war; but which our warrior spoiled by a long career of good fortune, had come to regard as necessary to ordinary mortals only and of but little consequence to men of *mana*.

Such a man was Te Mau-paraoa, of Te Wairoa, H.B., who by his courage and ability raised himself from an obscure position (it is said that of a slave) to be the fighting chief of the Nga-Puhi confederation under Pomare and Kawiti. So great was the *mana* of this man that he succeeded in escaping from the disaster of Te Rore, where Pomare and 600 men fell under the spears of the Thames and Lower Waikato people. It would be wearisome to relate all of the feats of arms performed by this famous warrior, but his last escapade is too characteristic of the Maori not to be recorded.

When the teaching of the early Missionaries had so far affected the Maoris as to render them averse to the conditions of perpetual war to which they had been accustomed for more than fifty years, Pomare emancipated the slaves that he had taken from the tribes of the East Coast, and gave them permission to return to their homes under the leadership of Te Mau-paraoa. The party numbering in all about 130 set out in five canoes, and en route called at the Great Barrier island where they were kindly received. The instinct for rapine and plunder was however too strong in these ex-slaves to permit of good behaviour on their part; they were unable to divest themselves of the idea that they were members of a Nga-Puhi war party, to whom nothing was sacred. For this reason they failed to reciprocate the courtesy of their hosts, and not only appropriated all the portable property on which they could lay hands, but also began to dig the *kumara* crop. This was more than the descendants of Maru-tuahu could put up with, and a messenger was sent to the mainland of Coromandel to warn Te Horeta Te Taniwha that his people were being trampled on by Ngati-Kahununu. The chief responded promptly and had landed on the island with all of his warriors before Mau-paraoa even knew that he had been summoned. There was now no course open to these wanderers but to fight, and they were not backward in accepting the position; not that they were of a very warlike tribe, for that reputation they have never had, but they trusted implicitly to the undoubted *mana* of their leader, even when pitted against the famous Horeta alias Hook-nose.

The battle was long and for some time doubtful, but in the end the numbers of Ngati-Maru prevailed, and Te Mau-paraoa retired conquered and unpursued to the shelter of the forest, but with only fifteen survivors of his once powerful war party. His canoes had become the spoils of the victors, and escape seemed impossible; but during the night these indomitable men managed to construct what are known as *mokihi*, viz., cigar-shaped rafts of rushes, flax stalks, and drift wood, and on these frail structures crossed the twenty miles of sea dividing the Great from the Little Barrier island, where they managed to exist until a passing whaler rescued and carried them back to the Bay of Islands. Of those who escaped Tutangawaka of Te Whanau-a-Rua was alive in 1894.

It would occasionally happen that a great *toa* or undeniably brave man would be smitten by fear when on the point of engaging in battle, or worse still when actually engaged. This condition of mind is known by the name of *hauhau aitu*, and according to the description given to me by old warriors, the afflicted one would grow cold, tremble like a leaf, and become partly blind. On such occasions the cure was simple, for the malady was caused by the fact that the sufferer had in some way assumed the *mana* of the eldest born or *Ariki* of his family. This

being so he could only recover by submitting himself to that *Ariki*, and therefore the *Ariki* would cause the afflicted one to crawl between his legs, and by this simple expedient would revive the courage of his trembling clansman. The principal recognised in such cases was, that it required an act of subordination to the *Ariki* to revive a courage derived entirely from the *mana* of that man and his gods, the courage having first been lost by some act of bumptiousness on the part of the inferior.

Before proceeding on a warlike expedition, all of the great fighting men of the tribe were required to squat down in line, while their *Ariki* would pass them in succession between his legs, in order to ward off all possible misfortune from these valuable men. An absolute loss of *mana* was the result of an inferior stepping over a superior while the latter slept; I need hardly say that no such action could have taken place had the superior, or in other words the elder branch of the family, been awake. On one occasion only was that great *tohunga* of the Arawa tribe—Te Unuaho—known to fail when calling on the powers of darkness to aid him, and that occasion was when the Nga-Puhi, armed with guns, crossed the Rotorua lake and captured Mokoia, slaying many hundreds of the garrison, and carrying as many more away as captives. Te Unuaho had assured his tribe, that canoes or no canoes, he could prevent the Nga-Puhi from crossing, and it was this assurance that had prevented the tribe from migrating for a time to the mountains of the Urewera country. At the critical moment, when the enemy were seen in their war canoes advancing against Mokoia, Te Unuaho was called upon to perform his promise, that is, raise a storm and swamp the hostile canoes. The *tohunga* did his best, using every form of *karakia* known to him. Once or twice the waters rose, and it seemed that he was about to succeed in his undertaking, but after a little the waves fell and a dead calm prevailed so that men thought that the water spirits of Rotorua had joined the cause of Nga-Puhi in order to destroy their own people. The Arawa claim to have discovered the true reason of this disastrous failure; namely, that on the night before the attack, a son of Te Unuaho having occasion to leave the *whare* in which his father slept, had thoughtlessly stepped over the sacred man, and by so doing had for the time being deprived him of the *mana*, which might otherwise have saved the tribe.

Such is the tale told and believed by the Arawa, but the Nga-Puhi version of this affair differs materially from that of their foes. They contend that the whole thing had resolved itself into a trial of strength between rival *tohungas*. That their man, Kaiteke, had foreseen and provided against the contingency of destruction at the hands of Te Unuaho's storm fiends; and therefore it was that while his friends were crossing the lake, Kaiteke sat on the shore and used every art and

*karakia* known to him to still the waters, and when he found that the spells of Te Unuaho were too powerful and that the waves began to rise in spite of him; he, as a last resource, placed the bones of a celebrated wizard ancestor—brought with him for that purpose—in the water, and from that time the invocations of his rival had no *mana*.

There is a Maori proverb to the effect that women and land have caused all the wars that devastated New Zealand before the arrival of the colonising *pakeha*, and both may have been important factors therein, but they were by no means the only source of trouble. To me it would seem that the chief element of discord was the *mana* of their leading chiefs. No man could be more exacting than a chief of *mana*, and the smallest breach of etiquette, whether intentional or not, was brooded over and sooner or later avenged by some act of violence or insult to the offender, which would in Maori opinion wipe out the original insult. Any man who by design or mere thoughtlessness failed to obey the somewhat exacting code of Maori etiquette, would not only cause bloodshed, but might cause the utter destruction of one of the tribes.

As a minor instance of the touchiness of chiefs, I may quote the behaviour of old Taipari of the Thames towards a visitor. In a previous paper I have mentioned the dislike that any Maori has to be asked his name, and that this dislike was the result of a feeling that people should recognise a great chief without asking his name. On the occasion in question, a chief of the East Coast happened to be at Hauraki and as befitted him called upon Taipari, who was personally unknown to him. He found the old man sitting outside his *whare*, but not knowing who he was, asked, "Where is Taipari?" The old chief was annoyed at not being known, and perhaps at the abruptness of the question, and instantly indicated his slave Netana who was sitting a short distance from them, and said "He is there." Consequent on this direction our chief went up to Netana with much ceremony, rubbed noses, and then entered into amicable conversation with the much puzzled old slave. When the real Taipari thought that his malicious joke had gone far enough, he ended the comedy by calling out, "Netana, let food be prepared for my guest." The visitor thus rudely awakened to a sense of his ridiculous position, made the best of his awkward mistake, for he knew that he had not used the caution required in such cases; but had this little episode only occurred previous to the year 1840, the Ngati-Maru would have anticipated the result of the joke by repairing their *pa*.

A serious case of insulted *mana* occurred about five generations ago in the person of Te Tuhi, brother to that Te Tuata who was the father of Potatau, the first Maori king. Te Tuhi was by virtue of his birth a

chief in many tribes, and as such could visit his relatives whenever the spirit moved him to do so. On one of these occasions while en route to Hauraki, he halted at a small outlying *pa* of the Ngati-Paoa tribe which had been built to protect a very celebrated eel weir (*Tarahearoa*) on one of the outlets of the great Paranui swamp, and one of the principal sources of the food of that district.

Te Tuhi was treated with true Maori hospitality, and regaled with the eels for which the place was so justly celebrated. So far the local chief had acquitted himself creditably, but Te Tuhi noticed that the people of the place had a very large store of dried eels, and conscious of his rank he waited expecting Kaiiri to pay him the compliment of calling out his name and placing the dried eels at his disposal; for it was usual that when a great chief travelled, complimentary presents should be made to him. Such presents were not necessarily taken away, but in this instance the gift was not made, and the neglect was intentional, for Te Tuhi like all of his family, did not bear the best possible reputation, and Kaiiri feared to pay him the usual compliment lest he should take advantage thereof to found a claim on Paranui.

Burning with anger Te Tuhi went on his way to Hauraki, and there related to the Uringahu tribe the treatment he had received. He said "Kill me these Pitoitoti (small birds) at Paranui." Nothing loath to kill their friends, the Uringahu sent a small war party of forty men by way of the Piako river, and, as by this route they had to pass many *pas* of the Ngati-Paoa tribe who would have turned them back had they but known their errand, the war party took the precaution to cover up most of their men with the fronds of the Nikau palm and plumes of the *toetoe* whenever they approached a *pa*. In answering questions as to their business the few men who appeared to paddle the canoe said they were taking *mataitai* (fish, etc.) to Te Tuhi. The ruse succeeded admirably. The forty men landed at Tahuna-tapu, and the canoes returned to Hauraki. Meanwhile the people of the *Tarahearoa pa*, having no reason to anticipate an attack from the Piako side, were easily surprised and the *pa* taken. Kaiiri escaped, but his sister, Paratore, and many men of Ngati-Ringatahi were slain, and the women and children carried off as slaves and kept at the Great Barrier Island, where they were unable to communicate the news of this treacherous attack to their friends. For this reason the Ngati-Paoa were unable to ascertain who it was that had dealt them this blow in the dark; naturally enough Waikato were blamed for it, with the result that from that time forward the two tribes never met without fighting, and the feud only ended after the great battle of Taumata-wiwi, shortly before the arrival of the first European settlers.



## TE HEKENG A KAHU-HUNU.

NA PANGO-TE-WHARE-AUAHI I TUHITUHI.

TE putake i heke ai a Kahu-hunu ki te tai ki runga, i mahuetia iho ai a Te Manga-tawa pa i Tauranga, he tukunga no ta ratou kupenga-ika i te one i Otira. Kaore ano te konae o te kupenga i u mai ki uta, kua rere a Kahu-hunu ki te whawhao ika mana—ara, ki te muru. Ka kitea atu e tona tuakana, e Whaene, kua riro i a ia te ika, ka riri a Whaene, katahi ka hopu ki te ika ka whiua atu ki te matenga o Kahu-hunu; karohia atu e ia, ka taha.

Heoi, ka pouri a Kahu-hunu ki te rawaki a tona tuakana ko tona haerenga tera, noho rawa atu i O-potiki—i reira hoki te tuahine—a Haumanga—e noho ana raua ko tana tane, ko Tuna-nui—te rua o ona ingoa ko Harua-tai.

Ka tae a Kahu-hunu ki reira, ka tangi raua ko te tuahine me te taokete. Ka mutu te tangi, i te ahiahi ka ti mai te taokete—a Harua-tai—ki a ia, “He aha te putake o tenei haere au?” Ka mea atu a Kahu-hunu, “He mate noku i to tana hoa, i a Whaene.” Ka mutu tona korero i nga take i heke atu ai ia, katahi ka mea mai te taokete ki a ia, “A! e pehea ana to whakaaro?” Ka mea atu ia, “Taku whakaaro, me haere taua ki te whawhai.” Whakaae ana a Harua-tai; haere ana raua me to raua iwi ki te whawhai, ka hinga ta raua parekura, ko Te Awhenga te ingoa. Ka riro herehere mai a Ahu-kawa i a raua, ka hoki ki O-potiki.

Te tamaiti a Haumanga raua ko Tuna-nui i rokohina atu ai e Kahu-hunu e noho ana, ko Tu-tamure. Ka mutu tenei riri katahi a Kahu-hunu ka heke, a, noho rawa atu i Whangara, ka moe i nga wahine o tera kainga, a ka korero kino ratou ki a ia. Ka haere te rongo o tenei korero, ka tae ki a Rua-here-tai i Turanga, katahi ka whakaauki mai tera wahine—a Rua-here-tai—koia tenei; “Na te mea ra e aki ana ki runga ki tai o Maihi-rangi, ka taka mai ia ki roto ki te awa i Takapouri, pokopoko noa tona hanga na.” Ka haere te rongo o tenei korero ka tae ki a Kahu-hunu i Whangara, ka taki ia, ka haere mai ki

Turanga, ka kite i a Rua-here-tai, ka moea e Kahu-hunu hei wahine mana. Ka hapu te wahine ra—a Rua-here-tai—katahi ka biakai ki te manu. Katahi te tangata ra ka haere ki te kimi manu hei whakawaitanga mo tana tamaiti. Ka tae ki te ngaherehere ka kitea e ia te rua pi Tieke, i roto i te puta rakau, katahi ka taria e ia nga pi Tieke, mau katoa, ka haria mai ki te kainga, ka tunua ma tana wahine. Katahi ka ngata te hiakai manu o te wahine ra. Kihai i roa kua whanau te tamaiti a te wahine ra, he wahine; tapā tonutia atu te ingoa, ko Rua-here-tieki—ko nga manu tonu i whakawaiutia raia.

Ka mahue tenei wahine, ka taki te tangata, ka haere; noho rawa atu i Whare-ongaonga. Ka kitea e tera wahine, e Hine-puariari, ka moea e Kahu-hunu. No to raua moenga ka puta tenei whakatauki a Hine-puariari, koia tenei: "Taku he ki te hua-tea, no muri au i kite ai i te hua-uri." Kei te paua te kupu a te wahine ra e mau ana; koia nei te whakamaramatanga o enci kupu, kei te paua, te hua-tea ko te hua ma; te hua-uri ko te hua pangopango.

Ka mahue tenei wahine, katahi ka haere, noho rawa atu i Tawa-pata i Nuku-taurua. Ka kite ia i a Tama-taku-tai raua ko tona wahine, ko Rongo-mai-wahine i reira e noho ana. Te mahi a Tama-taku-tai he whakakairo. Ka kite te tangata ra i te pai o te wahine ra, o Rongo-mai-wahine, katahi ka mea atu ki tona iwi, "Te whanau E! he mahi kai te taonga. Tatou ka piki ki te ngaherehere ki te kari aruhe ma tatou." Whakaae ana te nuinga, katahi ka piki ki te ngaherehere. Tae atu, e keria ana; ka pae te aruhe, ka mea atu te tangata ra, "Tikina he aka, kumekumea mai hei te aka-turihunga." Ka mahia mai nga aka, ka pae, ka homai ki te tangata ra; katahi ka whakatakotoria nga rona. Ka rite, katahi ka ruhea te aruhe ki runga, ka nui. Ka mea atu tenei tangata, "Kāti kua nui; ma ia tangata, ma ia tangata, o ana e hari, o ana e hari." Kaore a Kahu-hunu i whakaae. Ka ki te rona, katahi ka kumea nga rona, ka mau; ka whakatakotoria nga kawē, katahi ka hurihia te tirakaraka ki runga i nga kawē, katahi ka herea nga kawē ka mau. Ka noho te tangata ra ki raro, ka puta nga pokohiwi i nga kawē, katahi ka whakaarahia ki runga, ka wahā e Kahu-hunu. Ka tae ki te taumata, ka waiho ki raro tu ai; ka roa ka hurihia kia taka i te pari. I runga ano e taka ana, e motumotuhia ana nga aka herehere. Tana horonga o te aruhe, pae rawa atu i te whatitoka o te whare o tena, o tena. Ka rongo atu te tangata ra, i te kuia, i te wahine, e mea ana, "E! te hunaonga ma tatou, E! tenei ko tenei tangata mangere, he whakairo anake tana i mohio ai."

Ka mutu tena mahi a te tangata ra, i te awatea ka noho i runga i te taumata ka titiro ki te moana, ka kite i te kawau, manu nei, e rukuruku ana. Katahi te tangata ra ka pepepepe, pepepepe tahi, pepepepe rua, pepepepe toru tae noa ki te waru, heoi, ka haere tonu tona manawa. Ka te kau noa ake nga pueatanga o te kawau ra, katahi

te tangata ra ka mea he roa ke atu tona manawa i to te manu ra. Katahi ka mea atu ki tona iwi, "Te whanau E! haere ki te tiki ti." Ka haere tona iwi ki te tiki ti (ara, whanake, te rua o ona ingoa). Ka mahia mai, ka pae. Ka mea atu te tangata ra, "Whiria, kia matariki marie te whiri." Heoi ka whiria, ka pae; ka mea atu te tangata ra "Taia he kawhiu (ara he heki)." Ka taia, ka oti, ka whiria te taura, e hia ranei kumi te roa. Ka mea atu te tangata ra, "Apopo i te ata, me haere katoa tatou ki te one noho ai."

I te ata ka haere katoa ratou ki te one noho ai, te taenga atu, ka mea atu a Kahu-hunu, "Hei konei koutou noho ai, ko au e kau atu ki te toka e mapuhia mai ra i te moana. Ki te kumekume au i te taura nei, kua ki te mea nei i te paua, kumea e koutou." Ka mutu nga tohutohu a te tangata ra, katahi ia ka kau, ka tae ki te toka ra, ka ruku te tangata ra, ka ripi i te paua, ka ki te kawhiu, katahi ka kumekumea e te tangata ra te taura ka kumea e tona iwi te kawhiu ra. Ka u ki uta ka tahuri te tangata ra ki te whakapiripiri i te paua ki a ia. Ka mutu katahi ka kau mai ki uta, ki te tunga o te tangata i te taha o te ahi. Tana horonga o te paua ki raro, ka kohia e tena iwi, e tena iwi. Ka mutu, katahi ka haria te kawhiu ra ki te kainga ka tukua ki te tangata whenua. Ka rongo atu a Kahu-hunu ki te kuia, ki te wahine, e mea ana, "E! te hunaonga ma tatou! Tena ko tenei tangata, he whakairo anake tana e mohio ai, ko te mahi kai mo tona puku, tē pahure, tē aha!" Ka mea atu te tangata ra ki tona iwi, "Ki te kai koutou, ko nga hua katoa maku—ko nga paua ma koutou."

I te ahiahi ka kai te iwi ra, ko nga hua katoa ma Kahu-hunu. I te po ko Kahu-hunu ki te kopa-iti o te whare, ko Tama-taku-tai raua ko Rongo-mai-wahine ki raro i te pihanga; kua rongo atu a Kahu-hunu kua hihi nga ihu o era, ka rere atu te tangata ra kei te hura atu i nga pueru, katahi ka putihitia atu ki roto ki nga pueru o te wahine raua ko te tane. Ka rongo te wahine ra i te haunga, ka maranga ki runga kohete ai. Ko ana kupu kohete enei: "Ko te mangere o tenei tangata ki te mahi kai mana, ko te kaha o te kaki ki te kai!" Ka mea atu te tane, "E hara i a au, E mea! nau ano!" Penei tonu ta raua mahi a, ao noa te ra.

I te awatea ka noho te tangata ra i te taumata; ka kaha te ra ka pa te tokerau (te rua o ona ingoa, o tera hau, he muri). Kihai i roa kua eke a Tama-taku-tai ki runga i te waka, e hoe ana i te whakahekeheke i runga i te tai, ara, ki te whakapupungaru. Tuarua ki waho, ka rere atu a Kahu-hunu ki te tauranga; ka u mai te waka o te tangata ra, ka mea atu a Kahu-hunu, "Ko taua tabi ki runga ki to waka." Ka whakaae mai ana a Tama-taku-tai, ka eke raua ki runga ki to raua waka—ko Kahu-hunu ki te ihu, ko Tama-taku-tai ki te kei. Tuarua ki waho, ka mea atu a Kahu-hunu, "Ko au hoki ki te kei." Ae mai ana a Tama-taku-tai, ka riro ko Kahu-hunu ki te kei. Ka hoe raua ki waho, ka kite



a Tama-taku-tai i te tai nui (? ngaru nui) ka mea atu, "E Tama E! He tai nui tenei!" Ka mea atu a Kahu-hunu, "E hara tenei i te tai nui." A, ka tukua to raua waka kia rere i runga i te tai, ka u ki uta. Ka hoki ano ki waho; ka kite ano tetei i te tai nui, ka mea atu, "E Tama! he tai nui tenei!" Ka mea atu tetei, "E hara tenei i te tai nui." Kihai i roa kua puta mai te tai nui, katahi ka tukua to raua waka, unuhia ana e Kahu-hunu te hoe urunga, tahuri ana to raua waka, ka totohu tetei, mate atu ana a Tama-taku-tai—he rapu hoki ki te kaukau.

Heoi, ka mate a Tama-taku-tai, ka moea a Rongo-mai-wahine e Kahu-hunu. Ka roa raua e moe ana ka mea atu a Kahu-hunu, "Tauā ka haere ki te wai ki te heru i a au." Haere ana raua, ka tae ki te wai e heru ana te wahine ra i te tane. Ka matara te mahunga ka mau ki nga koromutu hinu e popo ana. Ka mutu, ka mea atu te tangata ra, "Koukoutia toku mahunga." Katahi te wahine ra ka mau ki te harakeke—o tera kainga ano—katahi ka herea, ka kumea, ka motu. Ka herea ano, ka kumea ano, ka motu. Katahi te tangata ra ka mea atu ki te wahine, "Homai taku tatua." Ka homai e te wahine te tatua-pupara o te tangata ra, ka tangohia ake te harakeke i roto—no Kawhai-nui hoki, i Kaituna, Maketu. Ka tukua ki te wai ka ngawhari, katahi ka hoatu ki te wahine ra, katahi ka herea ki te mahunga o te tangata ra, ka mau. Katahi ano te tangata ra ka maranga ki runga tu ai, ka titiro whakraro ki te aorere i te wa ki tona matua, katahi ano ka whakatauki, koia tenei: "Tenei te putiki wharanui o Tamatea i mahue atu ra i Tauranga." Katahi ano te iwi ra ka mohio ko te potiki tenei a Tamatea, ko Kahu-hunu.

Na! ka tuturu ta raua moe ko Rongomai-wahine; kihai i roa kua hapu te wahine. Ka haere te rongo o te haputanga o te wahine ra, ka tae ki a Tamatea i Tauranga; katahi te tangata ra ka whakaemi i te kakahu hei haerenga mona ki te whakataki i tona potiki, i a Kahu-hunu. Ka pau nga taonga te emiemi katahi ano a Tamatea ka haere, ka tae ki O-potiki ka ahu ma roto o te awa o Wai-o-eka; ka tae ki waenganui o taua awa ka waiho i reira tona manu, he karoro taua manu—kua kohatutia taua manu i naiane, e noho mai nei i reira. Katahi te tangata ra ka haere ka tae ki Moumou-kai; te taenga atu ki reira kua tae mai te rongo o te tamaiti ra kua whanau, he wahine. Ka pouri a Tamatea; ka whakarerea noatia iho nga taonga ra ki reira, ka ahu ia ki Te Wairoa, a Mohaka, a Whanganui-a-Rotu. Ka tae te rongo o te riringa o Tamatea ki a Kahu-hunu i Tawapata, me te rauiritanga noatanga iho o nga taonga o tona matua, ka tapā e Kahu-hunu hei ingoa mo tona potiki, ko Hine-rauri. Kaore i tu te whare-kohanga mo tenei tamaiti—no muri i tenei, i a Kahu-kura-nui, katahi ano ka tu te whare kohanga.

- Ko nga tamariki a Kahu-hunu raua ko Rongomai-wahine i muri, ko Rongo-mai-papa, ko Tamatea-kota, ko Tamatea-kuku ko Tamatea-torohanga, ko Weka-nui, ko Tauhei-kuri—ka mutu.
- Te wahine tuatahi a Kahu-kura-nui ko Rua-tapu-wahine; a raua tamariki enei: Ko Rongo-mai-tara (*he wahine*), ko Rakai-hiku-roa (*he tane*), ko Rakai-nui (*he tane*).
- Te wahine tuarua a Kahu-kura-nui, ko Tu-te-ihonga; a raua tamariki, ko Hine-manuhiri (*he wahine*), ko Rakai-paka (*he tane*).
- Ko Rakai-hiku-roa, tana wahine tuatahi, ko Papa-uma; a raua tamariki, ko Hine-pane (*w*), Taraia (*t*), Tawhao (*t*), Rangi-tawhao (*t*).
- Ko Rakai-hiku-roa, tana wahine tuarua, ko Rua-rau-hanga; ta raua tamaiti, ko Tu-purupuru.
- Ko Rongo-mai-tara, tana tane ko Kahu-tapere-a-whatonga; a raua tamariki enei: ko Tara-ki-utu (*t*), ko Tara-ki-tai (*t*), he mahanga raua.
- Ko Rongo-mai-tara, tana tane tuarua, ko Haere-a-tautu, ta raua tamaiti ko Te Ao-nui.
- Ko Rakai-nui, tana wahine ko Pou-whare-kura; ta raua tamaiti ko Te Rua-tapui.
- Ko Hine-manuhiri, tana tane ko Pu-karu; puta mai a raua tamariki ko Tama-te-rangi (*t*), ko Makono (*t*), ko Hinganga (*t*), ko Pare-roa (*t*), ko Pupuni (*t*).
- Ko Rakai-paka, ka moe i a Turu-makina, kia puta ki waho, ko Whakapirikura (*he wahine*, kaore i tu te whare-kohanga) ko Kau-kohea (*t*) (ka tu te whare) ko Rakai-raumea (*w*), ko Mahakipare (*w*), ko Maro-tauia (*w*), ko Ure-wera (*t*), ko Pokia (*t*), ko Puke (*t*), ko Rawaru (*t*).
- Ko Rongomai-papa, tana tane tuatahi, ko Rua-pani, kia puta ko Tu-maroro (*t*), Rua-rau-hanga (*w*), Rua-tapu-nui (*t*), me etehi atu.
- Ko Rongomai-papa, tana tane tuarua, ko Tuhou-rangi; kia puta ko Manu-hanga-roa (*w*), Te Ao-wheoro (*w*), Rangi-whakairi-ao (*t*) ko Hapu-riri (*w*), ko Ue-nuku-kopako (*t*).

#### KO MAUNGA-A-KAHIA.

I te mea kua koroheketa a Kahu-hunu, kua pakeke katoa ana tamariki—a Kahu-kura-nui, ratou ko ona tenia, tuahine hoki—ka mahia to ratou pa, te ingoa, ko Maunga-a-kahia—kei Kahu-tara i Nuku-taurua taua pa e tu ana.

Na! i te wa i wehe ai a Kahu-hunu raua ko Tuna-nui, ko Tuna-nui he rangatira whakahaere taua. Tona mahi he haere ki te whawhai ki etehi iwi. Na, i te wa ka haere ia ki era atu wahi ka mahue iho tana wahine, a Houmanga raua ko tona mokai, ko Ahu-kawa i te pa. Te moenga o te mokai nei i te kopaiti o te whare, ko Houmanga ki te taha

i te pihanga. Heoi, i teteahi po, kua he te wahine nei ki tana mokai, na te wahine ano te hiahia. Ko ta raua mahi tena a tae noa ki te wa i hoki mai ai a Tuna-nui.

I te taenga mai o te tangata ra, o Tuna-nui (te rua nei o ona ingoa ko Harua-tai) i te ahiahi, ka moe raua ko Houmanga, ka awhi atu te tangata ra ki te wahine ra, ka mea mea te wahine, "E mate ana ahau." Ka ui atu te tane, "He aha to mate?" Ka mea mai te wahine ra, "He tamaiti taku mate." Ka ui atu te tangata ra, "Nawai?" Ka tatau atu ki nga rangatira i mahue iho hei tiaki i te pa. Poto noa te tatau, kaore ra te wahine i whakaae. Katahi te tangata ra ka mea atu, "Na ta taua mokai tonu?" Ka mea mai te wahine ra "Ae!" Ka mea atu te tangata ra, "Nau? Nana ranei?" Ka mea atu te wahine ra, "Naku! He mate noku." Ka mea atu te tangata ra, "E pai ana. Mehemea nana, mo te ata me tahu ki te hāngi mo ta taua kai, ki te whatitoka nei i te ata. Ko tenei, nau, e pai ana. Kati me taipu noa atu au i konei."

Kihai i roa kua whanau te tamaiti he tane. Ka tapā te ingoa ko Tama-taipu-noa, ko te ingoa o Harua-tai.

Na! ka tupu te tamaiti nei, a, pakeke noa. Kua pakeke hoki tona tuakana, a Tu-tamure. Ka pakeke rawa raua ka mohio ki te hapai patu, ka riro te mahi a to raua matua—a Tunanui—i a raua.

Na! katahi ka whakatika te ope a nga tangata nei; haere ake e rua rau ma whitu. Katahi ka haere, ka tae ki tena pa, ka whawhaitia e raua, ka horo. Penei tonu ta raua mahi, a, ka tae ki Maunga-a-kahia, katahi ka whawhaitia e raua. Na, ka riri raua me nga tama a Kahu-hunu. Nawai i waho, i waho, e hara! ka tapoko nga tangata nei ki roto o te tata o te pa. Katahi ka unga atu e Kahu-hunu tana potiki—a Tauhei-kuri kia haere ki te titiro i te riri a nga tangata ra. Tae rawa atu te wahine ra kua pakaru te meremere maire no te whiunga atu ki te taiepa hei tapahi i te aka hohou o te pa. Pakaru ana te meremere ra ka rangono iho e te wahine ra e whakatau ki ana, koia tenei: "Taua i te uha, taua i te ake; mei tikina pea ki te ika pipiha nui a Tangaroa, mau ana te wawara ki runga o Maunga-a-kahia."—(Enei kupu, "taua i te uha," he maire tera; "taua i te ake," he ake rautangi tera; "te ika pipiha-nui a Tangaroa," he kauae paraoa tera).

Ka rongo iho te wahine ra i te whakataukitanga a teteahi o nga tangata ra, ka hoki te kohine ra ki te korero atu ki a Kahu-hunu. Tae atu, ka korero atu, "E Koro E! ka horo te pa nei!" Ka korero atu i te whakatau ki ra. Ka mutu, ka mea mai te koroua ra, "E hoki ano, uia iho e koe, kowai te uru o tenei ope." Ka hoki ano a Tauhei-kuri, ka tae ano ki runga ake o nga tangata ra, katahi ka mea iho, "Nga tangata nei! Taihoa e riri, tena ano korua e riri. He ui iho ki a korua, kowai te uru o tenei ope?" (Tenei kupu, "uru," he mahunga; te maoritanga o tenei kupu, he rangatira). Na! katahi ka peke teteahi o

nga tangata ki waho o te tata o te pa, ka titiro ki te moana, katahi ano ka whakatauki, koia tenei: "Kaore koe i rongo, 'angiangi te muri whakaruā, tutū te ngaru o te moana, ka tere te ihu-puku!' Ko au tenei, ko Tu-tamure!"

Ka hoki te kohine ra ki te korero atu ki a Kahu-hunu, ka mea atu, "E Koro E! Ko Tu-tamure E, te tangata nei!" Ka mea atu te koroua ra, "E! ko to tungane! Haere! Kiia atu, kati te whawhai." Ka hoki ano te kohine ra, ka tae; ka mea atu ki nga tangata ra, "Kati te whawhai! Kaore ranei e rongo te ope nei i a koe?" Katahi te tangata ra ka peke, kotahi ano patunga ki tetei taha, ki tetei taha; kua mutu te whawhai. Kua hoki te ope ki waho o te pa noho ai. Ka hoki mai a Tauhei-kuri ki a Kahu-hunu, ka mea atu, "E Koro E! Kua mutu te whawhai; kua hoki te ope nei ki waho noho ai." Katahi te koroua ra ka mea atu ki te potiki, "E Ko! kaore koe e whakaae ki to tungane hei tane mau?" Ka whakaae mai te potiki.

Katahi te koroua ra ka tahuri ki te hakari i te potiki; ka pai, katahi ka tukua kia haere ki te taua. Ka tae ki te puni o te taua, ka mea atu te kohine ra, "Kei whea ra te puni i a Tu-tamure?" Ka mea mai te taua, "Inana! inana!" Ka tahi ka haere atu te kohine ra; rokohanga atu e noho ana raua ko tona teina, ko Tama-taipu-noa. Katahi te kohine ra, ka hinga ki runga i te teina, ka matakū te teina, ka pana ano ki runga i te tuakana. Tuarua ki runga i tetei, i tetei; katahi a Tu-tamure ka haere, ka tae ki runga i te haupapa kohatu, ka kite i te wai e tere ana i runga i te haupapa; katahi ka whakaata ki te wai, ka titiro ki a ia. Ka mea i roto i tona ngakau, "E! he kino ano noku!" Ka hoki te tangata ra ki te puni, ka tae, ka mea atu ki te teina, "Moea ta taua wahine!"

Heoi, ka moea e Tama-taipu-noa a Tauhei-kuri, ka tuturu ta raua wahine ki tona teina, a, hoki atu ana ki to raua na kainga ki O-potiki; ki to raua na papa me to raua na whaea—me Tuna-nui, me Haumanga.

Kihai i roa, kua hapu te wahine ra; a, muri iho ka whanau ana tamariki, ko Tawhiwhi. muri iho ko Mahaki, e kiia nei i Turanga, ko te Aitanga-a-Mahaki.

#### TU-TE-IHONGA.

Ko tenei wahine, ko Tu-te-ihonga, he pouaru na Tu-pouri-ao. He riringa no Tu-pouri-ao me tona iwi ki a Te Poranga-hau me tona iwi, ka mate a Tu-pouri-ao ia a Te Poranga-hau. Ka noho pouaru a Tu-te-ihonga.

Ka haere mai te rongo o te matenga o Tu-pouri-ao, me te rongo hoki o te pai o Tu-te-ihonga ki a Kahu-kura-nui, katahi ia ka haere, me tona iwi, a, ka tae atu ki te pa o te wahine ra. I te ahiahi, ka tae atu te tangata ra ki te tara o te wahine ra, patoto ai. . . . . Ka rongo ake te wahine ra, katahi ka mihi ake, ko ana kupu mihi enei, "E! mehemea ko nga mahi a nga tane kua mate atu ra ki te Po!" Ka

rongo iho te tangata ra i nga kupu mihi a te wahine ra, katahi ia ka tomo atu ki te whare, me te ui mai a te wahine, "He aha tau?" Katahi te tangata ra ka mea atu "I haere mai au kia moe taua." Ka mea atu te wahine ra, "Kaore au e pai. Kia ea ra pea te mate o taku tane i a koe katahi au ka pai." Ka ui atu te tangata, "He aha nga tohu o te tangata nana i patu to tane?" Ka whakahokia mai e te wahine, "Kaore e ngaro. Ki te puta atu te taua ki waho o te pa, ko ia tonu kua puta mai tu mai ai; he kakahu-kura te kakahu, he taiaha-kura te rakau, he to te hapai o te rakau, ko Te Poranga-hau tena, ko ia tonu kei mua e haere ana mai o mua o nga tohu." Ka mutu nga tohutohu a te wahine ra, puta tonu at a Kahu-kura-nui ki waho o te whare.

I te ata, ka mutu te kai, ka whakatika te taua a te iwi ra, haere ake kotahi rau ma whitu, ka haere, a, ka tae, a, ka tata ki te pa, ara, ki Poranga-hau. Ka kitea e te tangata whenua ka pa te karanga, "Ko te whakaariki! ko te whakaariki E!" (tetei tikanga o tenei karanga, "He taua e!) Kihai i roa kua puta te tangata ra ki waho o te pa tu mai ai; he kakahu-kura te kakahu, he taiaha-kura te rakau, he to te hapai o te rakau. Kahai i roa te tukunga mai kua tae rawa mai ki mua o nga tohu a te taua ra, a, kihai hoki i roa kua hinga te tangata. Tiua atu, tiua mai, kua hinga ano te tangata, tokorua i hinga ai. E hara! kua whati mai te taua ra, ana ka whati mai, whati mai, ka eke ki runga ki a Kahu-kura-nui. Whakahoki noa, whakahoki noa, a Kahu-kura-nui, tē hoki. Na te mea ano ka matara e mau a Kahu-kura-nui, ka kitea hoki e Te Poranga-hau; ana haere ana tetei, haere ana tetei. Ka tutata raua, kei runga te rau o te taiaha a Kahu-kura-nui, kei raro tonu te rau o te taiaha a Te Poranga-hau. Tata rawa, kua rewa te rau o te taiaha a Te Poranga-hau ki runga, kua hoki te rau o te taiaha a Kahu-kura-nui ki raro, kuhuna tonutia atu ki roto ki nga kuha a Te Poranga-hau. E hara! kua hinga a Te Poranga-hau. Heoi ano, kua whati tona iwi.

Heoi ano, ka patua haeretai, a, horo atu te pa, a Poranga-hau. Katahi ka arahina oratia mai a Te Poranga-hau e Kahu-kura-nui, a ka tae mai ki te pa, ka hoatu ki a Tu-te-ihonga. Katahi ka patua e te wahine ra.

Heoi, ka pakaru te whare-taua o te wahine ra, ka tuturu ma Kahu-kura-nui a Tu-te-ihonga hei wahine mana.

Na! mate rawa ake a Tu-pouri-ao i a Te Poranga-hau, riro rawa ake nei a Tu-te-ihonga i a Kahu-kura-nui, kua whanau ta raua tamaiti, te ingoa ko Rumakina; ana putanga ko:—

Kearoa	Tuaka
Tu-rauwaha	Mahina-a-rangi
Rakai-te-kura	Raukawa
{ Hine-i-ao (w)	{ Rereahu (t)
{ Tuaka (t)	{ Whakatere (t)
{ Kehu (t)	{ Takihihi (t)

## TE MATENGA O TU-PURUPURU.

Te putake i mate ai a Tu-purupuru he hae no tona ngakau ki ona tuakana, ki nga mahanga a Rongo-mai-tara raua ko Kahu-tapere-a-Whatonga, ki a Tara-ki-uta raua ko Tara-ki-tai. No te mea ko ia te tino rangatira o Turanga—ko ia anake, kaore tetehi atu i runga i a ia, ko ia te tino rangatira mana nui rawa. Ina hoki: Ki te poua tona tokotoko i runga i tetehi taumata, ka haere nga mano katoa o Turanga ki te whiu i te kai ki te tokotoko ra. Ki te waiho tona tatus i runga i tetehi taumata, ka haere katoa nga mano tangata o Turanga ki te whiu i te kai ki te tatua, ara, no reira hoki tenei whakatauki: “Ko te mana koe o Tu-purupuru, a Rakai-hiku-roa.”

Na! i te mea kua kite te tangata ra i nga mahanga ra, kua pakeke ka poui tona ngakau; ka mea ia, tena e nuku noa atu te mana o nga mahanga ra i tona, tena e riro te mana o Turanga katoa i a raua ra, te mana o te whenua, te mana o te iwi katoa. Katahi ia ka whakaaro me aha ra e mate ai nga mahanga ra i a ia.

Te mahi a nga iwi o Turanga i tetehi wa, he ta potaka. Na, ka tae ki te wa e hiahia ai nga iwi o Turanga ki te ta potaka, te mahi a nga mahanga ra i nga ata katoa he moata ki te haere ki te marae taanga potaka; ia ata ia ata. Katahi a Tu-purupuru ka mohio ka mate i a ia nga mahanga ra. Katahi ka taraiia nga potaka a te tangata ra, he potaka tikitiki (he wherorua tetehi ingoa) ka oti, i rite tonu te hanga o nga potaka raka ki nga mahanga ra; ina hoki he take tonu a runga, he take tonu a raro; ki te whakatungia a runga ka tu ano, na, he mahanga te ahua o aua potaka. I te ata po ka haere te tangata ra me ona potaka ki te marae-taanga potaka. Kihai i roa kua tae atu nga mahanga ra ki reira; katahi ra ka whakatungia e te tangata ra ona potaka; ka tu, katahi ano ra ka taia haeretia. Ka kite nga mahanga ra katahi ka whai haere i te tangata ra ratou ko ona potaka. Ka taia haeretia e te tangata ra ka tata ki te taha o te rua, kua kitea ra e ia taua rua i tetehi wa. Ka tae te tangata ra me ona potaka me a nga tamariki ra hoki ki te taha o te rua, katahi ka taia nga potaka raka e te tangata ki roto i te rua ra. Katahi ka karanga atu ki nga tamariki ra, “E rere ki roto ki te rua nei, ki te tiki i a korua na potaka.” Katahi ka rere nga tamariki ra ki roto, ka tokorua, tokorua atu ano i rere ai ki roto; katahi ka tutakina iho te rua ra e Tu-purupuru. E hara! Kua mate nga tamariki ra ki roto; oti iho.

Ka hoki a Tu-purupuru ki tona pa, hoki atu ano kei te tarai i ona manuka hei tokotoko māna; ka oti katahi ka tapā nga ingoa o nga rakau a te tangata ra, ko “Nga toa katoa a Rakai-paka.” Kua mohio noa atu hoki ia tena ia e whawhaitia mo tana kohuru.

Na! Ka ngaro nga tamariki ra, i te ata a, awatea noa, maoa noa te kai o te ata. Katahi a Kahu-tapere ka haere ki te ui haere i ona tamariki i tena kainga, i tena kainga, kaore e kitea. Katahi ka haere

ki te pa o Rakai-hiku-roa, ui rawa atu ; ki ana mai nga tangata o reira, kaore ratou i kite. Heoi, ka pouri noa iho te tangata ki ona tamariki ; ka hoki ki tona pa tangi ai ki a raua. A, katahi ka whakaarohia he tikanga ; ka kitea, katahi ka whatua nga manutara e rua. Ka oti, ka tapā nga ingoa ko "Tara-ki-uta, ko Tara-ki-tai." Ka whakaemia nga tohunga hei tukutuku, ara, hei karakia. Ka emi katahi ka whakaangitia nga manu ra ; ka rere katahi ka karakia nga tohunga, katahi ano ka rere nga manu ra, aua tonu ake, katahi ano ka tiu ki runga ki te pa o Rakai-hiku-roa. Ka eke ki runga, ka whakahakahaka iho nga manu ra, ka piki ano whakarunga nga manu ra, aua tonu ake, ka tiu ano ki runga ki te pa, ara, e rua pikinga o nga manu ra ki runga, e rua hokinga ki runga i te pa. Heoi ano, e pokaia ana nga taura, kua mohio-tia na nga tangata o te pa, ara, i patu nga tamariki ra.

Katahi ka whakatika te taua a Kahu-tapere raua ko Rakai-paka ka haere ki te whawhai i a Rakai-hiku-roa ratou ko ana tama. Katahi ka ngaua te pa o Rakai-hiku-roa ; ko Tu-purupuru i te kuaha tonu o te pa e nobo ana me ana manuka i taraia ra. Kua puta tenei toa, a Rakai-paka, hopu tonu a Tu-purupuru ki te manuka i mahia ra mo tera, ka werohia atu. E hara ! kua tu tera toa. Ka puta ano tetahi, ka hopu ano ki te manuka i whakaritea mo tera, ka werohia atu. E hara ! kua hinga tera. Pena tonu, pena tonu. A muri rawa a Whakarau ; te putanga āna, kua hopu te tangata ra ki tona manuka i whakaritea mo tera, katahi ka werohia atu. Patua tonutia atu e Whakarau. E hara ! kua taha. Ka werohia atu e Whakatau. E hara ! kua tu. Ka peke e Kahu-tauranga, ka mea, "Tangata a te ringa mau !" Katahi ka whakatauki atu e Whakarau, koia tenei :—"Waiho ! waiho ! kia kahakihaki te ika o te aho a Hine-tapua-rau"—a tona whaea. Na ! ka mate a Tu-purupuru.

Katahi ka amohia mai, takoto rawa mai i te puni o Rakai-paka ; katahi ka whiria nga taura, ka oti, ka tikina te kahika, ka tuaina mai, katahi ka toia mai. Ka tae mai ki te puni ka herea nga taura ki runga katahi ka whakaarahia te rakau ra ki runga tu ai, ka herea nga waewae o Tu-purupuru ki nga taura raka, ka kumea ki runga, ka piupiuā kia rere ki runga i te pa o Rakai-hiku-roa. Ka tae ki runga i te pa ka tangi ake te koroua raka, na te mea ano ka ngau kino i roto i te koroheke ra te mamae ki tona potiki. Katahi ka tomo ki roto ki te whare ka tae ki nga kakahu me nga kohatu e rua, ka ki atu ki te ruahine, "E kui e ! taua ka haere hei wharikiriki mo ta taua tamaiti." Whakaae ana te ruahine ra, haere ana raua, ka puta ki waho o te pa ka haere, ka tata atu ki te puni o Rakai-paka ra, ka kitea mai e nga tamariki, katahi ka karanga atu ratou ki a Rakai-paka. "E Koro E ! Ko Paua e haere mai nei !" Mohio tonu atu a Rakai-paka, ko tona tuakana,

mona anake tena kupu e kiia mai ra e nga tamariki—a “Paua,” no te mea mo te rangatira anake tera kupu—ara, mo Rakai-hiku-roa, mo tona tuakana. Ka wehi a Rakai-paka; ka mea atu ki nga tamariki, “Paia atu! paia atu! Kei ahu mai ki konei to koutou papa.” Ka ki atu nga tamariki, “Ina tonu ra e haere mai nei na.” Katahi ka mea atu te koroheke ra, “Kāti! Hurahia atu; tukua mai to koutou papa.” Tae mai ano, e tangi ana raua ko te taina. Ka mutu, ka tae te koroheke ra ki nga kakahu me nga kohatu, ka hoatu ki te taina, me te ki atu ki a ia, “Ko nga rautao ena mo ta taua tamaiti, ko nga kohatu ano tera hei tao. Taku kupu ki a koe, tukua mai tetei o nga mokai nei hei wharikiriki mo ta taua tamaiti; mo taua kia noho tahi ai i to taua kainga i Turanga.” Katahi ka utua atu e Rakai-paka. “Kaore ra e taea te whakahoki o te pahi-taua.” Na! e mau nei tena whakatauki i ona uri. E mea ana, e kore ra e taea te whakaiti o te pahi-taua a Rakai-paka. Na ka mea atu a Rakai-hiku-roa, “Mahara nei au, me aroha mai koe ki au mo taua kia noho tahi ai i te riu o to taua kainga, o Turanga. Ko tenei, kāti! Waiho maku e haere ki te Pu-o-Rangitoto whakarongo mai ai. E kore pea koe e angia e te hau i muri i a au.”

Heoi! Hoki ana a te koroheke, a Rakai-hiku-roa, raua ko te ruahine ki to raua na pa.

#### TE HEKENG A RAKAI-HIKU-ROA.

Nga putake i heke ai a Rakai-hiku-roa, ratou ko ana tama, me tana mokopuna, me Te Rangi-tuehu, tama a Tu-purupuru—no te mea, mate rawa ake nei a Tu-purupuru, kua pakeke ano a Te Rangi-tuehu tona tamaiti—Tuatahi: Ko te matenga o tana tamaiti, o Tu-purupuru. Tua rua: Ko te korenga o tona taina e whakaae mai kia patua tetei o ana toa hei wharikiriki mo te umu o ta raua tamaiti. Mohio ana ia, kaore tona taina e aroha ana ki a ia, e aroha ke ana ki to raua tuahine, ki a Rongo-mai-tara—ki te whaea o nga mahanga ra. No reira ra hoki i whakatauki atu ra a Rakai-hiku-roa ki te tama, “Mahara au, me aroha mai koe ki au mo taua kia noho tahi ai taua ki te riu o ta taua kainga o Turanga.”

Heoi ano, ko te hekenga o Rakai-hiku-roa ratou ko ana tama me tona mokopuna, me tona hapu katoa. Haere ake, hoko-whitu, na, noho rawa atu i Nuku-taurau. Ka tae ki reira ka kite i te waka e hoe ana i te moana, katahi ka ui atu i uta, “No wai tera waka e haere i waho?” Katahi tera ka karanga mai, “Ko au! ko au!” Ka karanga atu tenei i uta nei, “Ko koe, ko wai?” “Ko au! ko au! Ko Kahu-pa-roro!” Ka karanga atu tenei i uta nei, “E Kahu e! Haere! Haere, e tae koe ki Turanga, kei whai mai ta taua tamaiti i a koe; waiho atu i Turanga.



Kia hae tona wairua, hae ki roto o Turanga." Ka mea mai a Kahu-paroro, "Nana tana kai, ka mea noa atu ai tenei." Heoi ano, hoe ana a Kahu-paroro, ka noho te heke ra i reira.

Kihai i roa e ngaro atu ana a Kahu-paroro, kua hoki mai. Roko-hanga mai ano te heke ra e noho ana ano i reira; tae mai ano, e tā ana i te matau, ka mutu, katahi ka mea atu ki te heke ra, "Mo a teteahi ra maku te ohu kari aruhe; kia hoe au ki te moana ki te hi ika ma te ohu, mo apopo ka hoe ai au ki te moana." Whakaae ana te heke ra.

I te ata ka hoe te iwi ra ki te moana, ka eke hoki teteahi tangata o te heke ra ki runga i te waka o te tangata ra. Katahi ka hoe te waka ra, ka eke ki runga i te toka, ka tukua te puna, e whiu ana i te matau o teteahi taha, o teteahi taha. No muri ka maunatia te matau a te tangata ra, a Kahu-paroro, katahi ka whiua ki te wai, katahi ano te tangata ra ka takutaku, koia tenei:—

Titaha! Titaha! i o Titahatanga  
I wai Tawake,  
E mau ki to Taiaha-kura.

Heoi ano. Ka rongo atu te tangata o te heke ra i runga i te waka ra, mohio ia, ko nga iwi o Tu-purupuru tera. Katahi ka whakamate-mate i a ia, ka mea, "Aue! aue! ka hemo au. Kia tere te hoe i au ki uta." Heoi ra, ka manawapa te iwi ra ki te tangata ra, katahi ka hutia te puna o te waka ra, ka hoe ki uta. Ka u, waiho atu te tangata ra i te one ka hoe ano te waka ra ki te hi. I muri ano o te hoenga o te waka ra ka ngoi-haere te tangata ra, ka tae ki te puni, ki a Rakai-hikuroa, tae atu ano ka korero ki a Rakai-hikuroa, ka mea atu. "E koro e! Ko Hika kei runga i te waka ra." Ka rongo te koroheke ra katahi ka whakatakoto ritenga māna; ka oti.

I te ata katahi ano ka tungia te ohu kari aruhe a Kahu-paroro, hoko whitu ona iwi, hoko whitu o Rakai-hikuroa. Katahi raua ka haere a, ka tae ki te wahi hei keringa ma raua. Ko te iwi a Kahu-paroro ki te koko, te iwi o Rakai-hikuroa ki te āku i te pei o te aruhe. Ka roa, ka riro hoki ko te iwi o Rakai-hikuroa ki te hapai i te ko, ka riro hoki ko te iwi o Kahu-paroro ki te āku i te pei o te aruke. Ka roa e ko ana, katahi ano ka whakahuatia te "tapatapakuan," koia tenei:—

Ko peka runga, ko peka raro,  
Tenei koia ka werohia.

Katahi ano ka werohia, ana hokowhitu; hokowhitu hoki tera e āku ra i te pei, Ana! mate katoa—ka rere ko Rakai-weriweri. Ka taona tera patunga, ka kainga. Ka pau.

Katahi ka haere ano te heke ra, a, Nuhaka. Ka whawhaitia ena iwi ka mate. Ka rere ano a Rakai-weriweri. • Ka haere ano te heke ra a, Te Wairoa; ka whawhaitia ano nga iwi o reira, ka mate—ka rere ano a

Rakai-weriweri. Ko te heke nei kei runga i te waka e hoe haere ana, na ka mate nga tangata o Te Wairoa, ka rere ano a Rakai-weriweri. Ka hoe ano te heke ra, a Mohaka, Waikare, Moeangiāngi, Aropawa-nui. Ka takoto ki te taha rawhiti o te ngutu-awa o Aropawa-nui ka kitea ake te tangata ra e tu iho ana. Koukoutia te rae, tia rawa ki te huia, ki te kotuku. Na! e tu iho ana i te kiritai o te pa—o Te Puku-o-te-wheke te ingoa—Ka kitea ake e Taraia, katahi ka hoia ake te kohatu, katahi ka tipia ake, ara, ka whiua ake. Tahi tonu ki te koukou, E hara! kua motu.

Katahi ka hoe te heke ra, ka tae ki te ngutu-awa o Aro-pawa-nui, ka whakaungia ki uta, Ana! kua riri raua ko te tangata-whenua. Te whana a tetei, te whana a tetei, E hara! kua whati te heke ra; Ana! kua kau ki te moana. Katahi ka aue mai te tamahine a Rakai-hiku-roa—a Hine-pare—i runga i te kohatu i te moana. Ko ana kupu aue enei, “Waiā o nga tane; akuanei te hanga kino o tenei wahine mata-kitakina ai e era tane!” Katahi ka akina te taha ki runga ki te kohatu—tana pakarutanga, pohehe ana nga tungane he angaanga tangata e pakaru ana i te patu. Tana hokinga o Taraia, o Tawhao, o ta ratou tama o Te Rangi-tuehu, E hara! kua whati te tangata-whenua; katahi ka patua haeretia, a, haere ana te whati ki roto o te awa o Aropawa-nui; ahu rawa ki roto, kua huaki mai te ara a Tangi-aki, a te tamaiti a Tikorau (taina o Rakai-hiku-roa), ma uta mai te ara o tera ope. Te ingoa o tenei parekura ko Wai-koau.

Na! ka mate a Rakai-weriweri me era iwi, ka mau herehere tetei tangata, ko Te Whanga-nui-a-Rotu. Ka uia e te heke ra te ahua o te whenua katoa e takoto mai nei i mua i a ratou. Katahi ka korero te herehere ra, “Ko Te Whanga-nui-a-Rotu te tino kainga e takoto mai nei i mua i a koutou—he pipi, he kuku, he aha, nga kai o reira.” Ka taunahatia e Tawhao, ka mea, “Waiho, ko taku māra tera!” Ka hapa a Taraia, te tangata nana te herehere. I te po ka ui atu a Taraia ki tona mokai, “Kahore hoki ranei he wahi momona i tetei wahi atu o te whenua e takoto mai nei?” Ka ki mai tona mokai, “He momona ano, kei te putanga o Tukituki raua ko Ngaru-roro ki te moana—he puna kahawai tera.

I te ata ka maunu te heke ra, ka hoe, ka puta ki te moana, ka ui atu a Taraia ki tona mokai, “Kei whea te mea i korero ra koe?” Ka mea atu te mokai “Kei tua o te matarae e ma mai ra.” Ka mea atu a Taraia, “Me tapahi tonu to tatou waka ki reira.” Heoi ano, ka tarewa tonu te waka o Taraia i te au o te moana, ka tapahi tonu ki Hukarere, ka tae ki taua matarae, ka tukua taua oko, ara, tona ipu; tae rawa atu ki uta e takoto ana mai te ipu ra, tapā tonutia atu te ingoa mo taua wahi ko “Te Ipu a Taraia,” a, e mau nei, e mau nei.

Na! ka noho nei a Rakai-hiku-roa me tana whanau me tona mokopuna, me Te Rangi-tuehu ki Heretaunga. A, ka moe a Te Rangi-tuehu i a Rakai-te-kura; ana ko Hine-i-ao; ko Tuaka, ko Kehu.

Ko Tamatea

Kahu-hunu = Rongo-mai-wahine

Kahu-kura-nui

Rakai-hiku-roa

Tu-purupuru

Te Rangi-tuehu

Tuaka

Mahina-a-rangi

Raukawa

Rereahu

Te Ihi-nga-rangi

Kuri

Te Rua-kirikiri

Mahau-rangi

Rere-whakaonga

Tama-mate

Mata-rae

Hine-manu

Whari-unga

Tu-puku

Pango-te-whare-auahi <sup>1</sup>

Te Ipu-whakatara

Arataki

Pango-te-whare-auahi <sup>2</sup>

## THE MIGRATION OF KAHU-HUNU.

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 TRANSLATED BY S. PERCY SMITH.
 

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AT page 154 (note) Vol. XIII of this JOURNAL, it is stated that a fuller account of the causes leading up to the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu migration from Poverty Bay to Hawkes Bay and Wai-rarapa would be given later on. That account now follows, as written by an old man of Te Arawa tribe, who died about five or six years ago. It would have been a *pokanoa* (unwarrantable proceeding) on his part to write any of the history of a different tribe to his own, were he not descended from some of those who took part in the migration related in the following pages. But to prove his right to do so, he furnishes in his MSS. many genealogical tables showing his descent from them; only one of which however, will be given here.

In the early years of the Polynesian Society, the Arawa tribe set up a committee in order to assist us by compiling their tribal history. The following is the only paper received from them, for soon after they had made a commencement the leading man died, and his companions—Maori-like—ceased their labours from that time.

It is to be noticed that the author invariably spells the tribal name as Ngati-Kahu-hunu, whereas, the more common cognomen is Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, a mere dialectical variation however, but I think there can be no doubt, the original hero from whom the present tribe takes its name, was Kahu-ngunu. I may observe here, that few ancestors of the Maori people have given rise to more controversy than Tamatea, acknowledged by all to have been Kahu-ngunu's father; but whether he was a *Tangata-whenua* (or member of one of the aboriginal tribes) as some hold, or was the captain of the Taki-tumu canoe that came here with the fleet in *circa* 1850, is still uncertain. Col. Gudgeon, who has enquired into this question more extensively than perhaps anyone, comes to the conclusion that he was of the original tribes—see his remarks J.P.S., Vol. V., p. 8, *et seq.* But there were so many men of that name who flourished about the time of the arrival of the fleet, that it is difficult to say wherein the truth lies. It is clear that Tamatea, father of Kahu-ngunu, is buried at Kawhai-nui, near Te Puke, Bay of Plenty, in the lands of an alien tribe. At the same time the Southern Wai-rarapa people—who descended from those mentioned in this story, all believe that Tamatea was Captain of "Taki-tumu," and as evidence of the belief in the same story of the South Island

people—Ngai-Tahu, a branch of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu—Note No. 175 (J.P.S., Vol. XIV., p. 46) shows the connection between Tamatea's name and that of the canoe "Taki-tumu." I learn also from Mr. Cowen that there are many other references in names of places connecting Tamatea with the "Taki-tumu" mountains named after the canoe.

This story, however, has very little to do with Tamatea; it commences with his son Kahu-ngunu. Old Pango may now be left to tell his story:—

The reason why Kahu-hunu migrated to the East Coast, when he left Te Manga-tawa pa, near Tauranga (Bay of Plenty), was the hauling of a fishing net on the beach at Otira. Hardly had the "belly" of the net been hauled in, when Kahu-hunu rushed in and seized a fish for himself—that is he took it by force (before the distribution). When his elder brother, Whaene, saw this, he was very angry; he seized the fish and threw it at Kahu-hunu's head, who warded it off however.

So Kahu-hunu felt troubled at the conduct of his elder brother, and in consequence he left, and went to O-potiki, where dwelt his sister Haumanga and her husband Tuna-nui whose second name was Harua-tai.

On his arrival at O-potiki, the sister and brother had the usual *tangi*, and when it was over, in the evening the brother-in-law Harua-tai asked Kahu-hunu, "What is the reason of your coming?" Kahu-hunu replied, "It is due to my ill treatment by our friend Whaene." After he had fully explained his reason for migrating his brother-in-law said to him, "A! what do you intend to do?" He replied, "I propose we go and make war." To this the brother-in-law assented, and they proceeded together to make war, and were victorious in a battle called Te Awhenga, where Ahu-kawa was taken prisoner. They then returned to O-potiki.\*

At the time of Kahu-hunu's arrival at O-potiki, Hau-manga and Tuna-nui had a son named Tu-tamure. After the fight mentioned above, Kahu-hunu migrated again, and settled down at Whangarā (about ten miles north of Gisborne) where he married some women of that place, who made uncomplimentary remarks about him. When these gossiping remarks reached Rua-here-tai, a lady of Turanga (Poverty Bay), she made a remark that has come down to posterity (the translation of which would not give its true meaning, nor is it in accordance with polite language to record it here). When the news of this saying reached Kahu-hunu at Whangarā, he prepared himself and proceeded to Turanga. He there saw Rua-here-tai and eventually

\*The author does not say with what people they went to war. It was sufficient, according to Maori custom, that some one should suffer for an affront, whether the guilty person or not, was a matter of no consequence.

married her. When the time of birth of her child approached, she felt an inclination for some birds to eat. So her husband started out to obtain some, in order to cause the milk to flow for his (unborn) child. When he got to the forest he found a *Tieki's* nest in a hollow tree, from which he obtained some young birds and, taking them to the village, cooked them for his wife. By this means the wife's desire was fulfilled. Not long after, the child was born, a girl; and a name was immediately given to her, Rua-here-tieki, on account of the birds brought for the purpose mentioned above.

After a time Kahu-hunu left this wife, and proceeded on his travels as far as Whare-ongaonga (about twelve miles south of Gisborne, where Te Kooti landed after his escape from the Chatham Islands in 1868). Here he was seen by a lady of that place named Hine-pu-ariari who fell in love with him, and whom he married, and who also gave utterance to a "saying" in reference to Kahu-hunu that has come down the ages—"I was mistaken in the white-fruit; afterwards I appreciated the black-fruit," which has reference to the *paua* (Haliotis).

Some time elapsed and then Kahu-hunu left this new wife and moved on south to Tawa-pata at Nuku-taurua (Mahia Peninsula). Here he saw Tama-taku-tai and his wife Rongo-mai-wahine. The former's business was that of wood-carving. When Kahu-hunu beheld the beauty of Rongo-mai-wahine he said to his people, "O relatives! obtaining food is the most desirable accomplishment. Let us ascend to the forest to dig fern-root for us all." The greater number assented, so they climbed up to the forest, and there commenced to dig. When a quantity had been secured, the man said "Fetch some *aka* (strong creepers) and pull the *aka-turihunga* (a strong kind)." So they gathered the *aka*, and brought it to the man, who then laid out the creepers to form binders, and placed on them a large quantity of fern-root. Then said some one, "Enough! there is sufficient, let each take as much as he can." But Kahu-hunu would not consent. When the binders were full, they were fastened tight and the slings for carrying the bundle laid, etc., then inserting his arms within the slings he arose with his enormous burden and started home. Arrived at the ridge (above the village) he set his burden down, and after a time capsized the fern-root over the cliff; as the bundle fell, the binders broke, and then the fern-root came down like a land-slip, piling up at the doorways of the houses. Then Kahu-hunu heard the old and young women saying, "A! this is indeed a son-in-law for us! A! as for this other lazy man, he knows nothing but how to carve."

After this feat had been accomplished, one day Kahu-hunu sat on the ridge above the village to watch the comorants diving. As one of the birds dived he held his breath, counting all the time, until the comorant appeared again at the surface. After ten experiments he

found he could hold his breath longer than the bird's dive. Kahu-hunu then said to his people, "O relatives! go and fetch some *ti* (cordyline) leaves." So his people went and brought back a quantity, and he then said, "Twist them; very closely." When the rope was twisted, the man said, "Make a *kawhiu*" (or *heki*, a basket specially made for *paua* shell-fish). This was made, together with a long rope, indeed how many *kumi* (10 fathoms) long was it! Then said Kahu-hunu, "To-morrow morning we will all go to the beach and wait."

In the morning they all went down to the beach, where Kahu-hunu said to them, "All of you remain here whilst I swim out to the rock just awash there in the sea. When I pull on the rope the basket will be full of *paua*-shells—then you pull it in." After these directions he swam out, and reaching the rock, dived down and commenced tearing off the *pauas*; when the basket was full he gave a pull on the rope, and those ashore pulled it in. When it reached shore, he commenced to stick *pauas* on to himself, and then swam ashore, landing where the others were standing at the fire. Then fell off the *pauas* in great number! which were gathered up by the various divisions of the people. After this the *kawhiu*, or basket, was taken to the village and presented to the people of the place. Now Kahu-hunu heard again the women saying, "A! this is the son-in-law for us! As for this other man he knows nothing but carving, and as for food for his stomach, he can do nothing." Kahu-hunu said to his own people, "In eating the *paua*, save the roe for me; you can eat the flesh."

In the evening when the people had their evening meal, the roes of the *paua* were kept for Kahu-hunu. At night, Kahu-hunu slept in the house at the *kopa-iti* (or corner nearest the door), whilst Tama-taku-tai and his wife Rongo-mai-wahine slept near the window. (The story then relates a trick played on his hosts by Kahu-hunu which won't bear translation, but which lead to mutual recriminations between husband and wife).

When morning came Kahu-hunu again proceeded to the ridge above the village, and as the heat of day increased, the sea-breeze set in. It was not long before he saw Tama-taku-tai getting into a canoe to indulge in the ancient pastime of *whakaheke-ngaru* (or riding in on the crest of the breakers). After he had twice performed this feat, Kahu-hunu descended to the landing place, and when the canoe got in, he said, "Let both of us get into the canoe." To this Tama-taku-tai assented, so they both got on board, Kahu-hunu being in the bow, Tama-taku-tai at the stern. After twice riding in, Kahu-hunu said, "Let me come to the stern," which being agreed to by Tama-taku-tai, he took his place. They then paddled out and soon saw a big wave coming in; said Tama-taku-tai, "O son! that is a very big wave!" Kahu-hunu replied, "That is not a great wave!" And so they allowed



their canoe to be carried by the wave until it reached shore. Again they paddled out, and the same conversation was repeated. A great wave came up, and they flew before it; Kahu-hunu now pulled up his steering paddle, and the canoe broaching to, over she went—Tama-taku-tai sinking, and was drowned, for he could not swim.

So died Tamu-taku-tai, and Rongo-mai-wahine became the wife of Kahu-hunu. After some time, on a certain day, Kahu-hunu said to his wife, "Let us go to the water so that you may comb (and dress) my hair." So they went, and the lady proceeded with her work, until the locks of hair had been properly separated, and then oiled. Then said the husband, "Tie up my hair" (in the usual ancient style, by binding it in a top knot). The woman took some flax, of that place, bound up the hair, and pulled the ligature tight; but it broke. Then said he, "Give me my belt," which was done—it was a *tatua-pupara*, or war-girdle of prepared flax—and from it he took some flax, which had been grown at Kawhai-nui,\* at Kai-tuna, near Maketu, Bay of Plenty. It was soaked in water until soft, and then bound by the woman round her husband's head—and it held. The man then stood up, and turning to the north, to the clouds coming from the direction of his father's home, said, "Here is the *putiki-whara-nui*† of Tamatea, that was left at Tauranga." And now, for the first time did the people know that this was the son of Tamatea.

Behold! Rongo-mai-wahine became the permanent wife of Kahu-hunu, and it was not long before she conceived. This news spread, even unto Tauranga, to Tamatea, the father of Kahu-hunu, who collected together some fine garments to take with him as presents on a visit he proposed to his new grandchild. When he had collected sufficient, Tamatea started on his journey, and after visiting O-potiki proceeded south by way of the Wai-o-eka valley—about half way up that valley he left his pet bird, a *karoro*, or sea-gull, which is turned into stone and may be seen to this day. He proceeded on his journey, and got as far as Mou-mou-kai (—an old *pa*, about 6 miles up the Nuaka Valley, now covered with forest) on reaching which place, he heard the news that the child had been born—a girl. Tamatea was much distressed about this (query, because it was a girl, Trans:) and therefore left all the property he was bringing at that place, and proceeded on on himself (without visiting his son) to Te-Wairoa, Mohaka and Whanganui-a-Rotu (Port Ahuriri). When Kahu-hunu heard of the

\*Where Kahu-hunu's father, Tamatea, was buried.

†*Putiki-whara-nui*, the hair cinture of *whara-nui* (a particular kind of flax). The above is the full name of the Maori village opposite the town of Whanganui, called generally, Putiki, and is equally connected with Tamatea,



annoyance of his father, and the casting away of the presents, he at once named his new born daughter, Hine-Rauri (Lady-cast-away). There was no *Whare-Kohanga* built for this child—not until the birth of Kahu-kura-nui was one erected.\*

The children of Kahu-hunu by Rongo-mai-wahine were Hine-rauri, Kahu-kura-nui, Tamatea-kota, Tamatea-kuku, Tamatea-torohanga, Weka-nui, and Tauhei-kuri.

Kahu-kura-nui by his first wife Rua-tapu-wahine had Rongo-maitara (*f*), Rakai-hiku-roa (*m*), Tikorua (*m*), and Rakai-nui (*m*).

(For other descendants see the Maori version, *ante*).

#### MAUNGA-A-KAHIA.

(Another version—in English—of the incidents connected with the siege of this *pa* has already been published by the Society—*vide* J.P.S., Vol. I., p. 146, and some notes on it in Vol. X, p. 203, but it will bear repeating, the more so, as this account shows the connection of the various people who took part in it. This event took place in the third or fourth generation, after the arrival of the fleet in *circa* 1850, or say, about the year 1425 to 1450.)

Now when Kahu-hunu had become an old man, and all his children—Kahu-kura-nui, together with his brothers and sisters—had grown up, they built a large *pa* named Maunga-a-kahia, which is at Kahu-tara, Nuku-taurua, Mahia Peninsula.

Behold! At the period when Kahu-hunu separated himself from his brother-in-law Tuna-nui, at O-potiki, the latter was a great leader of war-parties. His constant occupation was the making of war with other tribes. Now, when he absented himself on these expeditions, he used to leave his wife, Hau-manga, to the care of his slave, Ahu-kawa, (whom it will be remembered he and Kahu-hunu captured when seeking revenge for the slight put upon the latter by his brother Whaene). The sleeping place of the slave was in the *kopaiti*, (or left-hand corner of the home), whilst Hau-manga slept (in the place of honor) under the window. On one occasion the wife misbehaved herself with the slave; and this continued until the time of Tuna-nui's return.

On the return of Tuna-nui, in the evening, the woman said to him, "I am unwell." The husband asked, "What is the matter?" "I am about to be confined." "Who was it?" asked the husband, and recounted the names of all the chiefs who had been left behind to guard the *pa*, but to none of whom would the wife confess. At last he said, "Was it our slave?" "Yes," said the woman. Then said the

\**Whare-kohanga*, literally, "nest-house," a special building erected for the birth of high-born children, in which the mother was confined, and connected with which were many ceremonies.

husband, "Whose fault was it?" "Mine!" said the wife. "If that is so," said he, "It is well. If it had been his fault, we would have cooked him for breakfast in front of our door to-morrow morning. As it is, thine was the fault, it is well. Enough, I will lay me down (*taipu-noa*) here!"

It was not long after that a male child was born. A name was given to him—Tama-taipu-noa, one of Haruatai's names, in remembrance of Tuna-nui's words, *taipu-noa*.

Now Behold! The child grew up to manhood, as did his brother Tu-tamure (legitimate child of Tuna-nui) and they learnt the art of bearing weapons, so that the work of their father—Tuna-nui—fell to them.

On one occasion the war-party of these young men arose, 270, (*i.e.* 540) strong and proceeded on the war-path, taking several *pas*, until they reached Kahu-hunu's *pa*, Maunga-a-Kahia, which they proceeded to besiege. For a long time their operations were confined to fighting outside the *pa*, until the time came when the war-party carried the outside line of pallisades. At this time, Kahu-hunu sent his daughter Tauhei-kuri, to see how matters were going on at the front. Just as she got there, a *meremere* was smashed, and she heard one of the besiegers say, "It was attacked with the *uha* (*maire* club), it was attacked with the *ake* (*ake* club); if the great fish of Tangaroa\* had been used, then would it resound above on Maunga-a-Kahia."

When the girl heard this "saying," she returned and reported it to Kahu-hunu. She said, "O Sir! the *pa* will be taken!" and repeated the "saying." Then the old man said, "Go down and ask who is the leader of this war-party." So Tauhei-kuri returned, and on reaching above where the men were fighting, called out, "You men there! stop the fighting; you can go on presently. I am asking you two,† who is the chief of this party?" Then one of the besiegers advanced and stood near the outer defences, and turning towards the sea, said, "Hast thou not heard, when the north-west winds sets in, up rise the waves of the ocean, and the 'blunt-nose' floats. 'Tis, I, Tu-Tamure."‡

The girl then returned and said to Kahu-hunu, "O Sir! Tu-tamure is the leader!" The old man then said, "A! it is thy brother.|| Go! Tell him to cease fighting." So the girl returned to the people below and said, "Leave off fighting! Will not this war-party obey you?" The young man sprang forward, and with a blow on this side and that ended the fighting, and the besiegers retired outside the *pa*. Tauhei-

\*A club made of whale bone.

†"You two"—*i.e.*, the leader and his party, a common form of address under such circumstances.

‡ Tamure is the Schnapper fish—hence the play on his name.

|| *i.e.*, a brother according to Maori ideas, really, a first cousin, as Tu-tamure was the child of Kahu-hunu's sister, Hau-manga.

kuri returned to her father Kahu-hunu and said, "O sir! the fighting has ended; the war-party has retired outside." And then the old man said to his young daughter, "O lass! wilt thou not consent to thy brother (cousin) as a husband?" and the girl consented.

Then the old man turned his attention to adorning his young daughter in all the finery of Maoridom, and when ready sent her down to the war-party. Arrived at their camp, she asked, "Where is the camp of Tu-tamure? The reply was "There! Beyond!" So on she went and found him and his brother Tama-taipu-noa sitting together. (Not knowing which was which) she fell on the younger, who in fear (of his elder brother) pushed her over to the elder. Twice was this done, and then Tu-tamure arose, and went down to a flat rock on which was a pool of clear water, in which he looked at himself (as in a looking glass). He said, within his heart, "O indeed I am ugly!" So he returned to the camp, and then said to his younger brother (Tama-taipu-noa) "Marry our young lady."

And so Tama-taipu-noa married Tauhei-kuri, and then the war-party returned to their home at O-potiki, to the father and mother of the brothers, to Tuna-nui and Hau-manga. After a time a family was born to the couple, Tawhiwhi, then Mahaki; from the latter descend the tribe of Poverty Bay called Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki.

#### TU-TE-IHONGA.

This woman—Tu-te-ihonga—was the widow of Tu-pouri-ao. During a fight between the latter and his people with Te Porangahau and his people Tu-pouri-ao was killed by Te Porangahau, hence was Tu-te-ihonga a widow.

When the news of the death of Tu-pouri-ao reached Kahu-kura-nui (eldest son of Kahu-hunu by Rongo-mai-wahine), together with the fame of the great beauty of the widow, he with his people started off on a visit to the *pa* where dwelt the lady.\* In the evening Kahu-kura-nui went to the home of the widow, and knocked . . . . When she heard this, she "greeted," saying, "'Tis like the actions of the men who are now dead and gone to Hades." When the man heard these words, he entered the house, on which the lady asked, "What do you want?" Said he, "I came, that we might marry!" The lady replied, "I do not consent. If you will avenge the death of my husband, then only will I consent to be thy wife." He then asked, "What are the distinguishing signs of the man who killed thy husband?" The woman answered, "They cannot be mistaken. If a war-party approaches his *pa*, he will come forth in front and stand there; he will wear a scarlet cloak (of red parrot feathers) and his weapon is a *taiaha-kura* (halbert with scarlet feather near the tongue end); in "trail" is his method of carrying the weapon—that will be Te-Poranga-hau. He will always

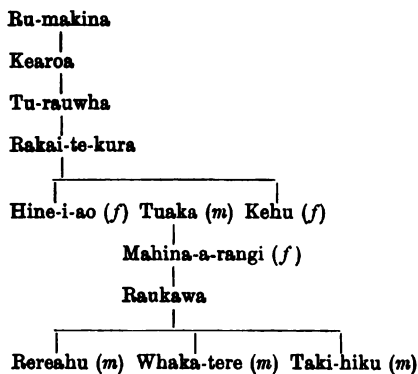
\*I believe this *pa* was at Te Wairoa, but am not certain.

be found in front of the companies of men that come to attack." On learning these particulars, Kahu-kura-nui went forth from the house.

After the morning meal the war-party arose,—one hundred and seventy (*i.e.* 240) in number, and proceeded on their way, and eventually drew near to the *pa* they were bound for, at Poranga-hau.\* When the people of the *pa* beheld the war-party, the cry was raised, "An army! an army!" Directly there appeared a man who stood outside the *pa* clothed in a scarlet cloak, *taiaha* at the trail in hand, who advanced in front of the attacking party, and immediately slew his man. Weapons flashed; this way and that way, and down went two more men. Alas! the war-party fell back, retreating until they reached where Kahu-kura-nui was. In vain he urged them to return; but to no purpose. As the ranks opened out, Kahu-kura-nui was seen by Te Poranga-hau: then these heroes approached. As they drew near to one another, Kahu-kura-nui held his *taiaha* aloft (ready to strike downwards) whilst Te Poranga-hau trailed his (for an upward blow) and on getting within striking distance, Te Poranga-hau raised his *taiaha* whilst Kahu-kura-nui striking downwards and forwards thrust his *taiaha* between the thighs of his enemy, and down the latter went. It was enough! the people of the *pa* fled, followed by the war-party, who took Te Poranga-hau's *pa*. Te Poranga-hau himself was brought away alive by Kahu-kura-nui, and when they reached the *pa* of Tu-te-ihonga, was delivered over to that lady, who dispatched him.

Enough! The *whare-taua* (house of mourning—state of *tapu*) of the lady was at an end, and Kahu-kura-nui took Tu-te-ihonga as his permanent wife.

Thus, when Tu-pouri-ao had been killed by Te Poranga-hau, the former's wife Tu-te-ihonga became the wife of Kahu-kura-nui, and she had by her first husband a child named Ru-makina, whose descendants are as follows:—

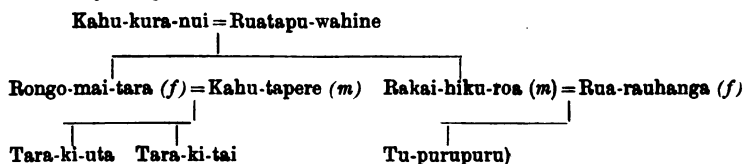


\*About 50 miles south of Napier, a well known river. The Chief of the place—Te Poranga-hau—appears to have been named after the river, and no doubt he was one of the *tangata-whenua*, or aboriginal tribes, for no migration of the descendants of of the fleet had as yet taken place.—*vide supra*.

(From Raukawa—who was the son of Mahina-a-rangi by her husband Tu-rongo, of Waikato, seventh (or perhaps ninth) in descent from Hotu-roa, captain of the Tainui canoe, that arrived in New Zealand circa 1850—are descended the Ngati-Raukawa tribe of Maunga-tautari and Manawatu. His three sons are also eponymous ancestors of well known hapus of Ngati-Raukawa. Raukawa flourished approximately in 1575.)

#### THE DEATH OF TU-PURUPURU.

Tamatea (The marginal table shows the position of Tu-huruhuru  
 Kahu-hunu (who was fourth in descent from Tamatea, supposed  
 Kahu-kura-nui captain of the Taki-tumu canoe), who flourished about  
 Rakai-hiku-roa 1450 according to this table. What follows shows the  
 Tu-purupuru real reason of the migration of these Hawaiki Maoris  
 from Poverty Bay and Te Mahia peninsula to Here-  
 taunga (Napier) and the South.) The cause of the death  
 of Tu-purupuru was his insensate jealousy of his elder brothers, the  
 twin boys of Rongo-mai-tara and Kahu-tapere-a-Whatonga, that is, of  
 Tara-ki-uta and Tara-ki-tai (*i.e.* elder brethren by Maori custom, first  
 cousins by English custom thus:—



The reason of this was, that he—Tu-purupuru—was the principal chief of Turanga (Poverty Bay), he alone; there were none above him, and he was the chief of the greatest *māna*. For instance: If he stuck his staff into any hill (or place) all the thousands of Turanga would bring there all kinds of food for him. If he left his belt in any place, the people would also deposit all kinds of food there; and hence is the saying, “Thou has (equal) *māna* with Tu-purupuru son of Rakai-hiku-roa.”

Now when this man saw that the twins were growing up to manhood, his heart was full of foreboding; and he thought, presently will the *māna* of these twins much exceed his own, and the power, guidance and government of all Turanga fall into their hands, together with influence over the land and the people. So he considered in what manner he could compass the death of the twins.

One of the occupations and amusements of the people of Turanga in those days was top-spinning. On the days that such games were to take place, it was the custom of the twins to proceed very early in the morning to the ground (to practise top-whipping), day after day. Then

Tu-purupuru knew that he should be able to accomplish his wish. He proceeded to make some tops; they were long ones (called *wherorua*), and were just like those of the twins, pointed at both ends so that either end might be upwards—they were like twins. At daylight the man went with his tops to the whipping-ground, and not long after the twins appeared. He set up his tops and began whipping them, which, as soon as the twins saw, they followed suit. The man whipped his tops till they came to the edge of a deep pit, which he had noticed before. When he and the twins got to this place, he whipped his tops into the pit and called out to the twins, "Jump into the pit to fetch your tops." The twins jumped in, both of them, and then the man closed the pit. Alas! the twin died in the pit.\*

Tu-purupuru then returned to his *pa*, and on arrival commenced making *manuka tokotokos*, or spears (the purpose of which will be seen later), and he named them "All the braves of Rakai-pāka." He already knew that he would be called to account for his murder.

Now, the children were absent, from the morning even to noon; the morning food was cooked (but they appeared not). Then Kahu-tapere, their father, went about enquiring for his children at this village, and that village, but they were not seen. He then went to the *pa* of Rakai-hiku-roa (his brother-in-law, and Tu-purupuru's father) and on enquiring was told by the people of that place that they had not seen them. Enough! the man was disheartened and anxious about his children, and returned to his *pa* and cried over them (believing them to be dead). Presently he decided on a course of action (by which they might be found); he weaved two kites, and named them "Tara-ki-uta and Tara-ki-tai," after the twins. He then assembled all the priests to say their incantations over them. When they met he flew the kites, and as they ascended the incantations were recited; the kites ascended a great height and hovered over the *pa* of Rakai-hiku-roa, Tu-purupuru's father. When at their extreme height, they descended, then ascended a great height, and hovered over the *pa*—that is, there were two ascents, and two descents above the *pa*. It was sufficient; the lines were wound up, for it was now known that the people of that *pa* had killed the children.

Now arose the war-party of Kahu-tapere (the twins' father) and of Rakai-pāka (step-brother of the first) and went forth to battle with Rakai-hiku-roa and his sons. They beseiged the *pa*; and in the attack Tu-purupuru stood at the entrance with the spears he had dubbed out. Rakai-pāka came up to the attack; Tu-purupuru seized the spear he

\*Presumably this was a *rwa* or pit, such as are used for storing *kumaras*, with a heavy cover to it.

had specially made for him and lunged at him. Aha ! that warrior was wounded ! Another came ; the spear made for him did its work, and he fell ; and thus it continued, until at last came up Whakarau, when the special spear made for him was lunged at him—it was turned off by Whakarau and passed on one side. Then Whakarau lunged ; Aha ! he (Tu-purupuru) was struck. Up jumped Kahu-auranga, saying, "The man of the fast hand !" But Whakarau uttered his saying, thus : "Leave him ! leave him ! let (me) catch the fish of the line of Hine-tapua-rau !" (of his mother). Behold ! Tu-purupuru was killed.

After that his body was brought away and deposited in the camp of Rakai-pāka. They then twisted some ropes ; when finished they fetched a special *kahiha* tree, and after fastening the ropes to it, set it up. The legs of Tu-purupuru were fastened to the ropes and the body hauled up, and cast into the *pa* of Rakai-hiku-roa.\* When it reached the *pa* the old man cried over the body of his son, on account of the anguish he felt at his loss. He entered the house, and taking some garments and two stones, said to his old wife, "O old woman ! Let us go and take something on which our son may rest (in the oven)." The old women consented and both proceeded forth from the *pa*, and when they drew near the camp of Rakai-pāka, they were seen by the young people who gave notice to him, saying, "O sir ! Here is Paua coming." Rakai-pāka understood at once that it was his elder brother, for to him alone was applicable the words used by the young people, *i.e.* Paua, because it is only used for a great chief—for Rakia-hiku-roa for instance. Now Rakai-pāka was alarmed ; and said to the young men, "Shut (the gate) ; do not let your old father come here." They replied, "He is here already." So Rakai-pāka said, "Enough ! open it, and let your father in." When they met they cried over their dead son, and at the end the old man taking the garments and the two stones, gave them to his younger brother, saying : "Here are some *rautao* (covering for an oven) for our child, and here are the stones for the oven. My word to you is, give up one of your slaves as a mat on which to lie our child (in the oven) in order that you and I may dwell together in our home of Turanga." Rakai-pāka replied, "The *pahi-taua* (company of war) cannot be debased," which saying has come down to his descendants, and it means, it was impossible to debase the warriors of Rakai-pāka. Rakai-hiku-roa replied, "I thought you would have had some regard for me, in order that we two might still dwell together in the vale of Turanga. But now, enough ! Leave me to go to the Pu-o-Rangitoto, and listen—probably you will not be blown on by the wind after me."

It was enough, the old man Rakai-hiku-roa and his wife returned to their own *pa*.

\*This is not clear, but possibly the *kahiha* tree was used as a spring to throw the body.

## THE MIGRATION OF RAKAI-HIKU-ROA.

The reason why Rakai-hiku-roa migrated together with his sons and grandson, Te Rangi-tuehu, the son of Tu-purupuru—for at the time of the death of the latter his son was grown up—were two: First, the death of his son Tu-purupuru; second, because his (step) brother Rakai-pāka would not consent to kill one of his warriors as a “mat” for the oven of their child. He well knew that his brother had no love for him, but rather felt more affection for their sister Rongo-maitara, the mother of the twins. Hence he had said to Rakai-pāka, “I thought you would have had some regard for me, that we might still remain together in our home at Turanga.”

But so it was; and thus Rakai-hiku-roa, his sons, his grandson, and all his people migrated. They left Turanga 70 (140) in number, and went to Nuku-taurua, Mahia Peninsula, to dwell. When staying there, they saw a canoe paddling along on the sea, and called out, saying, “Whose is that canoe paddling along outside?” The answer came, “It is I! It is I!” Said those on shore, “It is thou! who?” “It is I! It is I! Kahu-paroro!” Then those ashore called out, “O Kahu! Go! Go on thy way; when you arrive at Turanga do not let our child follow thee; leave him at Turanga so that if he feels envious, let his envy be displayed within Turanga.” Kahu-paroro replied, “His food is his own; it is useless my saying anything.” So he went on his way leaving the migration there.

It was not very long after Kahu-paroro had departed, when he returned again, finding the migration still at the same place. On his arrival he set-to to prepare some fish-hooks, and when he had finished said to the migration, “The day after to-morrow I will arrange a party to dig fern-root, and will to-morrow go to sea to catch fish for them.” To this all consented.

In the morning the people put to sea, and with them, in the chief's canoe, went one of the men of the migration. They pulled out until they got to the reef where they anchored, and commenced fishing from both sides of the canoe. Afterwards Kahu-paroro baited his hook and cast it over and at the same time said his *takutaku*, or charm, as follows:—

Sidle, Sidle, at your sidling,  
At the water of Tawake,  
And bear along thy scarlet-dressed *taiaha*.

It was enough, when the man of the migration heard this he at once knew that it referred to the bones of Tu-purupuru.\*

\*One of the greatest insults that could be offered was to make fish-hooks of an enemy's bones—it will be remembered that it was Tu-purupuru's father who was migrating.



The man at once pretended to be ill, calling out, "Alas! Alas! I am dying. Haste and put me ashore." The people being apprehensive about the man, hoisted up the anchor and paddled ashore. They landed him then returned to their fishing. The man crawled away (pretending illness) till he reached the camp of Rakai-hiku-roa where he said, "O Sir! Hika is on board the canoe there.\* On hearing this the old man proceeded to consider what course should be taken, and finally decided.

In the morning the party of Kahu-paroro to dig fern-root was arranged, there were 70 twice told of them, and an equal number of Rakai-hiku-roa's party. So they proceeded to the digging ground, where it was arranged that Kahu-paroro's people were to dig, whilst Rakai-hiku-roa's company was to scrape the roots. After some time they changed occupations and Rakai-hiku-roa's people took the *ko* or digging tools (formidable weapons). During the operations the *tapatapatau* or incantation appropriate to the occasion was sung:—

The branch above, the branch below  
Now then spear it, &c., &c.

Then they speared the whole seventy; seventy also were those who were cleaning the fern foot. *Ana!* all were killed—but Rakai-weriweri fled. Then they cooked the fruit of their killing, and ate them, all up! (So ended Kahu-paroro and his people).

The migration now started again on their further journey, and reaching Nuhaka, fought the people of that place whom they defeated. But Rakai-weriweri again escaped. The migration next proceeded on to Te Wairoa where they fought and defeated the people of that place, whilst Rakai-weriweri escaped again. The migration were on board canoes (? which they got from the Wairoa people—see J.P.S., Vol. XIII, p. 154) when they (again) defeated the Wairoa people, Rakai-weriweri again escaping. The migration now passed on to Mohaka, Waikare, Moe-angiangi, and to Aropawa-nui. Here they camped on the east side of the mouth of the river, and there saw the man (? Rakai-weriweri) standing, with his hair done up in a *koukou* top-knot, adorned with *huia* and *kotuku* feathers; he was standing on the bank of the *pa* named Te Puku-o-te-wheke. When Taraia (the eldest son of Rakai-hiku-roa) saw him he took a stone and cast it upwards, which struck the *koukou* (of the man) and cut it off.

The migration now paddled down to the mouth of the river Aropawa-nui and landed. *Ana!* there they fought the *tangata-whenua*, or people of the place. One party charged, then the other. Alas! the migration fled even running out to sea. Then Hine-pare, a daughter of

\*Who Hika may be I know not—but probably a second name for Tu-purupuru.

Rakai-kiku-roa, stood on a rock in the sea bewailing, saying, "Fatigue of the men! Presently will the evil works of this woman be gazed at by those other men." And she dashed on to the rock a calabash, the sound of which in breaking was mistaken by her brothers for a skull crushed by a weapon. Thereupon Taraia, Tawhao and their young relative Te Rangi-tuehu returned to the fight. *E hara!* The people of the place now fled in confusion up the Aropawa-nui river, and further up they were set upon by the party of Tangi-aki, the son of Tiko-rua (younger brother of Rakai-kiku-roa), which had come down the coast overland. The name of this battle was Wai-koau.

Behold! So died Rakai-weriweri and that people. A prisoner named Te Whangai-a-Rotu was taken, from whom the migration enquired the kind of country that laid before their course. The prisoner replied, "Te Whanganui-a-Rotu (Port Ahuriri) is the best place that lies before you, there are cockles, mussels, and plenty of other foods there." Then Tawhao did *taunaha*, i.e. take possession of that place saying, "Leave it to be my cultivation!" And Taraia, who caught the prisoner, was passed over. In the evening Taraia enquired of his prisoner, "Is there no other rich and desirable place in the land that lies before us?" His prisoner replied, "There is; at the mouth of Tukituki and Ngaruroro rivers—there is a celebrated *kahawai* fishing place there."

In the morning the migration left and pulled out to sea, when Taraia asked his prisoner, "Where is the place you spoke about?" "Beyond the white point there (Napier Bluff)." Then said Taraia, "Let our canoe strike right across (the Bay) to that place." And so Taraia's canoe floated on the current of ocean and went straight for Hukatere (Napier Bluff), and on reaching it he put his calabash afloat. When they reached the shore there was the calabash, and he called the name of that place "Te ipu a Taraia" (Taraia's calabash) which name has remained to this day.

Behold! and now Rakai-hiku-roa, his relations, and his grandson Te Rangi-tuehu settled down in Heretaunga, and Te Rangi-tuehu married Rakai-te-kura, and had Hine-i-ao, Tuaka, and Kehu.

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Then follows a number of genealogical descents from these and other people mentioned in this narrative—one line only, that from Tamatea down to the author is given, for which see the original Maori part *ante*. It will be observed in this account, that neither the episode of the fight at Heipipi, nor the taking of the *pas* of the Tini-o-Awa tribe up the Tukituki river, are mentioned (see J.P.S., Vol. XIII, p. 158) but I believe they both occurred in the times Taraia mentioned above.



## THE COMING OF TAINUI.

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[The following is interesting as giving a much more complete account of the doings of Raka-taura—the priest of Tainui canoe that arrived in New Zealand with the fleet in *circa* 1350—than has ever been published before. We have to thank Mr. Jas. Cowen for it.—Ed.]

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**R**IHARI TAUWHARE, of Kawhia, in giving evidence before the Native Land Court at Otorohanga in 1886, *in re* the Aotea-Taupo-Parininihi block, said :—

I will now narrate the events which occurred in connection with the immigration of the chiefs Hoturoa and Raka and their followers from Hawaiki to New Zealand in the Tainui canoe. Hoturoa was the chief in the stern of the canoe. Raka had control of the bow, where the altar of the priest of Tainui was. While they were crossing the ocean Raka fell in love with Kahurere, Hoturoa's daughter. When Hoturoa discovered this he was very angry with Raka. The canoe arrived at Otahuhu, or at the Otaiki stream (Tamaki). Raka and all the people jumped on shore, and urged that Tainui should be dragged overland into Manuka Harbour. Raka ordered the crew to get rollers to place beneath the canoe, so that she could be hauled across the portage. It was here that Raka composed his song :—

“Toia Tainui, tapotu ki te moana ;  
Ma wai e to ?” &c.\*

Tainui was then dragged on shore. Raka's sister Hiaroa (or Hiaora ?) went to Raka and asked if he were not foolish to try to drag the canoe overland ; for Hoturoa was angry. When Raka heard this he exclaimed, “No wonder the canoe went off the rollers (or skids) on to the ground !”

It was here that Raka planted a pole and tied Tainui to it. There it remained. Then Raka left the place and with his section of the crew went forth into the country (travelling southwards). They went

\* This hauling song is usually accredited to Marama, the wife of Hoturoa, Captain of “Tainui.”—Ed.

bearing *mauri* ("hapai-mauri") to set them up and cause the birds of the land to be abundant. He said to his followers: "Go to the interior of this land, even to the mountains, and set up *mauri-manu*, while I myself will go to Manuka." These *mauri* were called *Tanekaitu* and *Moekakara*.\* The people travelled inland and beheld the mountain Te Pukapuka, from which they saw Motakiora. On ascending this they saw another range, Hakarimata. They went up to this mountain whence they saw another, Mt. Pukehoua (Pirongia). There Rotu settled, at a place called Paewhenua, so called because of a phrase used at Hakarimata, "Behold the mountain" ("*paewhenua*." ) At Paewhenua (? near Pironga range) there stood a *mangeo* tree, resorted to by my ancestors for bird-snaring. The tree was called Puke-houa. When Maru and Takupu-o-te-rangi were alive they divided the tree, so that one branch should belong to Maru, the other to Takupu. They placed a stone in the middle of the tree, and that was the origin of the name Puke-houa through the insertion (*houa*) of the stone in the tree. There was a *kaka* perch on the top of the tree. It was Rotu's birding tree. It was burned by Waikato recently. Ten of Raka's people carried *mauri* with them to set up at various places. Hiaora and others came over and occupied Pu-kakaramaea.

Moekakara is a sacred spot. It is at Pu-kakaramaea (Maunga-rangi). Hiaora there repeated the *karakia*:—

"Pi-mirumiru te manu i whakataungia ai te pae-tapu-a-Tane," &c.

When this incantation was repeated all the birds came to the spot. The biggest bird came and settled upon a *mangeo* tree at Paewhenua. Rotu endeavoured to spear this bird but missed it and struck a branch of the tree instead. So the bird escaped and fled to the southward. It died at Mokau. Its name was Tauherepu. All the great birds disappeared there. Hiaora saw numbers of the other birds flying away and asked: "*Ko wai, ko wai tera e tapahi mai ra i te Ika-a-Hiaora?*" (Who? Who is that who is cutting the Ika-a-Hiaora?)

Rotu replied: "*Ko au, ko au, ko Rotu; waiho, waiho kia whakaraau ake.*"

The smaller kinds of birds (*manu-ririki*) remained on the mountains. All those who occupied the mountains for the purpose of establishing the *mauri* were under the orders of Raka.

Tainui Canoe (being unable to cross the portage at Tamaki) steered northwards along the Nga-Puhi Coast. Raka and his sister awaited the arrival of the canoe at Puketapapa and Manuka. When they saw Tainui outside Manuka, Raka lighted a fire and invoked the gods to send the canoe away from land so that she could not enter Manuka.

\*These were evidently *whatu* or sacred stones brought from Hawaiki with the intention of depositing them in selected places in the new land to "hold" the *mauri* of the food supplies.

When Hoturoa saw this (or became aware of it) he steered out to sea. Then Raka and his sister went to Waikato and then they separated, Raka going to Pukerewa, on the sea-beach. He crossed Whaingaroa, and at Karioi he set up his *tuahu* named *Tuahupapa*. He blocked the entrance to Whaingaroa in order to prevent Tainui landing there, and the canoe was accordingly compelled to continue southwards. Aotea and Kawhia harbours were also obstructed to prevent Tainui from entering. Raka travelled along and built an altar at Heahea; Ahurei\* was the name of the altar. The canoe went on until she came to Taranaki; the crew of Tokomaru had already occupied this country.† Then Tainui returned and landed at Mimi (near Pukearuhe). There Hoturoa planted a *pohutukawa* tree, which is known to the people there as "Hoturoa's Pohutukawa." Hoturoa then went to the Mokau, where the crew landed. There were three poles planted there.‡ Tainui's anchor is also there. Raka went to Te Ranga-a-Raka, a beach between Moeatoa and Tirua. Then he went to Whareorino.

Hoturoa, travelling along the Coast, arrived at Te Ranga, where he saw Raka's footprints. He said: "The deformed foot has come here also." Then the two chiefs met on the beach and greeted each other. Hoturoa then said: "I forgive you, I will give you Kahurere to wife."

Raka asked where the canoe had been left. Hoturoa replied that it had been left at Mokau. Raka then said "Your people should go to fetch it. Let us go to Kawhia." The people went to fetch Tainui, while Hoturoa and Raka went on to Kawhia. Upon their arrival at Moeatoa, they built their altar there and called it "Te Tuahu-a-Raka-taura-raua-ko-Hoturoa." They proceeded further and settled at Maketu, on Kawhia Harbour. On the arrival of Tainui here it was dragged on shore.

Raka married Kahurere. Their issue were Houmea, Tu-hianga, and lastly Kakati. "I will make a covenant between us," said Raka to Hoturoa. "I will plant here a rock as a covenant between us." Then *Puna* (*Whakatupu-tangata*) was planted by the shore. Inland he planted *Hani*, a "destroyer of men" (*Whakarere-tangata*). Hani represented Raka whilst Puna was Hoturoa.||

\* Ahurei, named after Ahurei in Tahiti, from which Tainui and the other canoes come.—Ed.

† This is confirmed by Taranaki traditions, but these latter say it was the Aotea canoe, not Tokomaru.—Ed.

‡ These no doubt give rise to the tradition that the grove of *Pomadaris-tainui* (the only place in New Zealand where it grows) found there sprung from the skids of Tainui Canoe.—Ed.

|| These are the stones near Maketu settlement, supposed to indicate the resting-place of Tainui Canoe.—J.C.

Then Raka desired to travel and spy out the country. Raka knew at the time that others were occupying the interior of the land. Raka's children grew up. He said to Houmea "Your brother Tu-hianga will occupy Moeatoa, you yourself will occupy Ahurei; Tuahu-a-papa at Korioi should be handed over to Kakati." Raka said to Hoturoa, "Here remain with your grandchildren, I will depart." Hoturoa said, "How shall we see each other?" Raka said, "We will salute each other with the clouds of heaven." (*Me mihi taua ki nga purehurehu o te rangi*). "There shall we meet."

Kahurere and Raka then went on to Pirongia. He called that place "Pirongia-o-Kahu," and then he called another mountain "Kakepuku-o-Kahu." A child was born there. He was called Hape-ki-te-Tuaraki. Afterwards they came and settled at a place where Kahu took ill. "*Ka purea e Raka*" (the cleansing ceremony is performed) and Kahu recovered. This place was called Purē-oro-o-Kahu (a mountain, Hurakia Ranges).

At this time, Nga-toro-i-rangi foresaw that Tongariro mountain would be climbed by some one, so he ascended the summit of that mountain himself. Raka ascended the summit of Puke-o-Kahu; this was where Kahu died, that was why it was called Te Puke-o-Kahu. Raka then went towards the West, where Hape was left. Upon his arrival at Te Aroha, he called that place "Te Aroha-a-uta," because he felt regret and love for Hape and his mother who were left behind. "Te Aroha-a-tai" was so called because of his love for his children left at Kawhia.

Raka then married another wife at Te Aroha named Hine-marino. Here Raka died.



## THE "IRI," KARAKIA.

TOLD BY MAJOR H. P. TU-NUI-A-RANGI.

[There are many instances recorded in Maori history of the powers of the *tohungas* of old to communicate with people at great distances. The particulars of the methods they adopted are now lost, although many of the *karakias*, or incantations have been preserved. They do not convey to Europeans any particular sense of power, nor, in fact, are they anything but a series of words which might equally apply to any other subject. Their potency was, nevertheless, absolutely believed in by the ancient Maori, and indeed, we may perhaps find in this absolute belief and faith, some evidence of the truth of the statements of the old Maoris as to the efficacy of the charms. Could we but clearly understand the attitude of mind adopted by the *tohungas* when performing the ceremonies connected with the *iri*, some further light on the subject would be thrown. It can only be suggested that the Maori and his fellow Polynesian had a somewhat complete understanding of telepathy as well as of other mental processes, of which we Europeans are only just at the threshold. The following story illustrates a case of what is apparently communication by telepathy.—EDITOR.]

ABOUT three generations ago there lived at Flat Point (Te Unu-unu), some fifty miles south of Napier, a man named Tama-i-pokia, who was a chief of rank of those parts. On a visit to Porangahau, he became much enamoured with the fame of a lady living at that place, named Wawara-i-te-rangi, though he did not see her at that time. On his return home the feeling of love and desire for this lady so possessed him that he engaged the *tohunga* of the tribe to try and induce the lady to come to him, by the use of *karakia-iri*, or invocations, common in such cases. The *tohunga*, selecting a suitable occasion when the wind blew from where he was towards the direction of the village of the lady, ascended a neighbouring hill and there with all due ceremony repeated his *karakia*. The lady at her home at Porangahau was at once seized with a strong desire to visit Tama-i-pokia, and with some of her female

attendants quickly got away from the village without the knowledge of her friends, and proceeded on her way to carry out the visit. They travelled along the beach at low water, so that the incoming tide should obliterate their footsteps, and thus prevent pursuit. She was, however, seen by the people of several villages that were passed on the way, and as a woman of rank was invited to turn aside to rest and eat. But, carried away by her strong desire to reach Tama-i-pokia's home, she resisted all overtures and hastened on her journey, finally reaching the *pa* of her lover. There she entered by the main gateway, and marched straight through the *pa* to Tama-i-pokia's house, which she seemed to know intuitively, for she had never been there before, nor had she ever seen the man before. In the end the two were married, and their son was the late Te Apatu of those parts. Wawara was a very great lady, a *tino rangatira*; and the latter part of her name (*i-te-rangi*) was given to her on account of her fame having spread far and wide. She was in her day as famous as Hine-moa, Hine-matioro, or Tamai-rangi, all ladies of great rank and beauty, whose fame, their descendants delight to sing. The name Wawara-i-te-rangi may be translated as "the echo in the heavens."





## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [178] On the word *Moa*, &c.

In the study of the origin of the Polynesian people or at least an approximate history of their intercourse with the Malay Archipelago and thence to the Asiatic continent, the first great factor is no doubt that of language, but there is also a seemingly less important line of research in the consideration of the animals held in domestication by these people—the dog (*kuri*), the pig (*poaka*), and the domestic fowl (*moa*)—all three of which we may assume came originally from Asia. We may ask, were these animals traded from one race of people to another living at a distance from their original habitat, or were they brought by a Polynesian people direct when they presumably first left the great continent of Asia (that is should they ever have come from thence).

Can we trace their Polynesian names as originating among any race of people now resident in India? For all we know at present the name *poaka* may be of Spanish or Portuguese origin,\* but what of *kuri* and *moa*.

The Maori of New Zealand used the name *moa* to denote the *many varieties* both large and small (apparently without distinction) of that wonderful race of birds the *dinornis*, and on Captain Cook introducing the domestic fowl, which he brought to New Zealand "from the islands," the Maori gave it two names other than *moa*, which to me seems positive proof that the emigrant Polynesians of the Arawa and those later migrations, came in actual contact with the *dinornis*, and that these birds were not previously killed out by a previous race of people whose traditions like themselves had become extinct.

I would ask any of our members who may be in a position to do so, to send in the native names which may be used to denote the cassowary and the emu in the Malay Archipelago, Australia and in Madagascar, as the name of the extinct *epiornis*.

When a new animal is introduced to a country it is generally the custom to accept of the animal's original name also, as used by those who convey it, and so we may reasonably expect to trace its original home by this means.

If we are unable to trace the word *moa* as denoting the domestic fowl somewhere on the Asiatic continent, may we not assume that *moa* originally denoted the *dinornis* and not *gallus domesticus*, and if so that the Polynesian first knew the *moa* as a *dinornis* during the existence of a great southern continent now submerged—the lost Hawaiki? This is a very bold suggestion, but is it not well to give a thought even to what may at first sight appear most fabulous?

We have Maori tradition that the Polynesian voyagers brought in some of their canoes the *kuri* (dog), the *kiore* (rat), the paroquet, and the swamp hen, and even it is said lizards, but no mention is made of the arrival of the *moa*, the *kiwi*, or the *weka*, and yet these three last mentioned are of far more food value than those said to have been brought, and must, especially the *kiwi* and *weka*, have at all times been a staple article of food, moreover the swamp hen *pukeko* is not found elsewhere, except perhaps at Norfolk Island and some other islands. We may therefore place no confidence in this tradition, or at least take it *cum grano salis*.†

\* We do not think this possible, for the name has been known to the Polynesians ages before the Spaniards discovered the New World. It is probable it meant any animal formerly.—ED.

† The *pukeko* is common in Samoa and other islands.—ED.

On certain Pacific islands the ironwood tree (*casuarinus*) is named *moa*, can this nomenclature originate from the *drooping foliage* of the tree as in some degree resembling the feathers of the *dinornis*?

It is a matter of surprise that the pig (*poaka*) was not imported, the more so when it was said by Captain Cook that the New Zealanders knew the name of the animals when seeing them on board his ship—a pig being of omnivorous appetite would be more easily fed during the voyage than a dog—yet both would consume any garbage even human excrement. I would be inclined to suppose that the fowl and pig were introduced to the Pacific islands subsequent to the great Maori *heke*. Yet I believe the pig and fowl were found by early European navigators even at Easter Island.

On this same subject of *moa*, to my thinking the late Rev. William Colenso has led us astray in reference to this bird. Writing from memory of an article published in Transactions N.Z. Institute, he says: "*Moamoa*, small heaps of a shining metallic looking substance, possibly iron pyrites, seen in the vicinity of Cape Turnagain." Now I have resided for a number of years in that district, but have never found any metallic objects; but when a fire has passed over the land, a careful observer will notice small collections of scattered polished pebbles, so finely polished as to have a shiny appearance, in one case I found a number of broken bones mingled with these stones, a sufficient proof that the stones were the gizzard stones of a large bird, and these are the *moamoa* seen by Mr. Colenso, who, no doubt, wrote of them from remembrance many years after he was shown them by the Maoris. These stones were collected by the bird with difficulty, being rare and of necessity the hardest in texture to be met with, mostly a kind of flint possibly. I have these bones and gizzard stones yet in possession. Mr. Colenso also gives *moa* as a name for a boring implement. No doubt the Maori intended to show the *moa* stone by which the implement was pointed.—TAYLOR WHITE.

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## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

### MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

THE Council met at 8 p.m. on 31st March, 1905, in the Borough Council Chambers.

Present: Messrs. S. Percy Smith (President), W. L. Newman, W. Kerr, F. P. Corkill, J. H. Parker, and W. H. Skinner.

New Member: 364 Mr. R. H. Ashcroft was elected on the nomination of Rev. Mr. Fletcher.

The Council met at 4.30 p.m. on 23rd June, 1905, at Mr. W. Kerr's office.

Present: Messrs. S. Percy Smith (President), M. Fraser, W. L. Newman, J. H. Parker and W. H. Skinner.

The following new Members were elected :—

- 365 Major Alfred B. Colhoun, 183, East Sixteenth Street, New York.  
Nominated by W. Churchill, B.A.
- 366 Dr. Erich Schultz, Apia, Samoa. Nominated by S. Percy Smith.
- 367 His Excellency Dr. W. K. Solf (representing H.I.M.'s Government of Samoa), Apia, Samoa. Nominated by S. Percy Smith.
- 368 Ratana Ngahana, Wanganui. Nominated by Donald Fraser.

Papers Received :—

- 267 Te Ngarara-huarau. Major H. P. Tunuiarangi.
- 268 Principles of Samoan Word Composition. W. Churchill.
- 269 Mana-tangata. Col. W. E. Gudgeon.
- 270 Maori Religion. Col. W. E. Gudgeon.
- 271 The Ngutu-au People. G. Graham.
- 272 The Tainui Canoe. J. Cowan.

It was decided to exchange publications with the University of California.

The following list of Books, &c., was received :—

- 1737 *Queensland Geographical Journal*. Vol. xix.
- 1738 *Popular Maori Songs*. By John McGregor. 10 copies.
- 1739 *Ko te karakia Katorika*.
- 1740 *Ko te Hitoria-poto o te Hahi Katorika*.
- 1741 *Ko te Katikihama o te Hahi Katorika*. } From the Author, the  
Rev. Claud Cognet, S.M.
- 1742-7 *Na Mata*. Dec., 1904, to May, 1905.
- 1748-9 *Pipiwaharauoa*. Feb., March, 1905.
- 1750-7 *The Geographical Journal*. Sept., 1904, to May, 1905.
- 1758-63 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. Dec., 1904, to May, 1905.
- 1764 *Memoirs, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology—Archaeological Researches in Yucatan*. Vol. iii., No. 1.

- 1765 *The American Antiquary*. Vol. xxvi., No. 6.  
 1766-1770 *University of California Publications, American Archaeology, &c.* Vol. i., Nos. 1, 2; Vol. ii., Nos. 1, 2, 3.  
 1771 *Journal, American Oriental Society*. Vol. xxv., No. 2.  
 1772 *Archivio per l'Anthropologia, Firenze*. Vol. xxxiv., No. 2.  
 1773-78 *Revue L'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Nov., 1904, April, '05.  
 1779 *Six Pamphlets on Ethnologic and Geologic Subjects*. By Ed. Piette.  
 1780 *Boletin de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona*.  
 1781 *Memorias* " " " " Vol. ii., No. 6.  
 1782 *Bulletins, Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*. 1903. No. 6.  
 1783-4 *Rapporten Commissie in Nederlandsch-Inde*. 1901-2.  
 1785 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xlii., 3.  
 1786 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*. Deel xlvii.  
 1787 *Dagh-Register, Casteel Batavia 1656-1657*.  
 1788-89 *Mitteilungen der Anthropogischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. xxxiv., 3, 4, 5.  
 1790 *Australian Museum Report for 1903-4*.  
 1791-2 *Papers, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology*. Vol. 1, No. 7; Vol. iv., No. 1.  
 1793-4 *La Géographie*. June, July, 1904.  
 1795 *Bijdragen, Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, &c.* S'Gravenshage, 1905.  
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## MAORI RELIGION.

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HOWEVER great our astonishment at the intrepidity displayed by the ancestors of the Maori people, in their long voyages across the sea of Kiwa; and much as we may admire these instances of adventurous daring, we must never lose sight of the fact that these old time Polynesians derived much assistance from their religion.

A Maori firmly believed, not only in the power of his gods, but also in the ability of the tribal *tohunga* to invoke or even compel these gods to aid the tribe in any great undertaking; and from this belief it followed as a natural sequence, that if the *tohunga* declared the omens to be propitious, there was nothing that the warriors of that family would not attempt; for theirs was the faith that could remove mountains. Whatever our impressions of the modern Maori may be, there can be no question that during the continuance of their ancient religion, or, as they themselves express it, during the continuance of the *mānā-maori* they were a most religious people. Indeed, their creed was nothing less than this: Keep the laws of the gods and live, break them and die.

With this preface to my subject, I will endeavour to show as far as may be done—in a work that does not profess to do more than give a popular sketch of Maori manners and customs—what this religion was before the arrival of the European with his disturbing theory of fire and brimstone.

In matters supernatural the mind of man follows much the same groove, be he Caucasian, Mongol or Maori; in each case he is equally

open to receive religious impressions, though the form of the impression may vary considerably, in order to meet the laws of environment and satisfy racial instincts.

Among the Maoris there are traces of two religious systems, one of which is purely abstract in its conception of the Deity, and of a very exalted type, inasmuch as it attributes the existence of all things to the great god "Io." The second is probably a later and most certainly an inferior conception, in which the powers of nature are personified in the persons of certain anthropomorphic gods, and it is this fact that constitutes the difference between the two systems. Io, the supreme creator occupies a position in the Maori Pantheon, apart from and superior to that of any other Maori deity; he is the great originator, the All-Father, who pervades space, has no residence, and cannot be localised. Here then we have a clear and reasonable conception of a supreme spiritual essence, or controlling power; of a deity who is practically unknown to the modern Maori, and it would seem not even dreamed of by the *pakeha*, since we are informed by Doctor Thompson and Mr. Shortland that the Maori has a very limited notion of the abstract. The conclusion arrived at by the latter is, that the Maori is unable to conceive any abstract notion, and hence the powers of nature were regarded by him as concrete objects, and designated as persons. This assertion I shall show to be without foundation, for the conception of Io in New Zealand and Tangaroa in the Pacific, is purely abstract. As to Io it is claimed that he dwelt in the expanse. "*I noho i roto i te aaha o te Ao.*" That he gave expression to the thought, that he might dwell without habitation, "*noho kore noho a ia.*" In other words that he might pervade space. Surely the abstract enters very largely into ideas such as these; but even admitting that the Maori capacity for the abstract is limited, we may still doubt whether we ourselves are much farther advanced in that respect. Anthropomorphism is not a peculiarity confined to the Maoris, and it seems to me, that with all our boasted civilisation our tendency is to revert to the worship of the graven image on the least possible provocation, even though that image may not be the golden calf. I may also point out that the singular tales told of the achievements of Maui-potiki and other god-like beings mentioned in Maori history are not to be taken as absolute statement of fact. I do not think that the learned men among the Maoris ever regarded these tales as being other than ancient myths, and it has always seemed to me that they were intended to convey some great metaphysical truth, which, however obscure at the present day, must have been clear enough to the *tohungas* of old days; though probably at all times obscure to their followers, for whatever his creed, when did a *tohunga* allow his fellow man to become more enlightened on any point than was absolutely necessary?

It would seem that the name of Io originated in the East, since we are told that among the ancient Egyptians Io was the Lunar Goddess, and in the language of the Argives the moon itself. This is, however, by no means the only instance in which points of identity or resemblance may be traced between Maori tradition and the records of India or Egypt.

So exalted is the Maori conception of Io that it would seem that they had never deemed it proper to address their invocations to him. I cannot say that this was always the case, but most certainly Io has never been worshipped in any form during the Maori sojourn in the Pacific; nevertheless his name has been so venerated that it was never mentioned in a house. It is I think during this same period that the Maori has succeeded in evolving from his inner consciousness those inferior and anthropomorphic gods who are now held to be pre-eminently the guardians of the Maori people; deities who are not known out of the Pacific.

I cannot say that Io is known throughout Polynesia, for I can find no reference to that deity in any of the standard works on the Pacific Islands; this of course is not evidence that he is not known to the people, for the same thing might be said of the Maoris since the references to Io in any work on New Zealand are few, if any. Indeed it is obvious that the Maoris for reasons best known to themselves have carefully avoided all reference to this god. The Samoans ascribe to Tangaroa those divine powers which the Maoris claim for Io. Their tradition is that Tangaroa dwelt in the expanse, and that at this period there was neither sea nor earth, but only a rock or foundation, from which it was designed that all things should spring. Tangaroa is described as striking the rock which gave birth to the earth and then to the sea. Subsequently this mother of all things gave birth in succession to the fresh water, sky, immensity and space. Then came a boy, a girl, man, the spirit, heart, mind, and the understanding; these last four Tangaroa succeeded in combining in man and hence the intelligence of mankind. This tradition, it will be seen, differs greatly from that of the Maori; a fact in itself sufficiently astonishing and hardly to be accounted for seeing that the Maoris of New Zealand and the Samoans have only been separated during the last 500 years. These differences may however have originated in the fact that the Maoris have been more completely isolated during the last five centuries than any other Polynesian tribe, and have therefore retained their ancient superstitions intact, whereas the Samoans have mixed with those Polynesians who were in communication with the Melanesian people of the Pacific, and may possibly have adopted the theories of that race. To the Maori Tangaroa is merely one of the children of heaven and earth and has jurisdiction over the sea only; nor is he the greatest of the brethren by



any means, though in all matters connected with the sea and its fishes he requires grave propitiation, for the quarrel between Tangaroa and Tu-mata-uenga (the god of man) has not and never will end.

Among the Greeks, Latins and Germans the earth invariably received the epithet of Mother, and we learn from the mythology of the first-named people that Uranos (the Heavens) cohabited with Gæa and had issue, Chronos, Oceanos, Hyperion and the Titans, and that he subsequently took to wife Rhea, who bore him Hera, Hades, Demeter, Poseidon and Zeus (the Ruler of the Upper World). It is moreover clear that the Greeks revered and personified the vault of Heaven as the Supreme Being. In like manner the Maoris hold that Papa-tu-a-nuku was the mother of the gods, that is of a certain class of gods of whom Rangi (the Firmament) was the father. Therefore from Heaven and Earth sprang all things necessary to man, and incidentally man himself. In this myth we have probably the germ of all religious systems; born of the awe and perhaps gratitude which must necessarily arise in the minds of a thoughtful and observant people when contemplating the complex operations of nature. The religious system of the Maoris does not however in all cases follow that of the Aryan people; there are some very singular omissions; for instance, the Maori word *ahi* (fire) if not actually derived from the Sanscrit, is undoubtedly from the same old root, yet notwithstanding that nearly half of the old Aryan hymns are addressed to Agni. The Maoris do not appear at any period to have either revered or personified "Ahi," and have indeed no very great respect for the sun himself, since all that we hear of Tama-nui-te-ra is that he was tied, beaten, and generally crippled by Maui-potiki in order to regulate the course of the sun and therefore the duration of the day.

The most universal of all religious emotions is perhaps the reverence for sun and earth, that is, the recognition of all male and female principle of life; and reference to the formulæ of creation, which may be found in the most ancient Maori chants, will show how thoroughly that people recognise the receptivity of the earth, and that its fertility was due to the warmth and moisture received from above. It is, therefore, as I have said, singular that the Maori should have little if any reverence for the sun, and that they should give all credit to Rangi (the firmament).

The chief lesson to be derived from Maori mythology is, that after Io had by mere force of his will started the powers of nature into action the world developed itself by evolution, light springing out of darkness. Perhaps the best Maori version of the evolution of the world is to be found in the "Ika a Maui," a book written by the Rev.

Richard Taylor. In this work several chants are given all of which are couched in highly figurative language, and embody abstract ideas which are little short of the sublime. The following is a specimen :—

The word became fruitful,  
It dwelt with the feeble glimmering,  
And brought forth night, the great night and the long night,  
The lowest and the loftiest night, the black night and the night to be felt,  
The night far stretching but not to be seen,  
The night that might not be followed,  
The night ending in death.

This may fairly be called the first stage of the earth's existence or chaos, the next stage is that of light :—

Begotten from nothingness, from nothing the increase,  
From nothing abundance ;  
The power of increase and the breath of life,  
Dwelt with the empty space and produced the Heavens above,  
The Heavens floated above the earth and dwelt with the early dawn  
And light appeared.  
The Heavens dwelt with the glowing sky  
And brought forth the sun which appeared as the eye of heaven ;  
Then the Heavens above became light and sent forth the early dawn,  
The early sun, the noontide, and the blaze of day from the sun,  
Then the Heavens above dwelt with the earth and brought forth  
Ta-porapora, Tau-whare-nikau, Kukuparu, Wauwau-a-tea and Whiwhi-te-rangiora.

These last named children of heaven and earth would seem to be certain islands of the Pacific, the passage may therefore be taken to mean that these were the first lands to appear above the sea, but as the Maoris are much given to reproduce the names of their ancient homes in new lands, it may be that the reference here made is to their very ancient homes and may for this reason have a much deeper significance than we are aware of. Yet another of these ancient recitals, after describing chaos under the name of Te Kore (the void or nothingness) proceeds as follows :—

Nothing but hail dark in colour,  
Hail dashing forth, hail destroying,  
Hail melting and flowing beyond the dark places ;  
Thenceforth nothingness is finished forever,  
The return from nothingness and it's power  
And the pursuit of nothingness.  
Meru the releaser from Hades,  
Meru the releaser from the bonds of Hades,  
Who alone can cause us to retrace our steps to the world,  
To the ancient world that Death may not cleave to us.

In these chants I have followed the translations given by the Rev. Richard Taylor for I recognise that he collected these traditions at a period when he could and probably did obtain the services of the old

*tohungas* to explain the highly figurative and obscure language used therein. But for this fact I should have been inclined to doubt the correctness of a translation which describes Meru as a breaker of the bonds of Hades. Whatever knowledge I have been able to collect as to the status of this deity is to the effect, that he was the guardian of Hades, namely the Reinga, from whence there could be no return. The old *tohungas* of the Maori people hold that had the man-god Tawhaki, when assaulted and apparently slain by his brothers, passed through the gateway of night, and entered Rua-ki-pouri, which is the entrance to the shades, he must of necessity have passed those ancient ancestors, Rua-toia and Rua-kumea, and had he done so he could never have returned to the Ao-marama (world of light). In such case he must have proceeded onward to Ameto, which is extinction. Now Rua-ki-pouri is the house of Meru, the portal through which the *wairua* or disembodied spirit must pass into the nether world; Meru and Kai-pono-kino are said to sit on either side of the entrance, while further back are Rua-toia and Rua-kumea, and these are the four evil spirits who prevent the *wairua* from re-entering its earthly tenement.

All over the Pacific the name of Maru, Meru, or Miru, is either suggestive of death or at any rate of a future state. The Mangaians have traditions of a goddess whom they call Miru and they represent her as being deformed in figure and terrible to be looked on. She is moreover described as one who feasts on the spirits of the dead. The name of Meru would appear to be of great antiquity. Mr. Gerald Massey says: "A persistent Greek tradition asserts that the primitive abode of the Egyptians was in Ethiopia and mention is made of their ancient city of Meroe or Muru." He adds also that the inhabitants of this city were called Sabaeans. North of the Himalayan range tradition has placed a mountain called Meru which is said to have been the birthplace of the Aryan people, and this same place is also claimed to be the centre of the Buddhist universe and to be surrounded by seven circles of rocks. It is these circles that are symbolised in the ancient temples and pyramids of Cambodia, notably in that magnificent mass of ruins known as Nakkon Wat, and it may be that we have here the idea that possessed the builders of those truncated and terraced pyramids of the Pacific, known to the Polynesians as *heiao* or *marae*. At the aforesaid Nakkon Wat the great temple is built on only three terraces, but the remaining terraces of that ancient city have each a sub-structure of seven terraces in order to correspond with the seven circles of Meru.

We learn from the Maori *tohungas* that in the beginning all that there was of life upon the bosom of Mother earth lived, if not in extreme

darkness, at any rate in a dim twilight wherein the sun's rays never penetrated. The men-gods of that period were overshadowed by the near presence of the great Rangi, the all father, male principal, and origin of all life. Hence the children of heaven and earth were dissatisfied inasmuch as they had reason to believe that light might be obtained provided that they could permanently separate their parents. The situation was discussed and Tu of the fierce eyes proposed that Rangi should be slain. This proposition was opposed by Tane-mahuta and others of his bretheren who held that mere separation would meet the case. To this milder measure all agreed with the exception of Tawhiri-matea; his objections were however disregarded, and Tane-mahuta with his back on Mother earth and his feet planted firmly against the Heavens above, exerted his vast strength and forcibly separated his parents while his brothers fixed the props to keep them for ever apart. From this unfilial act arose the war of Tawhiri-matea against his brethren. Wind, rain, hail and snow beat upon them and they fled ignominiously; Tangaroa and his son, Ikatere, fled to the sea, the other son Tu-te-wanawana fled inland and became a lizard. Tane-mahuta transferred himself into the giant trees of the forest. Rongo-ma-tane entered into the *kumara*, and Haumia-tikitiki sought safety in the roots of the common fern (*Pteris esculenta*). Tu-mata-uenga alone of the godlike descendants of heaven and earth remained unmoved by this war of the elements, and against him even the anger of Heaven had little effect; but he was justly exasperated by the cowardly behaviour of his brothers, and therefore it was that he converted them into food for his own use and that of his descendants, and hence it is that man even to this day eats the fruits of the earth and the fishes of the sea. To the rebellion of these children against their august parents we may attribute the fact that we have death in this world; indeed the Maoris believe that it was Papa-tu-a-nuku (the earth) herself that caused man to return to the dust from which he was made, in expiation of the offence of Tu and his brethren. Having given this preliminary history of the children of Rangi and Papa I will now show in detail who they were, and also the part that each took in the economy of nature.

First among these deities in point of birth though not in reputation is Tama-rangi-tau-ke. This god is but little known except to the higher priesthood, and the reason is obvious forasmuch as the offspring of Tama are held to be the spirits of men. We can therefore understand that the ordinary untaught Maori would find it difficult to comprehend such a highly metaphysical view of this subject. It is moreover a fact that the higher knowledge was carefully retained within the ranks of the priesthood, and was not taught to outsiders. I may here mention that the Maoris maintain the right to claim their descent from several of

the children of heaven and earth. From Tama-rangi-tau-ke, because of our spiritual nature, from Aitua because of our perishable nature, and hence it is that death by ordinary disease is called *te mate o Aitu*, in other words death of the flesh, a Maori recognising that the spirit cannot die. From Tu-mata-uenga we may claim descent because it was he who breathed the breath of life into the riverside clay and so gave life to Tiki. We have a right to claim Mako-i-rangi as an ancestor because of our descent from the Patu-paiarehe (children of darkness), and last but by no means least we may claim descent from Tangaroa by virtue of the fact that it was the *karakia* of his descendant Tinirau that caused Hinauri to give birth safely to Tu-huruhuru, from whom are descended Irakau and all those people of modern days whose boast it is that they are of the *Kavei ika moana* (genealogy of the sea fish). I will however admit that if I were to mention these things before a large assembly of modern Maoris, perhaps not one in a hundred would understand me. The spiritual nature of man is not now understood by the Maoris. How many are there that could explain the nature or origin of the *Hau*, the *Mauri*, the *Wairua*, the *Hinengaro*, the *Mahara* or the origin of the sacredness of the *Ariki*? And yet of old the priests did understand and explain these abstract metaphysics to their *taura* (disciples).

Aitua was the second child of heaven and earth and from him have originated all the misfortunes to which flesh is heir, and hence it is said that the offspring of Aitua is misfortune, and all that is perishable in man, and therefore, as I have already stated, the Maoris call a natural death "*Te mate o Aitu*."

The third child of these parents is the great god Rongo-ma-tane who has had altars erected in his honour throughout the islands of Polynesia where he is known under the name of Rongo or Rono; I have however been told that the proper name of this deity is Rongo-mata-kawiu. The Maoris hold that this god has supreme jurisdiction over all cultivated food, such as the *kumara* and *taro*, also over all climbing plants such as the *aka* (*Metrosideros*), the *pohue* (*convolvulus*) and *piki-arero* (*clematis*), and hence these plants are called the children of Rongo-ma-tane, which is but another name for this deity.

The fourth on the list is Tane-mahuta who is recognised as the guardian spirit of both forests and birds. The god Rupe who takes the form of a pigeon is one of his children, and all the trees of the forest are said to be the offspring of Tane, and therefore in old days when it was necessary to cut down a tree in order to make a canoe, or indeed for any other purpose, much ceremony was used and many *karakias* said in order to propitiate this deity whose children were about to be

slain. Any default on the part of the workmen would be made manifest by the tree resuming its upright position without sign of injury just so often as it might be felled.

Ruaimoko is the fifth child of this family. He is the god of mountains and earthquakes and his presence is manifested in all the convulsions of nature. In the language of ancient Egypt the word *Rua* is said to signify the mountain; in Maori *Ru* is the earthquake, and the connection of ideas seems very plain in this instance. It is moreover worthy of note that the Aryans adored a blacksmith god, the personified thunderbolt which they called "Twachtrei," and it would seem that the Maoris must at one period of their history have had a knowledge of this fact for they call thunder "Whatitiri" which is but another form of the same name.

Tawhiri-matea is the sixth on this list and he has *māna* over storms, wind, rain and floods; he alone of all the children of heaven and earth resented the separation of his parents and followed his father to the regions above, from whence he has consistently waged war even to the present day against all his brethren.

Ngana is the seventh son and from him proceeded the sun, moon and stars. Both in Egypt and Polynesia the word *Ra* indicates the sun and the sun god, but I have never yet been able to ascertain that the Maoris regarded *Ra* as a deity of *māna*, nor that he was revered in any form, although he is known as *Tama-nui-te-ra* (the great lord the sun).

*Haumia-tikitiki* comes next in order of birth and of this god it is said that his descendants are all of those plants which, though of natural and indigenous growth, are nevertheless used by man as food. More especially this deity may be said to be present in the root of the common bracken, which is known to the Maori by the name of *aruhe*.

Most famous of all this family is, however, *Tu-mata-uenga* (Tu of the fierce eyes) the Maori Mars, who had special jurisdiction over man, for by him was created *Tiki* the first man. Tu alone of his family has defied the power and malice of *Tawhiri-matea*, and has conquered and converted to his own use those of his brethren who deserted him at the time of the great fight; but great as his power and *māna* have been it must not be forgotten that he it was that brought death into the world in expiation of the sin committed when they rebelled against their parents. Last but by no means least of this family is *Tangaroa*, second only in importance to Tu of the angry face; he is the Maori "Poseidon" and his offspring are the fishes of the sea through his son *Ikatere*, and the reptiles of the land through another son *Tu-te-wanawana*. Very great reverence is paid to *Tangaroa* by the Maoris when engaged in fishing, and on no account is cooked food allowed to be taken in the canoe at such times, and even old pipes are forbidden.

No matter how long the fishing might take, those so employed must fast until they return to the land, unless indeed they would eat their fish raw, a thing that many Maoris prefer to do. The Ngati-Porou, of the Kawakawa, and Hicks' Bay, when engaged in *moki* fishing will on no account permit the fish that they may catch be cooked in any manner other than the orthodox Maori oven, their impression being that any other method would be an insult to Tangaroa and therefore sufficient to prevent the fish from returning to their shores. I could hardly be accused of exaggeration if I were to say that the ceremonies and observances which require attention during deep sea fishing are at least thirty in number.

After the separation of Rangi and Papa, as already related, the former is said to have co-habited with Po (darkness) and had issue the following children :

Te Makoirangi, whose descendants are the Patu-paiarehe, the fairies or gnomes, the children of mist and darkness who dreading the light of day above all things, confine themselves to the gloomy forests and fastnesses of such mountains as Pirongia, Moehau, and Kaimanawa.

Po-whakarere-i-waho was the second child of this connection and from him has sprung forgetfulness and death, as also the Aroiroi, that is, the quivering heat of the sun that may be seen dancing over dry ground when there is but little wind. These things according to the Maoris are the spiritual essences of the god and therefore rightly described as his children.

So much for these godlike personifications of the external powers of nature. I will now speak of certain other deities who are known as the Kahui o te Rangi. Speaking generally it may be said that the modern Maori knows nothing of his ancient history or religion, that is, he is unable to give any connected narrative of either subject; worse still he is unable to explain passages and allusions which are of frequent occurrence in his old songs, and which are of very great interest to those who would learn something of the ancient history of the Maori, and from this it results that those who would enquire into and write upon such matters must perforce act as their own interpreters, and as a natural sequence are often mistaken. Mythological fragments may, however, be found which will serve to disclose the outlines of what was the old Maori belief.

I once heard a Maori—who like many of his race was an authority on the Bible—assert that there was not one single incident in the world's history as related in that book that was not also to be found recorded in Maori tradition. He gave many examples in support of his statement, but I regret to say that I did not take notes of the conversation, for in those days I was young and had merely a passing interest in Maori history. I do, however, remember that he gave a very

good illustration of his views, and proved his assertion to the satisfaction of his audience. Among other matters mentioned was the "Deluge," concerning which the Maoris have more than one tradition. My friend quoted the Tai o Ruatapu as the Noachian Deluge, but in this instance he made a very bad selection, for the Tai o Ruatapu would seem to have been a purely local flood caused by the anger of Ruatapu, who was not a very remote ancestor of the Ngati-Porou of the East Cape of New Zealand. He was also the ancestor of most of the people of the Cook Islands, and apparently it was at Rarotonga that the deluge took place, for Puke-hapopo, the hill to which Ruatapu recommended his people to fly for safety, is situated between Avatiu and Arorangi. This tradition is well known to the tribes of Rarotonga with, however, this difference, that Pupupoonga was the hill to which they were directed to fly, and that it was Uenuku, the father of Ruatapu, who warned them to take shelter on the hills.

The genuine Maori deluge was that of Tupu-nui-a-Uta and his son Para-whenua-mea. For eight long months these men are said to have floated on the surface of the water in a sort of primeval ark, while the rest of mankind perished miserably in the flood that had been invoked by the said Tupu in order to punish those men who at this period of the world's history had not only derided the god Tane, but had also rejected the teachings of certain deities of whom Tupu was the mouthpiece. Hence it was that the latter, moved by certain emotions of zeal and vanity which are occasionally dignified by the name of religious fervour, besought Tane to deliver the world from such unbelieving scoffers. The prayer was answered. Tawhiri-matea opened the flood-gates of Heaven and mankind perished in an entirely satisfactory and orthodox manner. Tradition relates that the ark grounded at Hawaiki, and that the first act of these pious survivors was to return thanks for their delivery from a watery grave, and an offering of seaweed was made to each and every important god to whom also rude altars were then and there erected. The ceremonies used at that time are performed even to this day whenever the members of the Whauwhau-harakeke tribe find it necessary to save their lives by invoking the aid of the sea Taniwha. On such occasions the men who are thus saved from drowning take pieces of seaweed inland and place them at the root of shrubs or trees, and at the same time gather a few handfuls of leaves and cast them into the sea, thus recognising the *māna* of the gods of both land and sea. To the Maori it is a matter of the utmost importance that he should at all times recognise the *māna* of the gods, for he realises that no man can look deeply into the future, nor can he foresee the course of events, neither also can he know the day that he may not again require the assistance of his gods.



The most ignorant among them understand full well that so surely as the prosperous man forgets the existence of his gods, so surely will they forget him in his hour of need.

Maori tradition points definitely to the fact that the earth or at any rate those inhabiting the earth have on several occasions been partially destroyed, though it would seem not with the aid of water. In the days of Puta that man found fault with Mataaho and his tribe whom it is alleged were wanting in veneration for the gods, and finding it impossible to turn these misguided men from the error of their ways Puta struck the earth a sharp blow and it thereupon became convulsed and the majority of those living were swallowed up.

Still further back in the dim past we hear of one Wi, a very great prophet, who moved by love for his fellow men strove to lead Miru, the king of darkness, into the path of light; but finding that he had undertaken a task altogether beyond his powers he destroyed both Miru and his friends. This tale is somewhat apochryphal for the Maori Satan is still king of Hades, and so far as I can see has lost nothing of his *māna* even on this earth.

The Maori recognised that there was a period in the world's history when men as we now know them did not exist; had not in fact been created. Those who did inhabit the earth were of godlike origin and attributes with the single exception, that they were not superior to king "Death," inasmuch that they were descended from those children of Heaven and Earth who had rebelled against their parents, and were therefore subject to the decree that in expiation of that offence they should again return to the bosom of mother earth. In all other respects they were gods having powers altogether super-natural and were known as the Kahui-o-te-Rangi. Such were Hema (who the Maoris delight to identify with Shem, the son of Noah), Whaitiri, Kai-tangata and Tawhaki, the last named of whom is said to have succeeded in climbing back into Heaven taking with him his stillborn child Te Makawe-nui-a-rangi. This child he wrapped in the sacred hair torn from his own head and then cast it out into the world in the hope that he would thereby induce a sentiment of joy and gratitude among the minor deities of this planet, for Tawhaki's offering was intended as a sacrifice to expiate the offences of the world below. From this tradition it would seem that the Maoris were not ignorant of the doctrine of atonement; but all of the tales told of these men-gods are equally sensible, some are whimsical in the extreme. For instance, we are told that the elder Maui who was also known as Rupe-te-rangi, for no conceivable reason changed his sister's husband, one Irawaru, into a dog, with the result that the wife, Hina-uri, actuated by that dual sentiment of grief and revenge which the Maoris call *whakamomore*, threw herself into the sea and there drifted about for three long

months, until she was at last rescued by the sea spirits Ihu-atamai and Ihu-wareware. To these two deities she became *enciente*, and when her condition became known to the great Tinirau he sought her out and took her to his home. The birth of Hina-uri's child who was subsequently known as Tu-huruhuru was attended with both danger and difficulty until the sufferer called upon the name of Rupe, who came at her summons and instantly the child was born. It is said that shortly after birth the infant was delivered into the hands of Rupe who took it to Rehua (Jupiter) in order that the ceremony of *tohi* might be performed. He then returned the child to its mother, and subsequently both of them were taken to the eight heaven. From this boy Tu-huruhuru came the ancestor Mairatea, and after many generations Irakau who for the reasons above given is claimed as a descendant of Tangaroa, and hence it is said that the Waitaha tribe of the Piako River are of the *kawē ika moana* (genealogy of the sea fish).

The most energetic of this race of man-gods was the youngest of the Maui family, surnamed Potiki. Concerning this individual most marvellous tales are told; not only did he, like Orpheus, descend into Hades, but he is also described as regulating the course of the sun, and last but by no means least by the *māna* of his fish hook, made from the jawbone of his ancestress Muri-ranga-whenua, he fished up New Zealand from the bottom of the sea. Then, like Alexander the Great, finding no more worlds to conquer he endeavoured to persuade his brothers to join him in slaying their great ancestress Hine-nui-te-Po (the goddess of night) in order that death might be banished from the world. The conversation between the brothers on this occasion has been handed down by tradition and is exceedingly curious. Said Maui to his brothers "Let us rise up and slay our great ancestress, the great mother of night, in order that men may increase and multiply in the world." The elder Maui answered "We shall never succeed in this undertaking; indeed it is probable that she who glitters on the horizon may slay us. Already thanks to your pranks we have on more than one occasion barely escaped the wrath of offended deities." To this Maui-potiki replied "Yet will I undertake this great work unaided, for it matters little if I be slain; I was not suckled at the breast of our mother, but wrapped in her head dress, was thrown into the sea, and finally cast ashore by the drift of the waves. Thanks to the care bestowed upon me by the great Lord of the Heavens and our Lord the Sun I became a man, but who cares for death? I will go to the great forest of Tane and will there gather together a flock of birds, Tirairaka and Popokatea, who will accompany me in my undertaking since ye are all afraid." Maui-mua answered him by saying "Let a man die as the moon dies, for that luminary returns again and again with renewed vigor, having bathed in the Wai-ora-a-Tane (the water of

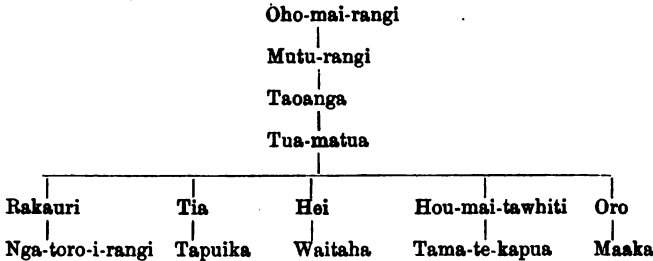
life)." Maui-potiki dissented, saying, "Rather let us die and become like our mother the earth to the end that those whom we leave behind us may weep over our bodies and lament our death." With these words he went to collect his company of birds by whose aid he sought to overcome death, but his enemy, Tuhi-kai-tangata, was at hand, and as Maui entered the womb of night that man caused the birds to laugh and thereby awakened Hine-nui-te-Po and so cost Maui-potiki his life. But for this unfortunate occurrence, say the *tohungas*, Hine-nui-te-Po would have been slain, and from that time forth man would have lived forever.

Outside of these god-like personifications of the external powers of nature, there are deities of another class who are usually mentioned as the Kahui-o-te-Rangi (Heavenly Host). The origin of these gods is obscure, and I am compelled to admit that I cannot trace their descent. The most important of them are :—

- |                 |                  |                    |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Tama-i-waho  | 4. Tungia-te-ika | 7. Te Marongorongo |
| 2. Tu-takanahau | 5. Tungia-te-po  | 8. Tara-kumukumu   |
| 3. Kahu-kura    | 6. Tahaia        |                    |

These guardians of the *tapu* are not of equal rank, nor are they of the same disposition in their relations to mankind. For instance, Tama-i-waho is said to be of a kindly disposition and well disposed towards those who behave respectfully to him, but withal an angry god towards evil doers. According to the East Coast tribes his spiritual parents were Puna-hamoa and Hine-pukohu-rangi, and they moreover assert that he alone of the Heavenly host has earthly descendants. Chief among these are the Arawa tribes who still bear the proud appellation of Ngaocho or Te Heketanga-rangi (Migration from Heaven). The traditional account of this incident in Maori history is sufficiently curious to justify mention, though somewhat difficult to render into readable English. The desire to transmit descendants who should be in part human is said to have possessed Tama-i-waho when from his high place in the Heavens he watched Toi and his wife Kura-nui-a-Monoa conversing together upon earth. Moved by this desire he rendered himself invisible to mortal eyes and descending from above, drew nigh to the woman whom he touched with his hand. Kura would seem to have been sensible of some strange presence, for she remarked to her husband "It seems as though some man had touched me though his *awe* (astral form) had alone approached me." Toi replied "Keep quiet and wait." And so it came to pass that the next time that Tama drew nigh to the woman they succeeded in catching him, but in what manner this invisible spirit was caught is not explained; we may however assume that some very powerful *karakia* paralysed the god for the time being or perhaps made visible his astral shape. When Hine-pukohu-rangi saw her son a captive she swiftly descended and enveloped the earth in so dense

a fog that she experienced no difficulty in rescuing him. The result of this heavenly visitation was that Kura bore a son who in recognition of his exalted rank was called Oho-mai-rangi and from him have descended all the Arawa people. Lest their should be any doubt on this point I give the genealogy :—



Tu-takanahau is a god swift to anger towards those who break the *tapu*, whether by eating food in the vicinity of the sleeping place of chiefs or *tohungas*, or by any unauthorised trespass whatsoever, such as walking on the borders of the *kumara* plantations of other men. In all such cases of infraction of the law of *tapu* Tu-takanahau will enter into the offender and destroy him, unless indeed the guilty party be conscious of his offence in which case he may perchance save his life by sending for a competent *tohunga* who could not fail to understand the symptoms, namely the unnatural distension of the patient's stomach, the same being an undoubted sign of the presence of Tu-takanahau, or indeed of any Maori god, in the human system.

The Maori *tohunga* is superior to his European confrere in this respect ; that his treatment is more simple and he requires no drugs. In a case such as I have described his treatment would be somewhat as follows :—Firstly, he would take a hair from his own head and one from that of the afflicted man and joining them together would place both in the patient's mouth as a means of exit for the spirit, a sort of arch of Al Sirat. This done the *tohunga* would bite the sick man's head in order to deprive him of all *māna* for the time being and thus bring the patient more strongly under the influence of the *tohunga* ; for it is truly said that a man without *māna* is subservient to all those who have *māna*. The *tohunga* would then take a branch of the *karangu* (Coprosmā) and wave it over the patient with many exhortations to the god to come forth. The following *karakia* would be used :—

Tere o te kahui pae, tere o te kahui aparangi  
 Haere i o huruhuru, haere i o kaupehatu  
 Haere i o mahunu, haere i o pekemua, haere i o pekemuri  
 Haere i to waero, haere i to tinana, haere i to petipeti  
 I to rangahua, haere i to ahimoana, haere i to taitimu,  
 Puta i runga, maha i raro, ko te ara iti,  
 Ko te ara i hana i te hemorere, e kuhu, e naumai ki waho.

I shall not attempt to give any translation of this *karakia*, but provided always that the *tohunga* himself has *māna* it is an invocation of great potency and sufficient to force Tu-takanahau to leave the man whom he had intended to destroy, and free the afflicted man from the presence of his able assistants Tungia-te-po and Tahaia who, but for the opportune aid of the *tohunga*, would inevitably have slain their victim in order to appease the wrath of the guardians of the *tapu*.

My readers will by this time have arrived at the conclusion that the religious convictions of the Maori differ very greatly from those of European nations and they may be summed up in a very few words. First, their conception of Hades is that of a place of gloom, rest and eternal monotony, rather than a place of punishment and expiation. Second, that offences against the gods are punished in this world and not in the world to come. Third, that they have never quite realised that offences against their fellow man were deserving of punishment at the hands of the gods, and it is this omission that is the weak point in the Maori system of religion.

Like the Brahmin the old time Maori believed that he had the power to overcome his enemies by the mere force of certain incantations which had been handed down to him from his ancestors and were addressed for the most part to the tribal god. The modern Maori does not now believe that he has this power, for he realises that however potent the *karakia* may be when uttered by a man of *māna* it is a mere empty form of words when there is no *māna tangata* to back it. He is too shrewd not to comprehend that the *māna* which had been the birthright of the Maori from the time of Tiki down to the advent of the Missionaries, left him for ever on the day that he deserted the religion of his forefathers and embraced Christianity.

Maori tradition establishes the fact that they had come to the conclusion that their deities could and would suspend the operation of the laws of nature at the will of any man who in the hour of need knew how to invoke the aid of the tribal or universal god of the Maori people—subject always to the extent of the *māna* inherent in the man who called upon them for assistance. Generally speaking the gods invoked would be those of the tribe such as Maru, Uenuku, Rongomai or others, who being deified ancestors charged themselves with the care of their descendants and specially guard the *ariki*, who is the eldest born of the direct male line in whose body the spirit of the divine ancestor is supposed to reside.

In the matter of war these gods are under the jurisdiction of Tama-i-waho who alone presides over the *tapu*, and as a natural sequence governs the destinies of war parties. Of all things *tapu* nothing perhaps is so sacred as a war party, and nothing is conducted on sounder or stricter principles. The reason why this should be so is

obvious, for from the Maori point of view the lives and fortunes of those composing the *tauu* (war party) depend entirely upon the concurrence of the tribal god, who is supposed to combat above his people and contend with the war spirit of the opposing tribe.

The formal invocation used to obtain the favour of the gods for a war party is called an *iho* or *iho tauu*, and on such occasions it is Tu-mata-uenga and the tribal gods who are invoked. These latter deities are numerous, each tribe or group of tribes having their own god. For instance, the Waikato, Ngati-Maniapoto and Ngati-Raukawa would call on Uenuku; the Arawa and Whanganui on Maru, the Ngati-Kahungunu and Ngati-Porou would invoke the aid of Rongomai or Tuere, while Ngati-Maru would call on Tu-kai-te-uru, and Tuhoe on Te Pou-a-tuatini. But whosoever the tribal god might be the concurrence of Tama-i-waho would be essential to the success of a war party, that is if they came from the East Coast tribes, but I am inclined to think that the votaries of Maru and Uenuku held all other gods to be inferior to these two. The words used in the *iho tauu* of each and every tribe were not the same; each one used that form of words which experience had shown to be the most acceptable to its guardian spirit, but whatsoever the form might be its object was the same, namely, to insure success. The Maoris say that the sign of success was *Ka tara te karakia ka ngahau, he tohu ora tena*. This may be translated as follows:—If the *karakia* is rhythmic it is a sign of success. If any part of the invocation be left out or given in inverted order it is an omen of death or disaster which may not be disregarded, and therefore the war party if it should start at all must proceed with extreme caution in order that the results of this omen of ill-fortune may at any rate be minimised.

The ceremony by which a war party is rendered sacred and dedicated to the purpose which they have in hand is as follows: At the earliest dawn the warriors assemble by the side of some water—a running stream is preferred—for the purpose of the *tohi* or rite of purification. When all the warriors are drawn up in line, standing with one foot on the land and the other in the water, the *tokunga* takes in his right hand a branch of the *karangu* shrub and dips it into the water, he then waves the branch over the naked warriors so that not only every man but every weapon is sprinkled. At the same time he raises the chant "*Wetea ki te wai, kia wetea*," which may be translated "Unloose the (sins) with water that they may be unloosed." In this chant the whole war party joins and then if the oracles and omens—which have already been consulted—are favourable they start at once on their destroying career, slaying without fail the first person they meet for he is called *he maroro kokoti iku waka* (a flying fish crossing the bows of a canoe). The victim's body would be immediately offered

to the gods, and this ceremony could by no means be neglected, though it might happen that a man might meet his own father and have to kill him, for whatsoever the *maroro* might be, he or she was like Jephthah's daughter doomed to death.

To obviate the inconvenience and possible danger that might result from a too strict observance of this Maori rule of war, it was the custom to reserve at least one of the paths leading to or from the territory of any two tribes as a path of peace; so that even in war time it might be travelled with safety by those who, being nearly related to each party, could act as mediums of communication between the two tribes.

When the service on which the war party was engaged was one of unusual danger a victim would be chosen and offered up to the gods before the warriors left their village in order that the favour of those deities might be more effectually secured. In such case the offering to Uenuku would be a man, but to Maru a dog would be offered. In each instance the offering would be called a *whangai hau* (feed the wind), for the reason that the heart of the victim would be torn out and burned, to the end that the essence might be diffused in the upper atmosphere or *hau* and the gods fed thereby.

When the war party had accomplished the purpose for which it had set forth or perchance had been defeated in its attempts, it would return homewards, and when in the vicinity of their *pa* the chief of the party would send forward a messenger to warn the home-staying members of his tribe of his approach. Just outside the *pa* the warriors would be met by the chief *tohunga* whose duty it was to demand in a loud voice "*E Tu! i haere mai koutou i whea?*" The reply would be: "*I te kimihanga i te hahauunga kai mo Uenuka.*" (Oh, Tu from whence have you come? From the seeking after and searching for food for Uenuku). Then the *tohunga* would once more lead his warriors to the water, and by a ceremony similar to that already described, would remove from them the *tapu* of war. This ceremony would be performed as quickly as possible in order to prevent possible breaches of the *tapu*; such as the eating of food by any of the warriors before the sacred ovens had been opened, or the eating of food by the women and children before the men of the spear had been satisfied, or if we use a Maori expression, to prevent the women eating at the point of the spear. It was only when the last *karakia* had been said and the sacred *kumara* eaten that the warriors were declared free of *tapu*, and might eat and be merry with their wives and families.

Tu-mata-uenga was, as I have said, the deity who had exclusive jurisdiction over man, but he was not his progenitor; both however sprung from the same source, both derived their existence from the bosom of mother earth. It is not only in Genesis that we learn that

man sprang from the earth; Maori tradition gives a similar account of our origin and has even preserved the incantations used by Tu on that memorable occasion.

The legend is to the effect that Tu-mata-uenga had seen reason to believe that the godlike race of beings who at that period inhabited the earth were unfit for the positions they occupied; he therefore resolved to make a man after his own image using the clay of the earth as the material wherewith to carry out his purpose. To effect this project he built an altar (*tuahu*) at Te One-potaka, a place situated in Hawaiki, that mythical home of the Maori people. The altar was a very rude affair, merely a mound of earth roughly scraped together. When it was finished the site was called Te Kauhanga-nui, and the altar itself Te Oropuke. In the mound of earth so made Tu planted two green branches of the *koromiko* (*Veronica*) both of which had the leaves and branches intact. The right hand branch he placed in the ground with his right hand and the left hand branch with his left hand. This was a matter of the utmost importance since these branches represented life and death, and even to this day bright are the prospects of a child who, after the *tohi* ceremony, finds that his tree of life has taken root and is growing vigorously. The great Nga-Puhi chief Tamate Waka Nene was an instance in point, for it is said that his tree of life grew, and hence his *māna* was very great. Tu called the right hand branch, or tree of life, "Oromatau"; the other he called "Oromania." He then took *para-uku* (riverside clay) and mixed it, kneading it into the shape of a man, in other words into the image of Tu himself, and having done these things he lifted the clay, the head of the image in his right hand, and the lower part of the body in his left hand, and placed it on the branches of Oromatau and Oromania. This ceremony is still followed by *tohungas* when they perform the *tohi* rite over a newly born child, after the ceremony of the *Ta-ngaengaetanga* (invocation used when the first breath is drawn and the naval string cut). It is then that the *tohunga* lifts the child on to the altar, holding as I have said the head in his right hand, and repeats the *tohi* dedicating the infant to such work as the parents shall think fit and proper. Be it understood that until this ceremony has been performed the child cannot be relied on to carry out any work however simple without making many mistakes. It sometimes happens that an infant is dedicated, even before it is born, to avenge some injury of very ancient date; an injury which has been borne in mind by the family, whose sacred duty it was to avenge it.

When Tu-mata-uenga had lifted the image of clay on to the altar he used these words, "*Ko waenganui tenei wahi, ko te manawa, ko taku manawa, he manawa-tina, he manawa-toka, he manawa-keuken-ora : ko tou manawa ko taku manawa, ko te manawa-tina, ko te manawa-toka, o Tu, o*



*Tu-nuku, o Tu-rangi, o Tu-papa, o Tu-kerekere, o Tu-mata-uenga.*" We may translate this speech as follows:—Within this clay are the organs of life, the organs of my life, the power of digestion and the enduring heart (the heart of the war god) and the beating heart of Tu (the circulation of the blood); thy powers are derived from me for they also are mine, they are the organs of Tu (under his various names). Then Tu breathed into the mouth and nostrils of the clay and instantly this inanimate effigy of a man was endued with life and sneezed. At this sign of life Tu used these words "*Tihe mauri ora ki te Whei-ao ki te Ao-marama,*" namely, Sneeze O spirit of life both in the outer world and in the world of light. The Whei-ao is all that portion of space which is held to lie outside the realms of this earth and which is therefore called the realm of life. Then Tu uttered another *karakia* of great power and the breathing clay arose and was lifted from the altar and then was used the *karakia* known as "Tawhiwhi-tu," and when it was finished the created being was taken to the water at Te One-potaka where the ceremony of the *tohi* was performed, and from that time forth the clay became man and was given the name of Te Ahunga, or Tiki-i-ahua ki Hawaiki, that is Tiki who was formed at Hawaiki. Of all these things, says my informant, the most important is the fact that the clay sneezed, forasmuch as that sign of the power of the gods remains with us even to this day in order that we may be reminded of the great work Tu accomplished on the altar of the Kauhanga-nui, and hence it is that when men sneeze the words of Tu are repeated by those who are present, namely *Tihe mauri ora*.

Such was the origin of man, but there is a certain amount of obscurity over that of women, though there are traditions to the effect that Tiki's wife, Io-wahine, was made subsequently from the same material and by the same hands as Tiki.

I have always noticed a certain amount of hesitation in the answers of my *tokunga* friends when questioned concerning the origin of Tiki's wife. They all appear to realise that they ought to know something of this important fact, but many of them have said plainly that they did not know, while others have said that it was Io-wahine, and that they presumed that she was created in the same manner as Tiki. I have, however, always been impressed with the fact that they did not know, and am therefore not astonished to learn from Professor Giglioli, of Florence, that on the handles of certain carved paddles from Raivavai (one of the Austral Group) Tiki is there depicted as of the female sex. This is interesting and confirms my suspicion that Tiki was the principal of life in human form, complete in his or herself, and might therefore be properly represented as of either sex.

From the fact that all that is god-like in man is derived from the breath of Tu it results that the divine, spiritual and intellectual essences

in mankind are both numerous and potent, and as a natural sequence the body being of mere clay is of little importance except as a shrine for the following spiritual or intellectual essences or attributes, namely the *wairua*, the *hau*, the *mahara*, the *hinegaro*, and the *mauri*, and last but by no means least the hereditary *atua*, who is known as the *kunonga kai*.

The *wairua* is the astral body which has a life of it's own independent of and apart from the earthly tenement. It is that which survives of the man after he has left this world and has entered the *reinga* or shades. I am by no means sure that the *wairua* itself has the power to return either to the *Whei-ao* or to the *Ao-marama*, for I cannot remember an instance in which the return of the *wairua* from the shades to this earth is recorded. Indeed in the legend of *Tawhaki* already quoted it is expressly said that he could not possibly have returned to this earth had he passed the gates of night and entered *Ameto*. But if the *wairua* cannot return to the earth it is clear that the *awe* or shade of the *wairua* can do so, for my readers have only to consult that very amusing book "Old New Zealand" to learn how a *tohunga* called back the spirit of a young chief to speak to his wife and family.

Of all the spiritual attributes of man the most difficult to comprehend is that known as the *hau*; difficult because of the many abstract ideas conveyed to us by the way in which the word is used. For instance, we are told that the *hau* is conferred upon the child by it's elder relatives when they perform the ceremony of *tohi*, hence if there has been no *tohi* there can be no *hau*, and therefore it would seem that the *tohi* develops or perhaps creates the intellectual spark. If a Maori were to comment on any European child who had not been to school he would say that he or she had no *hau*. It is a perfectly logical conclusion so far as the Maori is concerned to say that the *tohi* produces the *hau*; because according to their own traditions the first man was merely clay until life and intellect was conferred upon him by the breath of the god, and the *tohi* is but a repetition of the ceremony performed by *Tu*, and therefore the Maori is justified in assuming that the child is mere clay until the *tohi* has invested him with the divine spark. Of a silent man or one wanting in energy it would be said that the man had no *hau* and from this we may infer that *hau* is also force of character. The Maori is not like a European, he does not readily credit a silent man with the virtues and good qualities which he never possessed.

*Te hau o te riri* is another expression used by the Maoris and it means the breath of battle; but in this case I think the word *hau* does not refer so much to the intellectual spark as to the wind.

So also if a man received a present and passed it on to some third person, then there is no impropriety in such an act; but if a return present be made by this third party then it must be passed on to the original grantor or it is a *hau ngaro*. All of these matters are however merely introductory to the real, or at any rate, most important of the many meanings of this word. I gather that in the matter of witchcraft the *hau* is the actual essence of the man's life; hence if a lock of hair be obtained from his head in order to bewitch him it will contain his *hau* and in such cases it is called an *ohonga*. This is however but a vulgar form of bewitchment, for an artist in the black art can take the *hau* of a man's voice while he is speaking to him and then by the aid of ceremonies and *karakias* appropriate to the occasion, can cause the death of the bewitched one. Such a man can also take the *manea* or *hau* of a man's footprints, a method of destruction much used by the Ngati-Rakai of Akuaku who were the terror of the neighbouring tribes, so that strangers who had occasion to pass the *pa* of that people walked within the wash of the surf so as to leave no footprints.

The *mahara* is the power of thought, the reasoning faculty, and as such is a purely intellectual attribute, which though not born with the body yet develops with it, but nevertheless has an existence apart from that of the body.

The *hinengaro* is the mind or instinct and according to the Maori has an existence independent of the thought or reason, but I have never yet found a Maori who could explain the metaphysical aspects of the two qualities or show where they were antagonistic.

The *mauri* is the vital spark, and when a child has been baptised or to speak more correctly has passed the ceremony of the *tohi*, his *mauri* is sent for safe keeping to Rehua, in the eight heaven, but nonetheless if anything should startle man or woman it is said to be an *oho mauri*, an expression equivalent to our saying that one's heart has jumped into one's mouth.

The Maoris have singular ideas on the subjects of life and death, ideas which in many instances are derived from their earnest belief in the dual origin of man; that is, his god-like descent on the one hand from heaven and earth, by virtue of the breath of Tu, and the other lines of descent from the same source already mentioned, and on the other from Tiki the clay. A *tohunga* placed me in possession of their ancient view on this subject in the following words:—"The old conditions of man was such that he lived, died, and lived again. That is he was born into the world and grew old, but he returned again to childhood and became once more like a baby in arms. Then again he grew old and again renewed his youth but on this occasion he did not return to natural childhood but became an imbecile. On the fourth occasion the man it is said may renew his youth, but in this stage of existence he is

a madman devouring his fish raw and eating the flowers of the forest trees for his food. The fifth stage of old age might be known by the fact that the man appears scarcely to belong to this world. He has it is true the body and appearance of a man but he is unable to speak and can but stare in a frightened manner at those whom he may meet. In the sixth and last stage of old age the man is no longer a human being, but has become a spirit, a *patu-paiarehe*, and that is his end.

That in old times a *tohunga* had the power to bring back the spirit of a dead or dying man from the gates of night, no reasonable Maori of modern days will doubt. For each one of those ills to which flesh is heir there was a *karakia*, which in the mouth of a competent man would hold back the spirit from the dread presence of Meru. I have the whole matter set forth in writing by a man who is thoroughly conversant with the subject, but unfortunately he has dealt with it in a manner highly metaphysical, so that in many instances it is difficult to discover his real meaning. His remarks are, however, delightfully quaint and simple.

As for natural deaths, which my friend calls *Te hemo o Aitu*, he says: "Do not delay the ceremony of the '*Whakanoho manawa*' (The ceremony used by Tu to give life to the clay) beyond the first day after death or the man will not recover, but if the *Manawa-tina* be implanted in him he will recover," and he adds, "When death is struggling against the sacred rite of *Whakaora* it will be well to use the *karakia* called *Titikura*." As to injuries by fire he remarks "That when a man has been burnt he may be healed by the *karakia* called *Whai*, unless indeed he has been quite consumed in which case nothing can be done, because he has been eaten up by the fire of *Mahuika*. The remarks made under this head will probably be considered superfluous, but my friend has evidently considered it necessary to be very exact in his instructions lest the ignorant European should mistake his meaning or be misled by his explanation.

The Maoris hold that the sea has a mysterious power of preservation, or perhaps it may be that it is the *taniwha* of the sea who have this power, for on this point the Maoris are not explicit, but in either case we have instances of the power in Maori tradition. We are told that Taranga threw her immature child Maui-potiki into the sea and that he was subsequently washed hither and thither by the waves, apparently deriving great vigour from the process, for certain it is that he grew into a very famous man-god. In much later times we hear that Iwi-pupu, the mother of Kahu-ngunu, took her newly born son, Uenuku-titi, to the sea in order to wash him, and that he was there washed out of her arms by the waves and presumably drowned. Very long after this mishap, another child was born to the same woman, and was also taken to the water. While washing the infant, another

child was heard crying on the strand, but the woman fearing that it was an evil spirit returned to the *kainga* and related the fact to Iwi-pupu who at once sent her people back to find the child. When the infant was brought to her, she unhesitatingly declared it to be her lost son Uenuku-titi, who, it would seem had been reared by the sea *taniwha*.

These are but two of many tales which might be related of the mysterious power of the sea recorded in the Maori tradition.

I will now speak of the *kumonga kai* to which I have already referred as being one of the spiritual attributes of man. The *ariki* of a Maori tribe is the senior male descendant of the elder branch of the tribe, that is, he is a descendant of the elder son of the elder son of each generation from the time of the original ancestor down to the present day. As such, he was of old regarded almost as a god, inasmuch as he represented all that there was of *māna* and sacredness of his tribe. That he should have been regarded in this light is not astonishing, for the Maoris believed he was something more than human, in that he was the shrine of an hereditary *Atua*, the guardian spirit of the tribe, and could therefore at any time communicate with the tribal gods. The mysterious *māna* of primogeniture is more fully recognised by the Polynesian than by any other people, and when we consider that to this feeling of veneration we must add the presence of the *kumonga kai*, we may be able to form some idea of the sacredness with which an *ariki* was clothed in the mind of all true Maoris. Such a man was not only *tapu* in person but he made everything he touched so dangerously sacred as to be a source of terror to the tribe. To smoke his pipe, or drink from any vessel he had touched, was death speedy and certain at the hands of the gods, who avenge breaches of the *tapu*. These terrors were very real, yet proud was the tribe who could boast that their *ariki* was a sacred man whose blood like that of Te Haramiti was so sacred that it might not be spilt even by his enemies.

In this chapter I have given a mere outline of the Maori religion as an introduction to another chapter which will treat of the superstitions of the same people, and it may well be that my readers will find that the two subjects so overlap that they might have been treated as one. On this point I leave each man to decide for himself.



## SOME WHANGANUI HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY S. PERCY SMITH.

IN 1895, our energetic member, Mr. Elsdon Best, made a journey up the Whanganui River, and took the opportunity of explaining to the natives the object of our Society, and succeeded in interesting them in it. One old man, Te Korenga (or Kerehoma) Tu-whawhakia thought so well of our work that he wrote two volumes of matter relating to the history, etc., of his tribe, which volumes have been lying amongst the Society's records for some years past. One of the most interesting things he wrote was the story of Whaki-tapui, which was printed in Volume V. of the JOURNAL. Such of the matter as is of general interest is now published, together with a few other notes, but a large part of the old man's writings consist of short songs, that have not any particular interest except to his own people, and these have not been included. But I have included a few which have a wider interest, though, without help from the old men of the tribe, I fear the translations cannot be considered satisfactory. Like all Maori poetry they are full of allusion to their own history, many of which are only known to themselves. He also wrote a long story about Tu-tae-poroporo, the famous *taniwha* of Whanganui, but as another edition of this was printed in J.P.S., Volume XIII. p. 89, it has not been reproduced here. Tu-whawhakia died a few years since.

As to the tribes that occupy the valley of the Whanganui river, they claim to be descended, principally, from some members of the crew of the "Aotea" canoe that arrived in New Zealand about the period of the fleet of six canoes, *i.e.*, about the year 1350. But it is certain that the crew of the "Kura-haupo" canoe also contributed to the population; and the strong probability is, that the *tangata-whenua*, or original inhabitants—*te iwi o Toi*—formed the basis of the present tribes. One of the principal tribes is called Nga-Paerangi,

and it is believed, that Paerangi, from whom the people take their name, was one of the *tangata-whenua*. He flourished about 21-23 generations ago, or about the time of the *heke*, (or migration) to New Zealand, and many families of rank trace their descent from him. At the same time, some natives say, that Paerangi came to New Zealand with the *heke*, and more than one line show him to be a descendant of Whiro, whose ancestors are shown quite correctly on the Maori lines according to Tahitian and Rarotongan genealogies.

Mr. Best has a note to this effect: "Though all the Whanganui people say that Kupe on his arrival here, found only the *tiwaiwaka*, *tieke* and *kokako* birds, with no people, yet when questioned closely the old men admit the existence of *tangata-whenua* in the valley of Whanganui. These were the descendants of Paerangi-o-te-moungaroa whose ancestor came from Hawaiki five generations before the arrival of Captain Turi in the 'Aotea' canoe. He was brought here by his *atua*; he had no canoe. There have been three men of the name of Paerangi, one of whom came in the 'Aotea.'" Now this statement as to Paerangi having been brought here by his god, means nothing more than that the old *tangata-whenua* traditions having become overlaid and obliterated by those of the more forceful *heke*; and some origin for Paerangi being necessary, the marvellous has been invoked, and his arrival accredited to the gods. If we may believe the earliest legends extant relating to these parts, there was a numerous people dwelling here in the time of Turi's children and grandchildren. Tu-whawhakia, in his version of Tutae-poroporo, mentions a very numerous people named Ngu-taha, who lived at Aro-pawa Island and the Sounds, north end of the Middle Island. Ao-kehu the slayer of Tutae-poroporo was a grandson of Turi; and Nga-Paerangi are mentioned also as a numerous people living in the Whanganui valley as far up as Operiki (near Corinth) and extending to Whangaehu, at the same period. Mr. Best informs me (after having made inquiries in the Ure-wera country) that he comes to the conclusion that Paerangi came here with Paoa, about five generations before the *heke*. Col. Gudgeon says, the Whanganui ancestor is identical with Paoa's companion, and that there were two of that name—Paerangi—one coming in the "Aotea" canoe, the other the ancestor of Ngati-Hāuā of upper Whanganui, about whose *tangata-whenua* origin there can be little doubt.

Ngati-Hau is another tribal name of Whanganui, and indeed, is sometimes used for the whole of the tribes of that river. This name is derived from Hau-pipi, who was one of the immigrants by the

"Aotea" canoe in 1350. He was the ancestor who is said to have given names to the principal places on the coast between Patea and Wellington, as embodied in an old song composed by Te Rangi-takoru, as an *oriori* or lullaby to his daughter, as follows :—

E hine aku ! kei te kimi au,  
 Ki to kunenga mai i Hawaiki  
 I te whakaringaringa, i te whakawaewae  
 I te whakakanohitanga.  
 Ka manu, E Hine ! te waka i a Ruatea<sup>1</sup>  
 Ko "Kura-haupo,"  
 Ka iri mai taua i runga i a "Aotea,"  
 Te waka i a Turi,  
 Ka u mai taua te ngutu Whenua-kura<sup>2</sup>  
 Huaina iho te whare, ko Rangi-tawhi<sup>3</sup>  
 Tiria mai te kumara, ruia mai te karaka,<sup>4</sup>  
 Ki te tai-ao nei  
 Karia iho te pou ko te puna tama-wahine,  
 Ka waiho i nga tuahine,  
 I a Nonoko-uri, i a Nonoko-tea<sup>5</sup>  
 Ko te here i runga ko te korohunga  
 Kapua mai e Hau ko te one ki te ringa  
 Ko te tokotoko o Tu-roa  
 Ka whiti i te awa ka nui ia ko Whanga-nui,<sup>6</sup>  
 Tiehua te wai ko Whanga-ehu  
 Ka hinga te rakau, ko Turakina,  
 Tikeitia te waewae, ko Rangi-tikei  
 Ka tatutatu, E Hine ! ko Manawa-tu  
 Ka rorohio nga taringa, ko Hokio,  
 Waiho Te Awa-iti hei ingoa mona, ko O-Hau.<sup>7</sup>  
 Takina te tokotoko, ko O-taki  
 Ka mehameha, E Hine ! ko Waimeha,  
 Ka ngahae nga pi, ko Wai-kanae,<sup>8</sup>  
 Ka tangi ko te mapu, E Hine E !  
 Ka tae koe ki a Wai-raka<sup>9</sup>  
 Mata-poutia,—poua ki runga, poua ki raro  
 Ka rarau, E Hine !  
 Ka rarapa nga kanohi, ko Wai-rarapa  
 Te rarapatanga o to tupuna, E Hine !  
 Ka moiki te ao, ko Te Pae-a-Whaitiri<sup>10</sup>  
 Kumea kia warea Kai-tangata,  
 Ki waho ki te moana,  
 Hanga te paepae poua iho,  
 Te pou whakamaro te rangi, ko Meremere,<sup>11</sup>  
 Waiho te whanau, ko te punga o tona waka  
 Ko Te Houmea ko te Te Awhema,  
 Kati, ka whakamutu, E Hine !

## TRANSLATION.

O little maid ! I am searching,  
 Thy origin in far Hawaiki  
 Where thou wer't shaped, thy hands, thy feet,  
 And given unto thee a face.  
 Then floated hither, O child, the canoe of Ruatea !<sup>1</sup>



The far-famed "Kura-haupo"  
 And we (our ancestors) came also in the "Aotea,"  
 The famous canoe of Turi,  
 That landed at the mouth of Whenua-kura<sup>2</sup>  
 Where the house was (built and) named Rangi-tawhi,<sup>3</sup>  
 There was sown the *kumara* and the *karaka*<sup>4</sup> seed,  
 In this land of light first seen,  
 And pillar set up to the female offspring  
 Left in the charge of (or dedicated to) the sisters  
 Nonoko-uri and Nonoko-tea  
 Bound at top with woven belt.  
 Then Hau taking soil of the land in one hand,  
 Together with the staff of Tu-roa  
 (Went forth on his journey, giving names)  
 First he crossed the river, and from its size called it Whanga-nui,<sup>5</sup>  
 Then next he dipped up water and called it Whanga-ehu,  
 Again, he felled a tree to cross and named it Turakina,  
 Beyond, with long stride, he reached and named Rangi-tikei  
 The next with doubts as to his powers of crossing he called Manawa-tu  
 Then a whistling wind in his ears gave rise to Hokio,  
 And the ancient Awa-iti, he named after himself, O-Hau,<sup>7</sup>  
 Speech-making to his followers, took place at O-taki,  
 The next, disappearing in the sand, was Wai-meha  
 Now with glistening, wide open eyes, he crossed Wai-kanae<sup>8</sup>  
 And with deep sighs, O Lady!  
 Thou wilt see the famed rock of Wai-raka<sup>9</sup>  
 (Kupe's daughter) turned into stone by enchantment  
 Now with shining eyes the lake, Wai-rarapa is seen—  
 The shining eyes of thy ancestor, O Lady!  
 The uprising cloud, with the constellation, Pae-o-Whaitiri<sup>10</sup>  
 Who dragged forth (her husband) Kai-tangata  
 Out to the open sea,  
 Then made the beam, and driving in  
 The strengthening pillar of heaven, Meremere,<sup>11</sup>  
 Leaving the offspring, as an anchor for his canoe  
 Te Houmea and Te Awhema  
 Enough! it is ended, O Lady!

## NOTES.

No. 1. Ruatea, Captain of "Kura-haupo." 2. Whenua-kura river, a little South of Patea, where the "Aotea" landed. 3. Rangi-tawhi, Turi's house. 4. The *kumara* and the *karaka*, both said to have been brought over in "Aotea." 5. The names of two stars. 6. Whanga-nui, great bay. The native tradition is that the sea formerly extended over what is now the town of Whanganui in the times of Ao-kehu, circa 1400. The nature of the country seems to support this, and hence the name Great Bay seems appropriate. 7. Te Awa-iti, this shows—as does other evidence—that there were names of these places before the time of Hau. 8. *Kanae*, the glinting of the sunlight on the ripples. 9. Wai-raka, a rock on the shore a few miles south of Pae-kakariki, representing one of Kupe's daughters whom he turned into stone at that place. 10. Te Pae-o-Whaitiri, name of a constellation. Whaitiri and Kai-tangata were ancestors who dwelt in Fiji circa A.D. 700, and the rest of the story has reference to the legends connected with them. 11. Is the name of a star,

The song contains a play on the names of the rivers Hau crossed on his journey in search for his daughter.

Like many rivers Whanganui has its poetical, or honorific names :

Te Awa-nui-a-Rua, the great river of Rua

Te Wai-nui-a-Tarawera, the great waters of Tarawera

Te Koura-puta-roa, the crayfish's deep chasm.

Rua and Tarawera are ancestor's names, whilst the last refers to the facilities offered by the river for retreat to the fastnesses on its banks in case of invasion. Some of these *pas* of refuge were Te Arero-o-te-uru, Ope-riki, and Puke-ika near Ranana. Many an interesting legend is connected with this beautiful river; a few only have as yet been published.

Tu-whawhakia may now be left to tell his story :—

#### KO RUAMANO.

Ko tenei tangata, ko Ruamano, he taniwha. To ratou ariki i taua takiwa ko Puhikai-ariki, nana i karangaranga nga taniwha, ka tere ko Te Ninihi, ko Te Wiwi, ko Te Wawa, ka tere ko Ruamano, ka pae ki uta. E hara i te mea i heke noa mai a Ruamano ki uta nei; kaore. Engari he mea ata whakapae marire; tena me titiro ki te waiata a Te Ao-tarewa; pau katoa nga korero katoa o nehe ki roto ki taua waiata. I te mea kaore he tamariki a taua kuia nei, ka puta tona whakaaro kia mahia he rakau hei tamaiti māna; he mea hanga ki te whakapakoko rakau, ka oti, ka whakakakahuria nga kakahu ki taua tamaiti rakau nei, ka hoatu nga pohoi-toroa ki ona taringa, katahi ka hikitia e taua kuia nei tana tamaiti rakau ki runga ki a ia, na ka waiata ia i tona oriori. Koia tenei taua waiata :

Taku tamaiti e!

I puta mai ra koe i te toi ki Hawaiki,

Kai to uranga, kai to ekenga

Hutia e Maui,

Ka maroke te whenua ki uta,

Ka tupu te rakau hei tamaiti māku,

Tikina e Tangaroa, matai ki roto o Rua-ki-pouri,

He uri ano koe no to tupuna, no Puhikai-ariki

I tere te Ninihi, i tere te Wiwi, i tere te Wawa,

I pae mai ai a Ruamano ki uta

Koia tana nei, whakaheke ake nga tohunga

Naku i tango mai hei oriori mo taku tamaiti

Whakaeaea mai te tu-whenua

Ka tu mai Tongariro, he maunga atua,

Rua e Nga-toro-i-rangi koia te koaro,

Hoki mai whakamuri ko te komae

Takahia e te waewae Te Papa-a-Tari-nuku,

I tu mai to whare ki Tutae-nui

To tanga-ika ko Tauakira

Tuarna o rongo Papako,

To heketanga na ko Parites  
 To huanui na ko Tahuhu-tahi  
 To taumata na ko Te Rua-whakahoro,  
 Kia anganui koe ki te Rewa-tapu,  
 Ko te hirinakitanga o to tupuna—  
 O Rangi-whakumu, he ariki taua E Tama E !

E Tama ! E tangi nei ki te kai mahau,  
 Kaore he kai hei whangainga maku i a koe,  
 Ko to kuia, ko ahau, E Tama !  
 Ko Te Rahiri, nana i kai te anga o te marama,  
 Ko te wai-tokihirangi  
 Kai te whakarongo au E Tama !  
 Ki te korero a nga whenua,  
 I heke mai ano i a Tamatea  
 Kai uiuia koe i Te Mania, i te Hora-a-Moe-hau,  
 Uruhia tomokia i te Rupe-o-Huriwaka,  
 Ko te whare tena i heke mai ai te Pokai akatea,  
 I rawe ai ki ahau ko te Tokoaru no Pae-kawa  
 Kihei au E Tama ! i rongo tinana—  
 He taringa puta-kore, he taringa muhu-kai,—  
 Kotahi te mea i mau mai ki ahau,  
 Kai to hiahia, kai to koronga kai a Tane-mata,  
 Taumahatia te aruhe poipoi,  
 Ka mama koe e hihiri,  
 Ka mama koe e mahara,  
 Ka mama whenei,  
 Ka mama tau-whare-kiokio  
 Ka mama te huhu  
 Ka mama te repo,  
 I tu ai te muka  
 He wahine hoki koe i mau ai ki reira  
 Ta te tane hanga ko to toki whakamoetia-a-  
 Ka moe i te ahiahi-i-, titau e, e,-  
 Na Tara-hongi, na Tara-honga-a-  
 Na Tara-kapea, te mata o to toki  
 Pokapokaia Hawaiiki, whakaturia Kawarau, E Tama !

#### NGA MAHI A TU-WHAKATURI.

(Me ona uri).

Na ! Ka noho nei a Tu-whakaturi i roto i tona pa i Aro-manga.  
 Ka tae ki tetei takiwa ka puta te taua, e haere mai ana ki te kai māna,  
 ki te riri. Ka haere mai nei taua ope-taua ki te kai tangata māna i  
 Whanganui nei. Ka tae mai ki konei, ka eke ki runga ake o te pa, ka  
 takoto te matua a te taua i reira. Kaore te pa i te kite atu, engari kei  
 te tupato te pa ki te taua, kei puta noa mai ka mate ratou i te taua ;  
 engari kua tae mai te rongo o taua taua nei ki a ratou. Takoto mai ra  
 te taua i runga i te puke, ka ahiahi, ka pouri, ka whakapiri ki te pa.  
 Ka tino pouri rawa ka tomokia a roto i te pa. Ko te tangata-whenua  
 kua huia kia kotahi te whare hei nohoanga mo ratou katoa, ko te ingoa

o te whare e noho ra ratou ko "Takatu-o-Rehua." Ko te nuinga o te pa kua whakarerea atu ki te taua; ko te tatau o te whare ka waiho noa iho kia tuhera ana, kia kitea atu te tangata i te tatau o te whare e tu mai ana, kua werohia atu ki te huata; kua tu, kua mate, kua riro mai ki roto ki te whare. Kaore hoki e kitea atu i te pouri o roto o te whare. Ko taua whare hoki, he mea kaha katoa nga rakau o nga pakitara me nga tuaroa me te tuanui.

Ka kite te taua e kore rawa e taea taua whare, katahi ka keria i nga pou o taua whare; huri noa, huri noa, tetahi taha, tetahi taha, o taua whare. Ko nga tangata ia o roto he moe te mahi, ko nga kai-taupua anake e ara ana i te taha ki te tatau. Ko nga tangata o roto o taua whare, hoko whitu tuturu, ara 140 ki ta te Pakeha tatau. Heoi, ka mahi nei nga mano tini ra ki te keria i te whare ra; kia taea e ratou ki runga nga pou ka huri atu e ratou ki te pari.

Na, ka marama iti, ka mohio a Tu-whakaturu kua tata te taea te whare, ka mea ake ki tona iwi, "Maranga! Purutia nga pou o te whare, me te tupato ano ki a koutou rakau-patu; kei kuare koutou!" Ka mea atu ano ki tona iwi, "Mehemea ki te maranga nga pou o te whare, kia kaha ki te huri atu i te whare ki runga ki tera taha; waiho ma ratou e huri te whare ki te pari, kia raruraru ai ratou ki te whare, kia kore ai he ringa ki nga rakau-patu." Heoi; ka taea te whare nei te keria, katahi ka hapainga ki runga. Pohehe te taua ko ratou anake kei te hapai, kaore hoki te tangata-whenua; kaore ia, ko ratou katoa tera e hapai ra i te whare ki runga. Ka rewa ki runga katahi ka tura-kina atu e te tangata-whenua ki runga ki te taua—warea ana te taua ki te huri i te whare ki te pari, katahi ka hapainga te patu a te tangata-whenua ra; kua haere ake hoki kua marama, ka mate. Pohehe etehi o te taua ra ki te papa o te taiaha me te pou-whenua me era atu rakau patu tangata, ko ta ratou whare e amo ra ki te pari tera e papa ra; ara, kaore ia, ko etehi ano o ratou e patua ana e te tangata o te pa. Ka hurihia te whare ki te pari, taka rawa ake ki te pari, kua marama te hapai o te patu. Tahuri rawa ake ki a ratou rakau, me pehea? Kua ngau nui tonu te patu a te tangata-whenua ki te taua. Ko muri o te taua, kua whati noa atu—ka pohehe ki te harurutanga o te whare ki te pari ko mua o ratou kua mate—kaore hoki e ata kitea ana i te ata po, i te kohu hoki.

Na! ka patua nei nga mano ra tae atu ki runga ki te hiwi; tae atu ki te wahi tika, ka patu tonu; tae atu ki raro ki te awa, ka patu tonu; piki ake ki runga ka patu tonu. Ka tae ki Kai-iwi te patunga, katahi ka hoki mai ki muri ki te whakamene i Te-Ika-a-Tu ma ratou, mo te noho ano i roto i to ratou pa; ka noho, me te koa me te hari o te ngakau ki to ratou oranga. Na! ka aranga te ingoa o tenei parekura ko "Whata-raparapa." Te take i tohia ai tenei ingoa, no te whatanga i nga tupapaku, ka ahu ko nga raparapa o nga waewae ki runga, koia te take o tenei ingoa.

Tu-whakaturi                      Heoi: Ka noho nei a Tu-whakaturi, ka tupu tana  
 Tu-tamou                      tamaiti a Tu-tamou; ka moe i a Te Wai-mona, ka  
 Hihimua                      puta ko Hihimua. Ka mate atu a Tu-whakaturi—i  
 Rangihuru-manu              mate noa iho hoki ia, he koroheke ano nana—kaore a  
    Tu-tamou i pakanga ki konei, engari ki waho. Ka  
    whakatupuria e Tu-tamou me tana wahine ta raua  
 tamaiti tane, i a Hihimua. Tera atu ano ra etehi o a raua tamariki,  
 engari ka korero ake au ki to mua.

Ka tupu nei a Hihimua, a, ka rahi; ka moe atu i tana wahine,  
 puta tonu ake ki waho ko Rangihuru-manu.

Ka noho nei taua kaumatua i roto i tona pa i Aromanga me  
 tana whanau katoa—tane, wahine, tamariki,—ka tae ana ki  
 teteahi takiwa, ka haere atu ki te titiro i teteahi o ana pa i Pou-tama.  
 I reira ano hoki etehi o ana tamariki, mokopuna, e noho ana.  
 Ko te matara atu o tera pa i Aromanga, e toru-te-kau ranei nga *tini*,  
 iti mai ranei. Heoi, te hokinga atu o nga orange o te taua i patua ra  
 e Tu-whakaturi, kore tonu ake i hoki mai, tera te whakatupu atu ra, a,  
 ka tae ki teteahi wa ka noho a Hihimua i Pou-tama. Ka mahia nga  
 kumara o Pou-tama, o Otire, ka oti, ka toko a Rangihuru-manu ki uta  
 o Whanganui, ara, ki Tieke ma, ki Utapu ma, ki era o ona kainga. Ka  
 tae ki te ngahuru ka whakaaro mai ia kua hauhake nga kumara o  
 Kanihinui o Otire, o Poutama, katahi ka hoe mai, ka tae mai ki raro  
 iho o Tau-tara-nui ka kite iho te taua i a ia e hoe ana; ka kite ake hoki  
 ia i te taua ra. Ka oha ake, ka oha iho te taua, me te ui iho ano,  
 kowai tenei e hoe nei. Ka mea ake ia, “Ko au! Ko Huru-manu!”  
 Ka mea iho te taua, “Ina te peke o te kaumatua nei te iri nei  
 na!” Mohio ake ia, kua mate tona papa, a Hihimua. Ka mea ake ia,  
 “Na wai te ope?” Ka mea iho tera, “Nāku, na Te Rai-ka-whiua!”  
 Ka mea iho ano, “E noho! I muri nei tete Hihimua ake mou!” Ka  
 mea ake ia, “Haere! Ka mau ano to whanaunga ki to ringa ka haere,  
 Haere! Mou tai ata, moku tai ahiahi.”

Na! Ka noho a Rangihuru-manu, ka hauhake i ana kumara ki roto  
 i te rua i Otire. Ka oti, ka toko ano ia ki uta o Whanganui, ara, ki  
 Tieke, ki Utapu, ki te tutu taua māna hei ngaki i te mate o tona papa.  
 Ko teteahi hoki tera o ana iwi, i Tieke; mene katoa mai i a ia nga hapu  
 katoa o reira. Na, ka hoe mai a Rangihuru-manu me tona iwi, me  
 Ngati-Atua-roa. Ka tae mai ki konei; ka hui katoa a Nga-Paerangi ki  
 konei; i te taenga mai o taua iwi, katahi ka haere ki te ngaki i te mate  
 o Hihimua—ka whai ano i te kupu i kiia atu ra ki a Te Rai-ka-whiua,  
 “Haere! mou tai ata, moku tai ahiahi.”

Na, ka haere atu nei te taua a Whanganui nei ka tae ki Wai-totara;  
 rokohanga atu, ki tonu te pa o te tangata-whenua, ko te ingoa o te pa ko  
 Potiki-a-Rehua. Katahi ka karapotia e te taua te whare nui nei, a  
 Toka-anuheha, tae atu ki nga whare ririki. Ka tika ko Rangihuru-

manu ki te whare i noho ai a Te Rai-ka-whiua. Ka huaki te ata, katahi ka patua te pa ra e te taua, ka mate. I te ata, ka marama, ka hurahia te whare o Te Rai-ka-whiua e Huru-manu; ka ui mai a Te Rai-ka-whiua ki a Huru-manu, "Ko wai tenei?" Ka mea atu ia, "Ko au! I ki ake ra koe ki au 'E noho, i muri nei tete Hihimua mou.' Ka ki atu ra au, 'Hoatu! mou tai ata, moku tai ahiahi.'" Ka mea mai a Te Rai-ka-whiua "Haere mai e Koro! Kaore ana, he awatea!" Heoi, ka patua, ka mate, ka ea te mate o Hihimua.

Hoki mai ana te taua, mutu ake te pakanga, kore ake nei tenei mate i ara mai, takoto tonu atu, he takoto nona. Te ingoa o tenei parekura a Huru-manu, ko "Whata-piropiro"; ko te take i tohia ai tenei parekura, no te whakairinga i nga piro katoa ki runga ki te whata.

## RUAMANO.

(Translation of the Preceding.)

This man, Ruamano, was a *taniwha*, and their lord at that time was Puhi-kai-ariki, who had power to assemble the *taniwhas*. At his call came forth Te Ninihi, Te Wiwi, Te Wawa, and Ruamano, who drifted ashore. It is not the case that Ruamano came ashore of his own will, rather was he forced (by the power of *karakia*); see the following song composed by Te Ao-tarewa, in which all ancient knowledge is included. Because that old lady had no child of her own she concluded to make one of wood, it was made in the form of a wooden image, and when finished was clothed in garments with a tuft of albatross feathers in its ear, and then she nursed it in her arms, and sang to it her *oriori* or lullaby. This is that song:—

My little child  
 Thou camest from the peak<sup>1</sup> at Hawaiki,  
 On thy landing, on thy coming ashore,  
 (To the land) that was hauled up from the depths by Maui,<sup>2</sup>  
 And became the dry land on shore,  
 And trees grew to form a child for me,  
 'Twas Tangaroa that sought in depths of Rua-ki-pouri<sup>3</sup>  
 Thou art a descendant of thy ancestor the famed Puhi-kai-ariki<sup>4</sup>  
 That caused Te Ninihi, Te Wiwi, and Te Wawa  
 To arise and float from their lairs,  
 When Ruamano was forced ashore,  
 Such was his fate, by the powers of powerful *tohungas*,  
 And now have I taken it (this story) as a lullaby for my child,  
 Forth from the depths appeared the main land  
 And Tongariro stood in his place, a mountain of the gods,<sup>5</sup>  
 Where Nga-toro-i-rangi scattered the seed of the *koaro*;<sup>6</sup>  
 Then turned his love to those left behind,<sup>7</sup>  
 And Papa-a-Tarinuku (? the earth) was trodden on,  
 At Tutae-nui, there stood thy house.  
 Thy                                was Tautaki hill<sup>8</sup>  
 Twice was thy fame (heard of) at Papako,

Thy descent was at Pari-tea  
 Thy road was at Tahuhu-tahi  
 The brow where thou rested was Te Rua-Whakahoro,  
 Where thou turned thy face to Te Rewa-tapu<sup>9</sup>  
 The reclining place of thy ancestor—  
 Of Rangi-whakumu; we are of high born rank, O Child!<sup>10</sup>

O little one! that criest for some food,  
 There is no food for me to feed thee with,  
 For me, thy mother, O little one!  
 It was Te Rahiri, who ate the shell of the moon,  
 (Called) Te Wai-tokihi-rangi,  
 Often have I heard, O little one!  
 The story told in many lands,  
 That we came hither with Tamatea<sup>11</sup>  
 Lest thou be questioned at Te Mania, at Te Hora-a-Moe-hau,<sup>12</sup>  
 Enter straight the house named the Rupe-o-Huriwaka<sup>13</sup>  
 The house from which descended the Pokai-akatea  
 And whence I gained the Tokoaru from Pae-kawa  
 I did not, O little one! distinctly hear the whole,  
 For my ear has no oriface, a deaf ear,  
 One thing alone did I grasp,  
 Thy strong desire, thy ardent wish towards Tane-mata.  
 Offer up the sacrificial fern-root,  
 Utter the inciting invocation,  
 Utter the invocation of memory  
 Utter the invocation  
 Utter that known as "tau-whare-kiokio"  
 Utter the *huhu* (swamp)  
 Utter the *repoe* (swamp)  
 Wherein grows the flax  
 For thou art a woman who was there caught,  
 Man's work is the axe.....

By Tara-hongi, by Tara-honga—a—  
 By Tara-kapea, the edge of thy axe,  
 That burst open Hawaiki, that set up Kawarau—O Lady!

#### NOTES.

No. 1. "the *toi* at Hawaiki," *toi* is peak, summit; but other references in old songs seem to show it to mean also, the "severance" of the people from their old home and associations. It would also mean, that the child descended from the high chiefs of Hawaiki. 2. Refers to Maui's hauling up of the North Island, by fishing—a well known legend, common throughout Polynesia. 3. Refers to the god Tangaroa's search in the nether world—Rua-ki-pouri, for knowledge, a tradition of which there are only fragments left. 4. Puhi-kai-ariki, a god of the *tanaiwha* tribe, also name of the ancestor from whom the Nga-Puhi tribe take their name. 5. Tongariro mountain was until quite recent years very sacred. 6. The *koaro* fish is said to descend from Tongariro by a subterranean stream, into lake Roto-a-Ira, where they may be seen at any time; Nga-toro-i-rangi, the high priest of "Te Arawa" canoe, is said to have placed them there. 7. Refers to Nga-toro-i-rangi calling to his sisters in far Hawaiki for sacred fire, with which he ignited the volcano of Tongariro. 8. Tana-kira, a mountain some 40 miles up the

Whanganui River. 9. Rewa-tapu is possibly the very sacred spot near Waiongana, Taranaki. 10. The last 7 lines appear to apply to some migration. 11. Tamatea, an ancestor and captain of "Taki-tumu." 12 and 13. Appear to be names of *Whare-maire* or houses of learning such as formerly existed—much of the rest of the song is some invocation that requires the old men to translate.

#### THE DOINGS OF TU-WAKATURI AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

Behold! Tu-whakaturi dwelt in his *pa* at Aro-manga (near Kau-ara-paoa),\* and on one occasion a *taua*, or war-party appeared, who came to fight and obtain food. That *taua* came to obtain human flesh at Whanganui. When they arrived here above the *pa*, they formed their company there. The people of the *pa* did not see them, though they were on the alert, lest they be surprised and killed; for the news of this *taua* had already reached them. The *taua* remained concealed on the hill until evening, and it was dark, and then they approached the *pa*. When it was quite dark they entered the *pa*. The people of the place all gathered into one large house, named "Takatu-o-Rehua," whilst the greater part of the *pa* was abandoned to the enemy. The door of the house was left open so that it might be seen if anyone approached, when he would be speared with a *huata* (long spear), and on being killed he could be dragged into the house. Nothing could be seen of the inside of the house on account of the darkness. The house had been built very strongly, with heavy planks on the sides, ends, and roof.

When the *taua* saw that they could not take the house in ordinary manner, they commenced to undermine the posts, on both sides of the house. The occupation of the people inside was sleep—all but the sentries at the sides of the door. The numbers inside were 70—i.e., 140, according to the *pakeha*'s counting. The numberless people of the *taua* continued their work, with the intention, so soon as the posts were loosened, to throw the whole house over the cliff.

Directly a little light was seen where the *taua* was excavating, Tu-whakaturi knew that the object would be accomplished, so he said to his people, "Arise, take hold of the post of the house, and be careful not to forget your weapons; be on your guard!" He continued, "If the posts come up, use your utmost strength to throw

\*Kau-ara-paoa, a tributary of the Whanganui on the right bank 7 miles above Upoko-ngaro opposite Kuamoā. Hiku-wera is an old fighting *pa* one mile up this the stream. At the mouth of the stream, left bank, is the famous Hamama-te-rangi *pa*, the high *maioro*, or ramparts, of which are still standing, some 16 feet high, outside of which is a ditch about 12 feet wide. Ngati-Hine, Ngati-Hinerua, and Ngati-rongo-mai-tawhiri are the people here. The modern name of this *pa* was Matai-kai. Major Kepa's carved *aukati* post, 30 feet high, still stands at this *pa*. E.B., 1895. (*Aukati* the "pale" boundary).



the house over to that side; leave it to them to heave it over towards the cliff, so that they may be fully engaged with the house and have no hands to use their weapons." And now the work of digging was accomplished, and the lifting of the house commenced. The *taua* were deceived, thinking that they alone were lifting the house; not so, all, including the people within were helping. When the house was quite clear and above, it was forced over on top of the *taua*—which all the time had been striving to throw it over the cliff, and thus allowed the people of the place to use their weapons; it was getting lighter by this time, and enabled the people to fall on the *taua*. Some of the *taua*, hearing the blows of the *taiahas*, *pou-whenuas*, and other weapons, thought it was the house that cracked as they bore it towards the cliff, but it was not so, it was some of their own people being killed by the people of the *pa*. The house went over the cliff, and by that time it was quite light enough to strike home. When the *taua* turned to secure their weapons, what could they do? by that time the slaughter was in full swing. The rear part of the *taua* had already fled directly they heard the crash of the house over the cliff, thinking it was their advance party that had been killed—for they could not see clearly on account of the darkness, and it was foggy also.

And now the many of the *taua* were followed up, right up to the ridge, and on to the level ground beyond, down to the stream, up the ascent on the other side, the killing continued. It was not until the chase had extended as far as Kai-iwi that the slaughter ended, and the victors turned back to collect the *Ika-a-Tu*—the fish of Tu, (the slain), and take them back to the *pa*, with joy and gladness at their escape from death. Now, the name given of this battle was "Whata-raparapa," because the dead were suspended from a *whata*, or stage, with the soles of their feet (*raparapa*) upwards.

And now Tu-whakaturi dwelt at his *pa* of Aro-manga, and there

Tu-whakaturi	his son Tu-tamou was born. The latter married
Tu-tamou	Te-Wai-mona, and their son was Hihi-mua. So
Hihi-mua	Tu-whakaturi died—of old age. Tu-tamou did no
Rangi-huru-manu	fighting near his home, but in other districts.
	And he and his wife brought up their son Hihi-mua—
	there were others, but I shall only speak of this one.

Hihi-mua grew up to manhood and married, and had a son born named Rangi-huru-manu, who also grew up to manhood and became aged.

The old man dwelt in his *pa* at Aro-manga together with his relatives—men, women and children—until on one occasion he went to visit another of his *pas* at Pou-tama. There were living some of

his children and grandchildren. Pou-tama is about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile from Aro-manga. Now, those who escaped from the battle fought by Tu-whakaturi, never attempted to return and retaliate for their losses, but contented themselves with "growing men" for revenge when they were strong enough; this was up to the time when Rangi-huru-manu paid his visit to Pou-tama. After the *kumara* crop at Pou-tama and Otire (opposite Kau-ara-paoa) had been set, Rangi-huru-manu went up the Whanganui river to Tieke, Utapu, and other settlements of his in that neighbourhood. When summer came, he concluded that the *kumaras* would be ripe at Kanihinihi, Otire and Pou-tama, so he started on his way back. When he reached a little below Tau-tara-nui, he was seen by a *taua*, and they were seen by him; the parties saluted, and the *taua* called down from above to ask who it was that was paddling along. He replied, "It is I! Huru-manu!" The *taua* then said, "Behold the fore-quarter of the old man hanging there!" He knew at once that his father, Hihi-mua, had been killed. Rangi-huru-manu then asked, "Whose war-party is this?" The other called down, "Mine! Te Rai-ka-whiua!" adding, "Remain (goodbye), hereafter make another Hihi-mua for yourself.\*" Then said Rangi-huru-manu, "Go! and take in thy hand thy relative. Go! yours is the morning tide, mine the evening tide!" (*i.e.* your opportunity is now, mine will come yet).

So Rangi-huru-manu remained to gather in his crop of *kumara* into the storehouses at Otire, after this he "poled"† inland up the Whanganui River to Tieke and Utapu, to raise a *taua* to obtain revenge

\* There is a play on the name Hihi-mua here, which I am at a loss to translate.

† *Toko*, to pole a canoe, a common expression, used because poling is much more effective than paddling against the strong current of the river. Along the banks wherever the rock is seen—and in the upper parts this is usually the case—the holes made by the *toko*s or poles are everywhere visible, and the same holes have been used generation after generation. The Whanganui people are probably the most accomplished canoe-men in the country; and thereby hangs a tale. When Tamatea, said to be captain of the "Takitumu" canoe (*circa* 1350) visited Whanganui, he took a crew of the local men up the river and on overland to Lake Taupo. Here a discussion arose as to which was the most difficult river for canoe navigation, the Whanganui or the Waikato. The Whanganui men naturally supported the claims of their own river. In the end the Taupo people dared the others to descend the rapids of the Waikato after it leaves lake Taupo. A canoe was consequently launched and the Whanganui crew, with Tamatea at the steering paddle, started down the river. A Taupo man accompanied them as far as a little islet just above the Huka rapid and falls, where he jumped ashore telling the others to proceed; they did so, and were soon flying down the deep, straight channel just above the falls, not knowing what was before them. The canoe flew along like an arrow from a bow, and then the 25 feet perpendicular fall was reached, over which the mighty Waikato descends in a mass of beautiful foam—hence the name, Huka = foam—Tamatea and his crew saw too late what awaited

for the death of his father. The people of Tieke and those parts were all his own people. So the *taua* paddled down the river under Rangi-huru-manu, which included also the Ngati-Atua-roa sub-tribe. When they arrived here—at Kai-whaiki—they were joined by all the Nga-Paerangi tribe, and proceeded on their way to avenge the death of Hihi-mua—they were bent upon carrying out the words that had been said to Te Rai-ka-whiua, thus, "Go! return, yours is the morning tide, mine the evening tide."

The *taua* of Whanganui proceeded overland to Wai-totara (about 20 miles along the coast north of the former river, and where the Nga-Rauru people live) and on their arrival found all the people gathered into their *pa* named Potiki-a-Rehua. The *pa* was now besieged, the great house, Toka-anuhe, and many other smaller ones were surrounded (in the night). Rangi-huru-manu went straight to the house where Te Rai-ka-whiua was dwelling. As day dawned, the attack commenced, and the *pa* taken. When it was quite light the house of Te Rai-ka-whiua was opened by Rangi-huru-manu. The former asked, "Who is that?" The latter replied, "Tis I! You (formerly) said to me, 'Farewell; hereafter make another Hihi-mua for yourself,' and I replied, 'Go! yours is the morning, mine the evening tide!'" Te Rai-ka-whiua then said, "Welcome O Sir! it is daylight." (*i.e.* There was nothing underhand in Rangi-huru-manu's attack; it was in accordance with his words on the previous occasion, and the speaker further implied that his present predicament was justly his due). Enough; he was killed, and thus was avenged the death of Hihi-mua.

The *taua* now returned to their homes, and the fighting ceased; this defeat was never avenged, (the account) lies as it was left. This battle of Huru-manu's was named "Whata-piropiro," and the reason why it was so called was because the entrails of the killed were hung on a stage (*whata*.)

#### PATU-PAI-AREHE.

(Translation.)

I will explain how it is this *atua* (god, but better translated here, as affliction) kills the Maori people. In the summer, in February, when the *karaka* berries are ripe, the kernels are cooked in the

them. The speed the canoe was travelling at almost shot her out of the water as she reached the top of the falls. With a cry of horror from the crew, the canoe descended perpendicularly down the fall into the deep pool below, and, say the Taupo people, neither Tamatea, his crew, nor the canoe, were ever seen again—notwithstanding their ability as canoeemen, Waikato was too much for them. There are several places on the Whanganui river which bear names connected with Tamatea. See some observations about this same Tamatea. J.P.S. Vol. XIV. p. 81.

native oven for food, and very good food it is. After cooking the berries are placed in baskets, whilst the embers (charcoal) of the fire are taken into the houses. When guests are received the charcoal is ignited for warmth, which induces the guests to sleep, and the door of the house is closed. Whilst asleep the people do not perceive the arrival of this god, Patu-pai-arehe; even if there are 30 or 40 or more people, they may all be stricken at the same time. Should, however, any man see this god he calls out "A Patu-pai-arehe!" and then all the people within the house are dragged outside, and are soused with cold water. This will save them all, because that *atua* is one who will listen when he is propitiated. It is not the case that the god is ever seen; no! it is by his works that he is known. The head aches, and the body trembles, whilst the eyes cannot see.

I myself (Tu-whawhakia) was affected by this *atua* at Ngati-Ruanui in 1881. There were 30 of us who were caught by the god in two houses, and we were saved by the people of the place, who soused us with water, and thus we recovered, but only after a week of illness. The houses we were in were built of planks, in the form of the Maori *whare-puni*, varnished inside. There was a great deal of charcoal burnt in the houses the first night we were there, and we believed that this god, the Patu-pai-arehe, dwelt in the varnish. (Obviously, our friend was asphyxiated by the fumes of charcoal. The same name is given to a mythical race, who are white in colour, usually called fairies).

#### THE GOD MARU.

This god is both good and bad. I will speak of its goodness. If the food-crop of any man fails, and he repeats his *karakias* to Maru, it will be saved, however bad the crops may be. Also, if a man infringes his *tapu* and is about to die in consequence, if he says his *tataku* (or invocation) to Maru, he will live. If he neglects to do so, he dies; even if he invokes other gods, such as Kahu-kura (the rainbow god) &c. But in case Maru does not listen at first, a native dog is caught, his throat cut and cooked in the oven. The head is then given to the *tohunga* (priest) who takes it to the *tuahu* (altar), and there the teeth are exposed so as to be seen by Maru who laughs at the image, and the *karakias* are thus offered by man to propitiate him so that he may show love to the sick person. This is the good that I know of Maru, but he has other good points too.

I will now speak of his evil. He is *he atua tangi kai* (a god always crying for food). If his share is omitted at meals, he becomes very evil, even killing men because of their omissions.

Only by *karakia* can a man be saved in such a case. If a large eel is killed the head must be given to Maru to appease him. But it is the same with all fish caught either in the sea or fresh water, their heads must be given to Maru.

His many good points are shown if food is set aside for him, if property is given him, if fish is offered, if with him is left the ruling of the cultivations, if the ruling of new houses is under his direction ; if man neglects him, he becomes evil.

Numerous cultivations have been ruined through neglecting him. Pehi-Turoa\* had a *kumara* farm that was eaten up by the *pukeko* birds, the *awheto* caterpillar, and by numerous other vermin. Hence the old man bemoaned his cultivations, and bewailed them in the following manner :—

1. E ki ana au E 'Keko !  
He tama iana koe na Punga i runga ra-e-e-i  
I patua iara ki te Wai-ranga-tui  
He toto iana koe no Tawhaki e, i, i,
2. Ngaro noa atu koe, e te kai maku,  
E tangi ki te kuru ki Kakau-a-rangi  
Ki taku toki hei whakahoki mai,  
Te hiakai, e, e, i  
Ka tae kau te rongo ki a Manga-tai,  
Tenei au kei te mahi kai e, e, i
3. Kotahi au i mate ai  
Ko taku whare tane ka tupu kau  
Ko te waha pa mai kei Okahu,  
He whakamenenga ki Horo-manga ra, e, e, i, i  
Ka tu ai au ki runga ra,  
Ka waiho ai koutou  
Hei hapai mo taku marae, e takoto nei, e, e, i, i  
Hoatu hoki au, i pakia nga pae-manu ki te Ihupuku  
Ki a Tatara e noho mai ra, e, e, i, i.
1. I am saying O 'Keko !<sup>1</sup>  
Thou art the offspring of Punga above<sup>2</sup>  
Who was killed at Wai-ranga-tui,  
Thou art of the blood of Tawhaki,<sup>3</sup>
2. Thou art completely lost, O the food for me !  
Only by crushing blows with the Kakau-a-rangi<sup>4</sup>  
With my axe, will the food return,  
Alas the hunger !  
The report will reach Manga-tai<sup>5</sup>  
That I am engaged in (fresh) cultivation.

\* A very well known chief of high rank, of Whanganui, who died not many years ago. See note at the end of the paper.

3. The one thing that afflicts me,  
Is my guest-house that stands desolate,  
A voice was heard at Okahu,  
(Calling) the assemblage at Horo-manga,  
Whilst I stand here alone  
Leaving it to you all,  
To support my meeting-place down there,  
My ill-luck strikes the bird-rests at Ihupuku,  
Where dwells (my rival) Tataara<sup>6</sup>

NOTES.

1. 'Keko, short for *pukeko*, a bird. 2. Vermin were supposed to be the offspring of Punga. 3. The god Tawhaki was supposed to have coloured the red top knot of the *pukeko* with his blood. 4. Name of the constellation Orion (said to be an axe) which the composer proposes to use in his new cultivation. 5 and 6. His rivals in cultivation.

The reason of this lament of his was, his trouble lest the news of his destroyed cultivations should reach the chiefs named in the song, that is, Mangatai and Tataara, who were very great cultivators, as was Pehi-Turoa. If the latter heard that those two chiefs had very large cultivations, he would increase his own to exceed theirs. Hence was he so desolate, and in those days the news of a great cultivation spread far and wide, just like news of an invading army. Thus shame fell on his eyes.

At last the old man concluded to flee to his settlements in the wilds for fear guests should arrive, and he would die of shame at having nothing to give them to eat. He also composed another song in reference to his feelings:—

Ma te tira puta mai e ui,  
Kei whea Rau-kawa e ngaro e, e, i, i,  
Kei te hunahuna, kei te whakangaro  
Kei te whare matapihi o Rehua—  
Ki Rangi-huna, kia ngaro ai, e, e, i, i.

When the company of guests arrive,  
(They will ask) Where is Rau-kawa<sup>1</sup> gone,  
He is hiding, he is concealing himself,  
In the windowed house of Rehua,<sup>2</sup>  
At Rangi-huna, is he hiding.

NOTES.

1. Probably a second name for Pehi Turoa. 2. Rehua, a star that rises at the time the *kumara* crops are housed and therefore at that time man is free to devote himself to war—to avenge any injury his tribe may have suffered.

The reason of this affliction was such as I have mentioned above. If the direction of the work were given to the god Maru, the cultivation would be preserved. But on account of the unbelief of

the heart, the fruits were destroyed by the god Maru and his god-friends Kahu-kura and others. Because he—Maru—is chief of all gods.\*

In the following year things were changed, and Pehi-Turoa's crops were very abundant, and he was very pleased, because he had turned for assistance to the god Maru. Thus it may be seen, sometimes Maru is good, sometimes evil.

A similar case occurred to a man of Ngati-Ruanui, who had to lament his *kumara* cultivations eaten by the vermin—the *awheto*, the *moe-one*, the *moka*, the *kowhitiwhiti* and others—through the work of Maru, so there was nothing but stalks without leaves left. So the old man lamented his loss in the following manner :—

Tuku ra, e te wai-kohu o te whitu  
 He whaitakinga atu naku ki waho ra,  
 Te matatakinga, i roto te tau-mutu,  
 Te karapatanga atu ki te puke-i-ahua  
 Turakina te wai-tao ka hinga ki Rurutu ;  
 Turakina te wai-manu, ka hinga ki Wai-manu-katea  
 E tia ia nei, ko te one i tahia  
 Ka rongo ano au,  
 Ko Moana-uriuri  
 Te mara a Rehua, i kai-taua ai a Maru,  
 I kainga tauatia ai a Muru  
 Tikina atu ra ki te aitanga a Hine-makinokino  
 Ki rokohanga iho, ko Mohio te rangi,  
 Ka hinga te kauwaha, ka hinga te moe-one,  
 Ka hinga te awheto,  
 I whakaraui katia ki waenga  
 Karia iho te rua, ko Ariki-wareware,  
 Te pou o roto, Te Rangi-whakakapua,  
 He ai te kopani ko Haruru-mai-roto  
 He ai te whakaata, ko Te Rangi-paekura  
 Tana papa-ahu, ko Papa-tahia  
 Kimihia ki Whatitiri, ko Mitihanga-te-kore,  
 Nana taku kai ka utoki (or kaupae) iho  
 I tu ano au te tahanga i a Rongo  
 Ki titiro iho au e tupu auau ake ana,  
 Ki whawhatia iho te hou a Kahu-kura,  
 Hei o moku ka kimi ai au  
 I te whatu i te one, ka rewa ko te iho,  
 Riariaakina nga whakauru ora,  
 Ko Ri-rangi, ko Te Rangi-tamaru,  
 Ko Te Rangi-hou-kura, ko Te Rangi-pae-kura,  
 Nga waka tena o te Kahui-rongo,  
 I tere mai i Hawaiki  
 Ngaro noa atu koe,  
 Ma oku tuakanae pupuru mai  
 I roto te tapuae, e, i

\* Whilst Maru was a very powerful god on the West Coast, it cannot be allowed that he was the "chief of all gods"—nor, if it had been put to him, would the author have placed him before Tu, Rongo, Tangaroa etc.

Come come, O ye mists of the seventh month,  
 Whilst I go forth to contemplate—  
 To behold the work of the season of drought,  
 As I look askance at the moulded hillocks,<sup>1</sup>  
 Overthrown as by volleys of spears, as when Rurutu fell—  
 Cast down by swarms of insects, as at Wai--manu-katea  
 'Tis as if the earth were swept bare as sand.

I have heard it said,  
 Te Moana-uriuri was the cultivation of Rehua  
 That was destroyed as by war, by Maru,  
 Who brought the crawling offspring of Hine-makinokino  
 And found there Mohio-te-rangi,  
 Then fell the *Kau-waha*,<sup>2</sup> fell the *moe-one*<sup>3</sup>  
 Destroyed was the *awheto*,<sup>4</sup>  
 And laid in serried rows in the midst  
 There was dug the pit named Ariki-wareware,  
 With its inside pillar called Rangi-whakakapua,  
 And the covering panel, Haruru-mai-roto.  
 The reflected light was Te Rangi-pae-kura  
 They were gathered and burned in ovens.

Seek and ask of Whatitiri at Mitihanga-te-kore,  
 Who destroyed my crop in heaps,  
 I stood by the side of (believed in) Rongo  
 That I might see my crop, as living plants  
 And delving find Te Hou-o-Kahukura<sup>5</sup> (the *kumara*)  
 For sustenance was what I sought  
 In cultivating the soil; but useless germs remain.

Arise the life-giving canoes  
 Ri-rangi, Rangi-tamaru  
 Te Rangi-hou-kura, Te Rangi-pae-kura  
 For those were the canoes of Te Kahui-Rongo  
 That hither came from Hawaiki  
 But now are all lost  
 Let my deceased elders hold  
 By their sacred life-giving footsteps.

## NOTES.

1. The *kumara* is planted in little hillocks. 2. A large caterpillar. 3. A grub.
4. The large green caterpillar which becomes afterwards the vegetable caterpillar.
5. Name, emblematical for the *kumara*, which is said by some tribes to have been brought here by Kahu-kura. N.B.—Hare Hongi has helped me with the meanings of some of the lines in this very ancient song, but I fear I have missed the meaning some times.

When his relatives and elders heard this song they were affected, and gave him some *kumaras* for food, and seed for next year. Numbers of people have been afflicted in the same way, but I cannot give all their laments.

Maru was the principal god of the Maoris, from our distant ancestors down to ourselves, even to the time when his works were shut out by Christianity.



There are some proverbs (*whakatauki*) relating to the *toa-taua*, or warrior, and the *toa-ngaki-kai*, or cultivator. For the first, "*E hara te toa taua, he toa pahekeheke*. The brave in war, are but transitory braves. But *Te toa ngaki kai, he toa mou roa*, the brave in cultivating endure for ever.

#### HE WHAKAMOMORI—(SUICIDE).

When Te Uru-manao, daughter of Pehi-Turoa died, her father was very desolate. He said, "*Engari a Huru-tara kei te rekareka tona ngakau, ka ora tana tamaiti a Te Kapua. Tena ko au, kei te pouri ki taku tamaiti*." "*Huru-tara has a happy heart for his son Te Kapua lives. As for me I am desolate on account of my daughter*." When Te Kapua heard of these words he was much troubled at them, for he thought it implied that he would be killed by Pehi. He came to the conclusion it would be better to kill himself. He went into his house to hang himself, but first he dressed himself in all his finery, put plumes of *huia* feathers and *rau-kura* in his hair, stuck his greenstone *mere* in his belt, anointed himself with oil scented with *mokimoki* and *Ti-kumu*, adorned himself with *aute* bark, and all the signs of chieftainship. The whole house was full of sweet scents. But none of his people knew of his death. He had two reasons for his suicide, the words spoken by Pehi, and the death of his wife.

Now when Huru-tara died his spirit departed for the Nga-Puhi country in the north, to Te Au-pouri, *i.e.*, to Te Rerenga-wairua, the Spirit's Leap at the North Cape. The people of those parts saw his spirit passing, saw him ascend the hill at Mori-a-nuku, where he sat down to sing his farewell to his relatives and home, which was heard by the people of that country and retained in their memories. This is his song :—

To ra koia ko te ra  
 He awa rerehu atu ki te rua,  
 Homai kia reia te rerenga ki Te Tawa-mutu,  
 Kia tutaki ake i te wairua e, no te uru,  
 Kia tuku pototia nga rongo kino i a au  
 Tenei te wana nei he peha kei roa te tau,  
 Ka hemo i mua ra i aku rangi  
 E manahau ana nei  
 Ora ana ra te whetu nui o te rangi  
 Kurua e te kanohi kei tae au,  
 Kei titiro i te kuhu whakairi  
 Na runga ana mai i a Koromaki  
 Nana nei taku aro i waere  
 Te tuaki atu i te puni o te waka e maha,  
 Ki te utauta ka hara mai ka pakaru  
 Ma wai ra au e karawhiu  
 Ma Te Tuatini rawa, i te hau kuru  
 Ki te hau kaha  
 Ko te ngutu ki te whakahoki e.

## THE REWHAREWHA.

(The above name is given to an epidemic of a most disastrous nature which afflicted most parts of the North Island at the close of the eighteenth century. It is believed to have occurred about 1790, and the Nga-Puhi traditions say it took place very shortly after the loss of Rongo-tute's ship in Palliser Bay, when the crew were massacred and eaten. The following is the Whanganui account of that great affliction).

## KAU-ARA-PAOA PA, HURA-AERO.

Now behold! The people dwelt in peace in the *pa* at Kau-ara-paoa (about 14 miles up the Whanganui river from the present town) until, at a certain time there came news of a large war-party, which were descending the river from its sources to attack them. There were some 800 warriors in this *pa*, not counting the old men, for in those days the people were very numerous, and the Maori people had not commenced to decrease. The war-party came on down the river on a raid to the South, and their canoes covered the surface of the water with their numbers, for the up river people were very numerous. It was just at this time the scourge called the Rewharewha attacked our people, it was a very serious calamity and vast numbers of people died of it. People were attacked one day and did not live over the night, though sometimes two days and nights passed before death claimed its victim. It was not a few only that were seized, but ten, twenty, or thirty were taken at the same time, so that it became impossible for the living to properly bewail the dead, owing to the numbers who died. Day after day, there was no breathing time allowed to the living on account of the numerous deaths. Now, a great fear fell upon the people of Kau-ara-paoa on account of this dreadful malady, and through the news of the approaching war-party descending the river. So an exodus took place, and the people fled to the mountains, to places where they could look down on the river and watch the coming war-party. In abandoning the *pa* many of those who were too ill to be removed, were left behind—such was the fear lest the war-party should find the people in the *pa*, for as they fled, the canoes of the invaders appeared.

As the fleet of the canoes reached Kau-ara-paoa, the men turned aside and entered the *pa*, and there found many dead bodies, but the greater number had been buried. When the war-party saw all this, they uncovered some of the dead to eat. After this they departed on their way to make war against the Ngati-Apa tribe (living at Whangaehu, Rangi-tikei, &c.) and also with the Ngati-Kahungunu

tribe. Shortly after the departure of the war-party, there arrived the Nga-Paerangi, Nga-Poutama, Ngati-Tumango and Ngati-Pamoana tribes, indeed all those included in the name Nga-Paerangi, who were following the war-party in order if possible to save one of their branches—Ngati-Rongo-mai-tawhiri—least they should be killed by the war-party; in which case a fight would have taken place at once. But it so happened that the war-party met none but the dead in the *pa*, so that, when the above tribes saw where the dead had been disinterred, they determined on revenge, and as a first step assembled all the scattered people of Kau-ara-paoa *pa* to decide on a course of action. It was resolved to follow up the war-party, and they sent on in advance a man of the war-party who was related also to the combined tribes (how he was left behind is not stated). It was arranged by this man, that the others were to follow after whilst he went on to Awa-rua, where the war-party was, and there the avengers were to conceal themselves, and await a signal. If the war-party had divided its force, the man was to ascend a sandhill and thence signal the others in the night. If the whole party had gone south he would wave a fire stick in that direction; if part remained, he would wave it to the north, in which case the avengers were to rush the *pa*.

After this had been arranged with Nga-Paerangi the man departed, and eventually reached the war-party, whilst the avengers paddled down the river, gathering in the other people of Nga-Paerangi who had been dispersed by the war-party as they passed, so that they finally numbered about 2000 fighting men. On arrival at Awa-rua, Nga-Paerangi concealed themselves and awaited the pre-arranged signal. As night fell, the signal was seen, and one fire-stick was thrown to the south, the other to the north, indicating that the war-party had divided. Nga-Paerangi at once closed on the *pa* of the war-party, and awaited the break of day, when the assault took place. As the war-party arose from their sleep, they found themselves being killed by the avenging party, which took the *pa*, killed great numbers, only a few escaping, who fled after the other division, which had gone south. But they were overtaken between Whanga-ehu and Turakina, when the fleetest of the pursuers called out, "Here are we close behind you!" and the killing went on, some of the pursued called out, "Whose warriors are these?" The reply was, "They are Nga-Paerangi!" Then the pursued knew that the consequences of their defilement of the dead at Kau-ara-paoa was about to fall on them.

This battle was named "Wai-puna," and it was the payment for "Hura-aero," that is, for the desecration of the dead at Kau-ara-paoa. After the battle, Nga-Paerangi returned to the *pa* at Kau-ara-paoa

where every one of the people collected, no one remaining in their other homes for fear of the war-party, who might return to seek revenge for their losses at Wai-puna. Here they decided to remain till the war-party had passed on its way to their homes on the upper river. On their arrival at the *pa*, there was not a soul to be seen anywhere, the land was desolate—*Tangi kau te hau ki roto o Whanganui*—The wind alone blew in Whanganui.

And now the war-party of invaders returned, and started to "pole" up the river, at the same time having much fear in their hearts of the Kau-ara-paoa *pa*, within which they knew all the Whanganui tribes had gathered. Hence was their fear, lest they be attacked and prevented from passing up to their homes. So they came on until close to the *pa*, when they sent in a messenger to ask the chiefs of the *pa* if they would be allowed to pass. The reply was, "You may pass if you behave properly, and do not go ashore to any *pa* or village, but continue right on up the river." The messenger replied, "Yes! we agree to your terms." And so the war-party passed on their way up the river.

After one night had passed, Nga-Paerangi followed up the war-party, and after the arrival of the latter at Hikurangi, the advance part of the pursuit returned from Ope-riki and reported that the others had passed Hikurangi. And now the expedition returned to their homes, and all the villages of lower Whanganui were again occupied, as well as the *pa* of Ope-riki.

[Ope-riki is an extremely picturesque old *pa*, built on top of a cliff overhanging the river on the east side just three-quarters of a mile above Koroniti (or Corinth). It is covered with fine *kowhai* trees, and is defended on the north side by the deep cañon of the Ope-riki stream. Mr. Elsdon Best says, "The earthworks remain in good preservation and are still some 12 feet in height. The *pa* is 113 paces square, and must have been an almost impregnable stronghold in former days. Tradition states that once only did an enemy enter Ope-riki, and that party never came out again. One cold, dark and wet night a surprise party of the enemy entered the *pa*, and finding some of the fires alight, stopped to warm themselves. A woman hearing a slight noise and whispering going on, gave the alarm to the garrison who speedily dispatched the intruders.—From Komene Papanui 1895."

Mr. Best adds also, "A *taua* of Waikato, 800 strong attacked Ope-riki, the *pa* of the Ngati-Pa-moana tribe, many years ago. They came down the river in canoes and invested the *pa*. The siege lasted many months, but Ngati-Pa-moana had plenty of food in the *pa*. Seeing that they made no progress in the siege, the enemy constructed a huge *rangī*, i.e., a framework of supplejacks closely wattled so as to

be impervious to spears. Into this cage-like affair entered 40 men who lifted it and bodily carried it up to the fortifications of the *pa* against which they placed it, and then commenced to undermine the *maioro*, or embankments, by working with *ko*, or wooden spades, into the bank, beneath the shelter of the *rangi*. The besieged, however, procured long poles and placed them in a slanting position against the pallisades of the *pa* so that they projected out and over the *rangi*. After the poles were secured in place, the besiegers climbed out on them, and cast down heavy stones and logs on to the *rangi*, displacing and breaking the upper part or roof. They were then able to kill many of those within it by means of long spears. The discomforted enemy retired, and took up a position on the sloping ground above the *pa*. Ngati-Pa-moana now lined their defences and the towers of the *pa* and with excited yells, recited the following *ngeri*, or war song :—

Tē rongo mai koia koe ?  
 Ko te waro hunanga kai tenei,  
 Ko te waro hunanga tangata tenei,  
 Ko nga tuatara o Kawakawa.  
 Kei ngenge kau ou turi  
 I te hapainga i te kakau o te hoe  
 A, kai riro atu te toka i Matai  
 E tu ake nei te whakawehi o te riri.

Wilt thou not then understand ?  
 This is the chasm in which all food is lost—  
 The chasm in which men disappear,  
 (By the) *tuataras* of Kawakawa.  
 Let not thy knees be fatigued  
 In using the handle of the paddle,  
 When you are able to take away the rock at Matai,  
 That in the river stands,  
 Then will be felt the dread of war.

Te Awe-o-te-kauri of Koroniti says Ope-riki *pa* was attacked—1st, by Tuhara ; 2nd, by Marama-taupae ; 3rd, by Waikato under Te Tahua, Te Rangi-whakarurua and Pehi, but was never taken.]

Tu-whawhakia continues: Now, the people dwelt in peace at their *pa* of Kau-ara-paoa for a whole year, when news reached them that a war-party was forming to avenge the losses at Wai-puna, and the death of Te Rangi-whakateka at that battle. Hence were his people assembling to come down the river. It was subsequently learnt that all the upper Whanganui people were coming also.

So the fleet of canoes came on ; the Whanganui river was covered with canoes so thickly, that the eye could not see the water beyond, the river was dark with men. When the Kau-ara-paoa people heard of this they all went up and assembled at Ope-riki ; there was not a

single warrior left in lower Whanganui, all went to guard Ope-riki. It was not many days before the word came that the enemy was approaching, and shortly after the fleet appeared, besides others who came overland. They came on without looking (or considering death), without fear, their throats lusting for the flesh of their enemies, and the desire of battle. They came straight on to capture the *pa*. The chief of the *pa* gave the command, "When they arrive catch the bodies." (*Ka pa ano kia hopu ki te tinana.*). As soon as the attack was delivered, the defenders of the *pa* arose as one man, and it was not long before the enemy was beaten off, and a large number killed, some with the weapons, others by being driven over the cliffs. The survivors of the attacking party fled—they were allowed to depart without being followed.

And the name of this battle was Ope-riki. Thus there were two victories gained in payment of "Hura-aero" (the desecration of the dead bodies). The war ended here, for the enemy never came back, even down to this day.

#### KOHURU-PO, THE DEATH OF TAKARANGI.

At one time when the Ngati-Apa tribe occupied the Kohuru-po *pa* at Whangaehu, a large party of Ngati-Rongo-mai-tawhiri, Nga-Paerangi and other *hapus* of Whanganui related to them, went thither to attack the first named people. They assaulted the *pa* and in the fight, Te Ata-ura of Ngati-Apa killed Takarangi of Whanganui, and in consequence of the death of this chief, Nga-Paerangi and the other *hapus* retreated, being alarmed at the death of their leader. It was Ngati-Rongo-mai-tawhiri, who originated this war, and it was the same *hapu* that fled first. One part of the expedition (apparently) did not join in the fighting, but went "to warm themselves at the fire" on account of the cold for it was winter time. This was the reason of the flight, and how it was that Takarangi's body was left lying there. Turangapito got on to the pallisades of the *pa* and sang his song, a very short one, thus:—

Kiheī koutou i haere mai ki te riri,  
 I haere mai koutou ki te patiti ahi  
 Hei whakahoki riri, ka turitakutia i!  
 Ngati-Rongo-mai-tawhiri e!  
 Whai-roroa i te riri e,  
 Whakarongo mai ra,  
 Tenei te hanga kino kei a au anake,  
 Hua noa i a wai, he mea purotu koe,  
 No maua nei hoki tahi hoki ra  
 Nana ra i waiwaha,  
 He waka pakaru kino ki te akau raia ra, i

The cause of Turanga-pito's song was his sorrow at the death of Takarangi-atua, whose daughter was Rora-Awheuru, who married Mete-Kingi, and their children were Hoani Mete-Kingi, Takarangi Mete-Kingi and others.

Now when Takarangi's wife Nuku heard of the death of her husband she composed a lament for him as follows :—

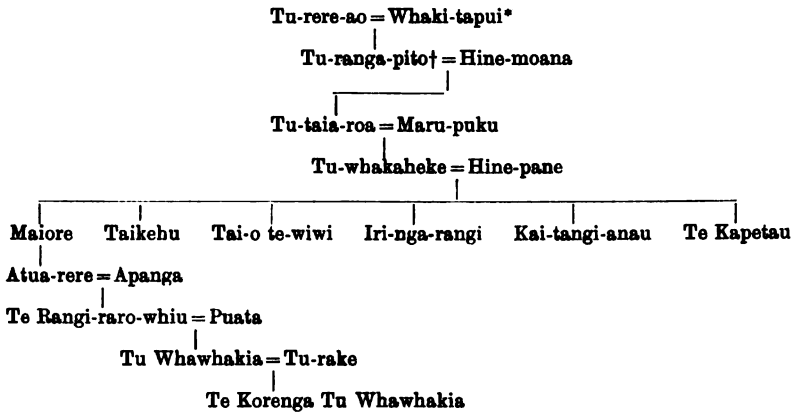
1. E karanga kau ana, E Whare !  
 E tahuri mai e karanga kau ana, E Whetu !  
 E tahuri mai, kowai to ritenga  
 I tangi ai to papa, e tata te au kawa  
 Te tuku ki Mangaio  
 Nana i whakato-a te riri ki Paparua
2. E karanga kau ana, E Whare !  
 E tahuri mai, E karanga kau ana, E Whetu !  
 E tahuri mai na, ki mai na  
 Me manu-kawhaki,  
 Tera to nuinga kei nga titahatanga  
 Ki Puke-totara ra,  
 E karangatia ai Tawhiri-parae i
3. Taku kai nanenane kei Turakina  
 E haere ana, ko ingoa kimihia  
 E noho noa mai ira,  
 Te nekeneke mai te ta o taku tapi  
 Me whakabei ake hei a Turanga-pito  
 Ka rangona e te tini, ka rangona e te mano.  
 Ka rongo mai Hongi-hika  
 Ka rongo mai Te Wherowhero,  
 E taka i te koki ki Hani-paka raia a i

Here ends Nuku's song ; and the death of Takarangi was never avenged by Ngati-Rongo-mai-tawhiri who originated this warfare in which he was killed. In vain did Nuku sing ; her song was not considered by those *hapus*. Some of the people of the *pa* were killed, but none equalled Takarangi in rank.

The author, Tu-wkawhaka, then writes that he fears " the canoe will be over laden " (the JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY will not be able to contain all he has written), but will write more later.

## TAIKEHU.

Taikehu, Tau-kai-tu-roa and Tama-tuna were all my ancestors, the second being my mother's ancestor, thus :—



Hence it will be seen that Taikehu was a descendant of Tu-rere-ao. Taikehu and Tai-o-te-wiwi, together with their sister Iri-nga-rangi dwelt at their home at Te Uaneke, below Opiri (a *pa* just above the junction of Upoko-ngaro with the Whanganui), and at that time the news came of a party of strangers from Ngati-Kahungunu having arrived at Taumaha-ute (the old *pa* just above Shakespeare cliff, opposite the town of Whanganui). It was Karihi who invited them to come there, and the names of those stranger chiefs were Te Ruaki and Te Wehenga. Te Iri-nga-rangi, hearing of these strangers, arranged with her brothers to visit Kanihi and ask him to allow the strangers to visit Te Uaneke *pa*. So Taikehu and Tai-o-te-wiwi pulled down the river to Taumaha-ute, and on arrival said to Karihi, "We came to fetch the old men so that our sister may see them." Karihi asked, "When will you send them back?" "To-morrow," said they; and so Karihi consented on the condition that they should not be retained long, as it was not he alone who had invited them, but all the chiefs of the *pa*. Karihi said to his visitors, "You two had better go along with these two old men and return to-morrow," to which they assented. Taikehu and his brother with the two strangers entered the canoe, and then the latter bid farewell saying, "*E noho! me tatari ake e koutou, e po, e ao. Kei te Awa-a-Taikehu; kei te kainga*

\*An interesting and romantic story relating to Whaki-tapui and her immediate descendants will be found in J.P.S., Vol. V., p. 155.

†This Tu-ranga-pito must not be confounded with the man of the same name who composed the song, *ante*.



*o tino-tangata*.”—Remain here; await a night and a day (we are) at the River-of-Taikehu,\* the home of the brave (or very-man, warrior, etc.) That was their *whakatauki*, or “saying,” because they felt in their hearts considerable apprehension from what they had seen. When those on shore heard the news later they felt that the *whakatauki* was appropriate.

As the canoe passed up the river, the strangers asked, “Where is the home of you two, with reference to yonder hill?” The reply was, “There! beyond the hill.” They “poled” on until they reached Wai-pakura, where Taikehu said, “There! behold that hill; below it is the home of our sister and ourselves.” The hill referred to was Opiu. When they reached the landing place, the old woman (Te Iri-nga-rangi) welcomed them with the usual *pohiri*, and then the strangers were conducted to the village.

When night came the strangers were killed. The people at Tau-maha-ute waited one night, two nights, and then they knew that the strangers had been killed, and the prophetic words of the *whakatauki* of the old men, had come true. But these deaths were never avenged.

#### NOTES.

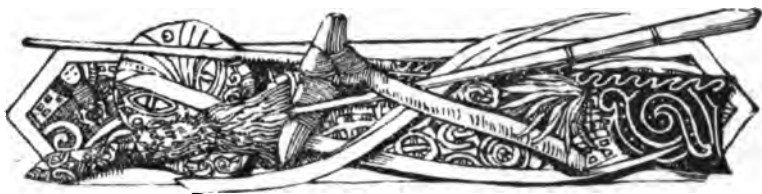
From the cannibal lady mentioned in this story—Te Iri-nga-rangi—are descended the Ngati-Iringa-rangi *hapu* of Whanganui.

Pehi-Turoa, referred to *ante*, was a very great chief of the Whanganui tribes, whose aristocratic (according to Maori ideas) lines of descent lie before me. He claims as ancestors, Turi, commander of the “Aotea” canoe; Tama-te-Kapua, commander of “Te Arawa” canoe; Tamatea, commander of the “Takitimu” canoe; Hoturoa, commander of the “Tainui” canoe—all vessels forming part of the fleet of 1350. His son Tahana Turoa died at Wai-pakura, Whanganui, 16th August, 1894, and was also a man of mark. The following *poroporo-aki*, or farewell, delivered at the *tangi* or “wake” over him is very characteristic of such effusions, and of Maori custom in such cases:—

Haere atu ra! te puihi o Whanganui. Haere atu ra! E Aotea!  
 Haere atu, E te māna o te whenua! Haere atu ra! te māna o te tangata!  
 Haere atu ra! E Kahu-kura! Haere atu ra! E Tutu-tohora!  
 E Poutini! Rere atu ra i tenei ao ki tera ao atu!

Depart then, the plume of Whanganui. Depart O Aotea! Depart!  
 O the embodiment of the power over the land! Depart, the influential one with men! Depart O Kahu-kura (god of Rainbow)! Depart O Tutu-tohora! O Pou-tini! Take thy flight from this world to the next!

\* Te Awa-a-Taikehu is one of the poetical names of the Whanganui River.



## NGUTU-AU.

(AN ANCIENT PEOPLE WHO VISITED NEW ZEALAND.)

FROM INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM HONE WHETU TANGI-TAHEKE,  
OF THE TU-WHAKAIRI-ORA HAPU OF NGATI-POROU.

BY GEORGE GRAHAM.

NGUTU-AU was the name of a strange people who came to this place, that is to Whare-kahika (Hick's Bay, East Cape) many generations ago. Their canoe was remarkable for its construction, and the people for their peculiarities of speech and mannerisms. The Ngutu-au came here from abroad seeking a place to live, and our people allowed them to settle at Mata-kawa (near Hick's Bay) and gave them some *kumara* seed to plant, as they had none, for that was the planting season for *kumara* when they arrived.

Ngutu-au pulled up their canoe at that place, built their houses, and prepared their cultivation of *kumara*.

Some short time after, a party of Ngutu-au went out with our people fishing for *hapuku*, and were successful until a great *hapuku* broke all the hooks and lines. This great *hapuku* had been in that place for a long time and had given great trouble to our fishing parties. It was of such size and strength that no lines or hooks used were strong enough to ensure its capture. It was always breaking our lines and hooks. We lost so many lines and hooks that this fish was called Kai-aho (line-eater).

When our people returned owing to the loss of lines and hooks, and Ngutu-au returned to their village at Mata-kawa, it was decided to make specially strong lines and hooks to catch Kai-aho. The Ngutu-au were expert in such work, and made a large hook of wood and a line of *totoro-hiti* (toe-toe fibre) which is superior to *harakeke* (flax) for this purpose. Unknown to us they went out one night, and with their great hook and line succeeded in catching the fish Kai-aho.

When our people had finished making strong hooks and lines they went out, but none of the Ngutu-au came to accompany them, which was not understood by our people. Arrived at the fishing grounds, the proper *karakias* were recited, and the lines bated with *tamure* (schnapper) and let down. They waited a long time, but no bites came, and uselessly shifted from one place to another. No success rewarded their patience. Thus it was for two days. Then our people became suspicious and thought that Ngutu-au must indeed have already caught the fish Kai-aho.

Some of our people went to Mata-kawa to find out, but did so as on a visit of courtesy. It was there mentioned that for two days our people had fruitlessly tried to catch Kai-aho, but Ngutu-au denied that they had already caught that fish. Then it was remarked that the canoe of that people had been lately used, but still Ngutu-au denied that they had caught Kai-aho.

Our people disbelieved them and secretly decided to exterminate the Ngutu-au for their mean conduct; the olden people of ours were of a very jealous disposition and were really jealous that Ngutu-au had succeeded in catching Kai-aho after their own long repeated efforts had failed to do so.

Now Ngutu-au suspected that evil was intended, but to conceal their uneasiness quietly proceeded with their cultivations and other daily work. They had really decided to leave and return to their distant home over seas, and one night they indeed left.

Next morning, not seeing their fires or any of the people, our people went to look for them, and then realised that Ngutu-au had departed in their canoe. In a cave on the coast we discovered three of their people named Mouterangi, Wharekohe, and a woman named Hine-te-ao, who was a sister of Wharekohe. They stated that their people had left with the intention of returning to their own home.

These three people lived with us as slaves until they died, and left no descendants. We never heard anything as to the fate of Ngutu-au.

We preserve an old song concerning Ngutu-au and the three persons left among us by them, of which the following is a part:—

“Te heke o te Ngutu-au e haere ai ki tetahi whenua  
Ko tona tuahine ko Hine-te-ao  
Ko tona *tonara*\* ko Te Wharekohe  
E hara tenei, he kura-wai-hape, he mahanga rimu tapu  
Kia po-reia ko poihihi ko porarawa.

\* Mou-te-rangi was a man of rank, and Whare-kohe was his slave, that is to say, his man. *Tonara* was the Ngutu-au word for *tangata*—man. I never heard the reason why these people were left behind.



## THE CANOE OF MAUI.

OBTAINED FEBRUARY, 1905, FROM IRA HEREWINI, OF MOERAKI,  
BY J. COWAN.

THE expression "Te Waka-a-Maui" ("the Canoe of Maui"), as an ancient name for the South Island of New Zealand, is still occasionally heard from the lips of the old people of the Ngai-Tahu tribe. The notion that it was from the South Island that Maui fished up the North Island ("Te Ika-a-Maui"—"The Fish of Maui") is, however, a purely Southern concept; it would be hard to convince a Northern Maori of the superior antiquity of the Greenstone Land. "Te Taumanu-o-te-waka-a-Maui" ("The Thwart of the Canoe of Maui")—on which Maui stood when hauling up his land-fish—is said by the Ngai-Tahu to be the ancient name of a place in the neighbourhood of Kaikoura.

The classic name "Te Waka-a-Maui" is mentioned in the following famous song, which was sung as a *mata* or prophecy, by a *tohunga* named Kukurangi, of the Ngati Awa tribe, at Waikanae, just prior to Te Rauparaha's second and successful raid on Kaiapohia Pa, Canterbury, about 1890. Standing in the *marae* in the midst of the assembled warriors, and pointing towards the mountain-cape of Omere that jutted into the Sea of Raukawa (Cook Strait), the seer chanted these words:—

“ He aha te hau e pa mai nei?  
He uru, he tonga, he parara.  
Ko nga hau tangi rua-e!  
E tu ki te rae o Omere ra  
Ka kite koe, e 'Raha  
I te ahi papakura ki Kaiapohia.  
Ma te ihu waka, ma te ngakau hoe.  
  
A ka taupoki te riu  
O te Waka-a-Maui  
Ki raro ra!  
Tukitukia ha! Rerea ha! Kopekopea ha!  
Taku pokaitara—puka  
E tu ki te muriwai ki Waipara ra—  
Hi—ha!  
Ka whakapae te riri ki tua—ho-o-o!”

## TRANSLATION.

What wind is this that blows upon me?  
 The West? The South? 'Tis the Eastern breeze.  
 Stand on the brow of Omere\* hill  
 And you will see O 'Raha,  
 The glare of the blazing sky at Kaiapohia!  
 By the bow of the canoe, by the handle of the paddle.  
 The Canoe of Maui will be overturned  
 Below there!  
 Then paddle fiercely! Fly through the seas! Plunge  
 deep your paddles!  
 See my flock of seabirds  
 In the backwater at Waipara there!  
 Hi—Ha!  
 Beyond that spot will rage the fight!

\*Omere is said to be the original native name of Cape Te Ra-whiti (Cook Strait). The name Te Ra-whiti ("The Rising Sun"), the general Maori term for the East Coast, was, through a misconception on the part of Cook's Tahitian interpreter, Tupaea, in conversing with the Maoris in 1770, set down by the circumnavigator as the name of this point.

[Omere is the point of land just outside and to the South of Ohariu, which people desirous of crossing Cook's Straits in former times used to ascend to see if the sea was smooth enough—hence the lines in the old song:—

Ka rou Omere ki waho,  
 He maunga tutainga aio.  
 Where Omere projects outside,  
 A spying place for calms.

Te Ra-whiti means simply "the East," which Cook mistook for the name of the point, when asking its name of the Queen Charlotte Sound Natives.—*ERROR.*]



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [179] Some Middle Island N.Z. Place Names.

In Note No. 175 the question of the true name of the lake called by Europeans Manapouri, was raised, and the statement made that it should be Motu-rau. I have since received from Mrs. Cameron, a half-caste lady, wife of the first European to visit the lake, information which seems to settle this question. She says that the name of the lake has always been Manawa-pore, but that Motu-rau is the name of an old Maori settlement on the shores of the lake, near a little stream that is about a mile or so north of the outlet by the Waiau river, and where the natives were in the habit of camping even within the last 40 years, when fishing and birding. This was an old Ngati-Mamoe village in former days, and the stream near was the dwelling place of a noted *taniwha* in ancient times.

*Te Rua-a-te-kai-amio* is the name of the limestone caves a little east of Clifden township on the Waiau River.

*Te Taniwha* is the Maori name of the Snares Islands.

*Nuku-mai* is the proper spelling of the place now called Noko-mai.

—S. PERCY SMITH.

### [180] Maori Names of Lakes.

As bearing on the same question raised in Notes 175 and 179, the following from a Dunedin newspaper of about 1896 is forwarded by Mr. Jas. Cowan:—

“ Mr. Henry E. Nickless, *Te Tua*, writes:—On reading your paper some time ago I saw that Mr. Percy Smith and Mr. Stowell had been giving, as far as their knowledge went, the Maori names of two lakes—viz., Whakatipu and Manawapore. I don't doubt that the gentlemen named are good Maori scholars, and being familiar with the language myself I naturally take an interest in it, and would like to give my opinion as far as my knowledge goes with regard to the names of the two lakes in question. My information I got from an old Maori chief living at Colac (Korako) Bay, who was brought up in his young days at the lakes. His name is Hoani Matewai Poko, a son of the chief *Te Wae Wae*, after whom *Te Wae Wae Bay* was named; and I believe Poko is the last full-blooded chief of the Ngatimamoe tribe now alive. He says that the proper name of the lake now called Manapouri is Moturau, and there are two small lakes close to it called by Europeans the little and big Mavaura. The larger of these two the Maories name Manawapore, which means “anxious heart,” and the smaller of the two they call Hikuraki, or Hikurangi, which is the northern pronunciation of Hikuraki; and the proper name of Lake Wakatipu is, according to Poko's knowledge, Whakatipu and not Whakatiua. There are also two or three Maori names of places wrong on the railway line between Invercargill and Orepuki—viz., the place called Oporo is properly called Opora. Oraki should be Tehaki, named after a woman who was taken prisoner at Pahi and killed and eaten at the place now called Oraki. The name Oraki is a near approach to Oraka, the name of a stream running into the sea at the Maori Kaika or Kainga. If anyone else could give your readers further

information on the matter of the names of the two lakes mentioned, I should consider it a great favour, as I think the names ought to be corrected and the proper names taught in our schools, as otherwise the original and proper names will die out and be substituted by ones that are not correct, and should not be in our geographies."

[181] **On the word Moa, &c.**

(See Note by Mr. Taylor White, last issue of JOURNAL.) Can any member of the Polynesian Society throw light on the origin of the name Te Rau-a-Moa? This is the name of a locality on the Pirongia Range, about midway between the Waipa Valley and Kawhia Harbour. It may be that *moa* is here a personal name, but I hardly think so. One meaning of *moa* is a plot or bed in a garden (*mahinga moa* = a cultivation). Some natives suggest that there were anciently a large number of cultivation-plots here, side by side—hence the name. This, however, is as likely as not an effort of the aboriginal imagination.

A member of Ngati-maniapoto informs me that *rau-nga-moa* was a term formerly applied to a plume of feathers placed in the hair when it was bound up in the old style topknot.

It is no doubt a Hawaiikian phrase, analogous to *palū-henga*, the feather head-ornament of Niuē Island.—J. COWAN.

[We think the name refers to a plume of moa's feathers, like Te Rau-o-te-hina, &c. The part of the name that throws doubt on this meaning, however, is the use of "a" instead of "o," and this raises the question as to whether Mr. Cowan's first meaning, viz., that *moa* is a man's name is not right.—EDITOR.]



## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

### MINUTES OF MEETING OF COUNCIL.

The Council met at 4 p.m. on the 22nd September, 1905, at New Plymouth.

Present: The President, Messrs. W. L. Newman, J. H. Parker, W. H. Skinner, F. P. Corkill, M. Fraser, and W. Kerr.

The following new Member was elected :—

369 William Smith, Railway Department, Aramoho, Whanganui.

Papers Received :—

273 *The Last of the Ngati-Mamoe.* Jas. Cowan,

274 *Wharekohanga.* Elsdon Best.

275 *Maori Superstitions.* Col. Gudgeon.

The following publications have been received since last meeting of the Council :—

1809 *Maori Names, South Island New Zealand.* Mr. Roberts.

1810-17 *La Géographie.* Vol. x., 2 to 6; Vol. xi., 1 to 3.

1818-20 *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal.* cccxxi., cccxxiii., cccxxv.

1821-23 *Revue de L'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris.* May, June, July, 1905.

1824 *Records, Australian Museum.* Vol. vi., 1.

1825 *The American Antiquarian.* Vol. xxvii., 4.

1826 *Archivio per l'Anthropologia.* Vol. xxxv., 1.

1827-30 *Bulletins, &c., de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.* 1904.  
Nos. 2 to 5.

1831 *The Northern Maida, American Museum Nat. Hist.* From Roland B. Dixon.

1832 *Journal, Anthropological Institute, Great Britain.* Vol. xxxiv.

1833 *Journal, American Oriental Society.* Vol. xxvi., 1.

1834 *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution.* 1903.

1835-39 *Memorias Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona.*

Vol. v., No. 4 to 8

1840 *Boletin* " " " " Vol. ii., No. 7

1841-2 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute.* June, July, 1905.

1843 *Inheritance of Digital Malformations in Man.* Peabody Museum.  
Vol. iii., 3.

1844 *Report, Public Library, Museum and National Gallery, Victoria.*  
1904.

1845 *Victorian Geographical Journal.* Vol. xxii., 1.

1846-48 *The Geographical Journal.* Vol. xxv., 6; xxvi., 1, 2.

1849-52 *Na Mata.* June to October, 1905.

1853 *The Morphology of the Hupa Language.* University of California.



- 1854 *Basket Designs of the Indians of N. W. California.* University of California.
- 1855-6 *Twenty-first and Twenty-second Reports, Bureau of American Ethnology.*
- 1857 *Tenth Report Australian Association Advancement of Science.* 1904.
- 1858 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xlii., No. 4.*
- 1859 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde. Deel xlviii., No. 1.*
- 1860 *Rapporten, Commissie in Nederlandsch-Inde.* 1903.
- 1861 *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution.* 1902.
- 1862 *American Antiquarian.* Vol. xxvii., No. 1.



## MAORI SUPERSTITION.

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. E. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

**E**XPERIENCE does not warrant me in saying, that the teachings of the missionary has had any good or lasting effect on the Maori people. The great lesson of Christianity appears to be beyond the grasp of the Maori mind, which, though exceedingly acute, leans strongly in the direction of materialism. It is, therefore, apt to regard religion from a purely worldly point of view, so that if no immediate benefit seems likely to accrue from the profession of any particular form of faith, that faith is regarded as being of little value.

Christianity, as we understand it, really does not enter into the life of a Maori; he does not comprehend it, and the lessons of brotherly love and charity thereby inculcated do not interest him. The reward offered is too remote. I am, however, of opinion, that the mystery of the Trinity has his respect, if only for the reason that it is beyond the experience and conception of ordinary men. The Maori would, however, make a good Jew of Mahommedan, inasmuch that outward observances, and ceremonies, even of the most rigorous type, are very much to his taste. Not even the Anglo-Saxon—who has been described by the witty Frenchman as having 500 religions and only one sauce—is more open to religious impression than the native race of New Zealand; but the impressions do not last.

I have a very great respect for the logical Maori mind; but I cannot ignore the tenor of remarks made to me at various times by some of the most intelligent of this interesting people, and this much may be said in their favour, that the most fanatical or superstitious is a man at all times, and compares very favourably with

that weak-minded element among the Europeans, who rush hysterically into the arms of every new religious crank, fraudulent or otherwise, who may happen to visit the town in which he resides. Whatsoever the Maori may do or think he is always manly, and somewhat prone to believe in the sword of the Lord and Gideon. He is, therefore, dangerous in his religious fits, and was at one time apt to undertake a small "Jehad" on his own account, in order to illustrate practically the power and virtue of the particular deity than influencing him.

My long association with the Maoris has afforded me opportunities for hearing their sentiments on many subjects, as to which they do not often open up their hearts to Europeans, and that position I have attained by listening sympathetically to all their ancient lore and superstition, carefully avoiding any remark that might exhibit me as prejudiced in favour of or against any form of religion whatsoever. I simply posed as a seeker after truth, and it followed as a natural sequence that I often received whimsical confidences, and heard very funny remarks, even from Maori catechists who were supposed to be living in the very odour of sanctity. It was a man of this type who told me that he was a sincere Christian, but not being an absolute fool he knew that one god could not attend to everything, and, therefore, if he wanted any special assistance he usually invoked the aid of some *Atua-Maori*, who was naturally more conversant with his wants, and understood him better than any European god could possibly do. He evidently felt that the position he had taken up was not quiet sound, for he added, "You will understand that I could not ask a great God like Jehovah to do such little things." This last remark explained all that he had in his mind, for the Supreme Being of the Maori is *Io*, to whom they will offer no supplication for assistance.

Another man—a good old warrior of a serious turn of mind—feeling assured that I would sympathise with him in his difficulties, consulted me on the subject of the scriptures. He said that he had studied them for more than forty years, and had come to the conclusion that there was nothing in them. Having, moreover, given the subject much thought, he was convinced that the key to the great book was in the hands of the Bishops, who selfishly retained all that was of real value in their own hands. I replied that I had never heard of any such books; but the old man cut me off with a sarcastic remark to the effect that as I was not a Bishop it was hardly likely that I could know anything about it, "For," said he, "it is not the Maoris only that are being defrauded but the Europeans also." To the ordinary European this may seem a very

childish view to take, but to my Maori friend such a policy seemed not only natural but also probable; forasmuch as he regarded the matter from a strictly Maori point of view, and argued, that whereas the Maori *tohunga* has *karakia* (incantations) by virtue of which they can compel their *atuas* to minister to the wants of man, so also must the learned Europeans have the same power, and as the Bishops were merely a superior class of *tohunga*, they would naturally retain these valuable incantations in their own hands, and keep them from the inferior clergy and laity.

Yet another valiant old heathen assured me that the only result he had ever seen flow from Christianity was cowardice. Said he, "Your missionaries come here and talk to our young people about Hell fire, and all that sort of thing, until they are absolutely afraid to die. Before they came, this was not the case. At that time men had no fear, they killed men and were killed, but there was no fear. There are no men at the present day, the *whakapono* (faith) and *Pakeha* guns have made us all cowards."

The doubt latent in the Maori mind, as to the efficacy or power of Christianity is always cropping up, especially among the old and thinking part of the community. During the long drought of 1878 on the east coast of the North Island, when the whole potato crop failed, an old chief took a very gloomy view of the tribal prospects. He said, "I do not know what we shall do for food this winter. We have a good crop of *kumara*, but no potatoes; that we have done something wrong is quite clear, but what that wrong is I do not know. Since the war of 1865 we have neglected your religion, and have nevertheless been most prosperous, but last year we agreed to rejoin your church, and now behold the result of listening to your missionaries." Seeing the bent of the old man's mind, I replied that he appeared to think that the tribal *Atua* was angry at their desertion, but such could not be the case since it was known to all, that the Maori gods had *māna* over the *kumara*, but that the potato was a *Pakeha* vegetable, and as such Rongo-ma-tane could have no *māna* over it, and the abundance of the *kumara* was proof positive that the Maori gods had not been angered. He pondered over this for some time and evidently thought my remarks worthy of note, for he murmured "*ka tika*" (it is true); but nevertheless he was not comforted, for he added, "there is something wrong somewhere."

Some years ago it was my good fortune to come across a very amusing notice in Maori posted on the door of a country hotel. It is so thoroughly Maori that I did not attempt to translate it lest it should be said that I had drawn on my imagination. I therefore handed it over to a good Maori linguist, and his translation is as follows:—

"Let all men know that Christmas will be celebrated and a race meeting held at Te Teko on the 25th December next. All those who patronise sports should assemble at that place, not only for the amusement provided, but to honour the new year, and the advent of our Saviour from the unknown. We wish Him to know that we hold his birthday in reverence and love, so that He may in like manner remember and love us on the day of judgment."

After this let no man say that the Maori is wanting in a proper sense of his obligations either to this world or the next. Above all, let it not be said that he neglects to support his church, for it is on record in the Gisborne court, that a Maori arraigned on a charge of horse-stealing, pleaded guilty; but moved in arrest of judgment, that though he had stolen and sold the horse, he had been induced to do so by the very purest motives, namely, that an important church conference was about to be held in his village, at which a collection would be made in aid of Maori missions, and he being a poor man, had, as it were, been compelled to steal the horse, to enable him to contribute towards the support of his church.

There are people who think that they understand the working of the Maori mind. Indeed, I have once or twice thought I was one of those gifted individuals, but the impression did not last, and it vanished forever after a conversation with a certain Maori parent. This man said that he objected to send his children to school, not that he saw any harm in education, indeed, he thought all children should be taught to read and write; but he did object to anyone making money out of his children. For some moments I failed to grasp his meaning, but a few judicious questions solved the mystery. Teachers were paid by the Government of the Colony to teach his and other children, and he objected to any such arrangement, because the teachers were thereby enabled to make money out of his children. This he felt was wrong, and therefore he set his face against all schools. We did not part in friendship on this occasion for the reason that I changed the conversation abruptly by asking if he had ever received any serious injury to his head, and when he answered in the negative I said, "I am sorry, for in such case it must be a bad case of congenital idiocy, and I only hope that your children may not be similarly afflicted."

I began this chapter with the fixed intention of writing all that I knew on the subject of Maori superstition, both ancient and modern, and fortunately it is not too late to pick up the lost thread of my discourse, which was the facility with which all Maoris receive what are misnamed religious impressions.

The most widely extended and important of all the religious manias, from which the Maoris have suffered during the European occupation of New Zealand is that known as the "*pai marire* or *hauhau*" faith. A many-sided fanaticism, the offspring of madness, racial jealousy of the European, and a too intimate acquaintance with the Old Testament. The Maori has not found safety among the numerous religions of the Anglo-Saxon; indeed, the very fact of there being so many creeds in existence, has tended to upset his belief in any one of them, for, he shrewdly argues, that whereas we are unable to determine which is the true faith, he is thereby justified in deciding this important point for himself. For these and other causes which are inherent in the Maori people, they have at all times been prone to adopt any new faith that might seem to offer immediate benefit to them, such as success over their enemies. To this end they have searched the Scriptures and read again and again those passages which treat of the Jewish wars and the promises made by Jehovah to his chosen people, not to mention the chapters wherein the Jews were commanded to kill everything and everybody regardless of age and sex.

These precepts were so congenial to the Maori mind, and so much in accord with their own customs on similar occasions, that they may well be forgiven the assumption that these directions were dictated for their own special benefit, the more so that it has been sedulously impressed upon them, that they were the descendants of the lost tribes, and therefore a remnant of the chosen people. It was this belief that made them call their prophets of the new faith, Tius (Jews). All of this was due to the teaching of certain Missionaries who were good and well-meaning men, the product of a thousand years of progressive civilisation; but they failed to understand that the Old Testament was about the last book that should have been placed in the Maori hands, and that to impress upon men who were still savages that they were a chosen people, was, to say the least, dangerous.

About the year 1864 the Maoris were in a highly exalted and inflammable state of mind, and deemed it advisable to adopt some form of religion more potent than Christianity. Since 1860 they had been fighting against the *Pakeha*, and thanks to the astounding incapacity of many of our military leaders, had on the whole been successful; but the measure of success had hardly been sufficient to satisfy a chosen people. They were, therefore, in a mental condition very favourable for the receipt of messages from the spirit world, and were otherwise ready to make fools of themselves on the least possible provocation.

The Hauhau creed, if creed it can be called, was the inspiration

of a weak-minded but harmless man (Horopapera te Ua), who had unsettled a mind never very strong by brooding over the mysteries of the Old Testament; but it would seem that it was the wreck of the steamer "Lord Worsley" at Te Namu on the Taranaki coast, that caused this murderous creed to be inflicted on us. Great events do, however, spring from small things, and the adage applies in this instance, for Te Ua, annoyed that his tribe should loot the goods of the shipwrecked passengers, began to rave and have visions. Now visions are not in themselves objectionable, for it is essential that all reputable *tohungas* should have a few reliable visions; but Te Ua went distinctly ahead of his profession on this occasion, for he disdained mere Maori *atuas*, and was content with nothing less than the Angel Gabriel, who not only interviewed him on several occasions, but also instructed him in the forms and ceremonies of the new faith, so he believed.

Among other things, he was instructed to erect a sort of maypole to be called a *Niu*, round which his converts might assemble, and which *Niu* should possess magical virtues, inasmuch that the true believers, while standing in a circle round the pole in order to worship the gods of the Hauhau creed, would, if worthy, receive the gift of tongues, as a preliminary to going forth and teaching the true faith to all the earth. I do not wish it to be inferred that all men, even though sincere believers, were to receive this gift; but those violent fanatics, who were subsequently called *Tiu*, most certainly believed that they could speak any language. I have often been roundly abused by these gifted children of the *Wairua tapu* (Holy spirit), because I had to confess my inability to understand them. They, however, all came to serious grief later on.

It was a standing article of the Hauhau faith that the gods spoke to them through the medium of the preserved heads of Europeans who had fallen in battle. These heads were carried about by the prophets, and hung on the *Niu* whenever the *pa* or village assembled for family worship. It is almost certain that ventriloquism was called in to give effect to the terror inspired by these heads, and aid in the conversion of unbelievers; for it is certain that all of the Hauhaus did believe that the heads spoke to them. Yet another pleasant little fiction in which the Hauhaus placed implicit faith, was that they were invulnerable to steel or bullets, provided always that they used the word *Hau* at the proper moment, and at the same time raised the right hand palm outwards above their heads. This simple safeguard was supposed to turn the flight of the bullets upwards. Later on they had abundant opportunity of testing the efficacy of this method of life insurance, and

had every reason to call their gods *Korohe hangareka* (deceitful fellows).

As for the ritual of Hauhauism, it is said that the Angel Gabriel sang a song for the guidance of Te Ua, and that in this song he apostrophised the Trinity, but with this exception, the ritual was left entirely to the discretion of the prophets, who, inspired by the *wairua tapu* aforesaid, invented a set of chants in doggerel English, one of which ran as follows :—

“ Big river, long river, attention  
Greeks, Germans, attention, etc.”

All of which, being rendered with a very Maori accent, was not unmusical, but provocative of much mirth.

The shibboleth of the members of this creed was *Pai marire* (good and peaceful), but I cannot say that the members of the sect lived up to it. It was, indeed, like all other party cries, intended to mislead. Another word of even greater *māna* was *Hau, Hau*, the meaning of this expression is obscure, but it probably had reference to the spirits of the wind, whom the Maoris called *Hau anihera* (wind angels).

During the incubation period of the Hauhau religion, Te Ua and his disciples carefully abstained from interference with their neighbours, whether Maori or European; but their behaviour was altogether too good to last, and very soon a change for the worse was observed, and a most bloodthirsty and fanatical spirit of hostility was exhibited by all the adherents of the prophet towards the *Pakeha*. I cannot say that I think Te Ua himself was to blame for this change in the Hauhau policy, unless, indeed, he possessed much greater ability than he has ever received credit for, either by Maori or European. The instructions given to the several minor prophets who were sent forth to preach the gospel of Hauhauism were most ably conceived. They were directed to travel through the North Island, using the utmost circumspection. They were to treat everyone with whom they came in contact with uniform courtesy and kindness. They were to carry with them the heads of certain Europeans who had fallen in battle, and use them for the purpose of converting the tribes visited; but they were on no account to interfere with the *Pakeha* or those tribes who had thrown in their lot with us.

Had these orders been obeyed, there can be but little doubt that every Maori in New Zealand would have become a Hauhau, and, as a natural sequence, our deadly enemies. Fortunately, the prophets were disobedient, and, when once away from the influence of Te Ua, each and every one of them behaved as though he was a law unto



himself. Patara, Matene, Kereopa, Te Wiwini, Horomona, and Hepanaia one and all acted as though the *māna* of the land had been given into their hands. The old and legitimate chiefs of each tribe were treated as though they no longer possessed either rank or authority, and both *Pakehas* and Maoris were slain without pretext and as opportunity offered. By this line of action the prophets not only neutralised the able directions given by those who guided the Hauhau policy, but they also brought about their own destruction. It is, however, to their credit that they expiated all sins of omission or commission by dying like men, some by the bullet and some by the rope; and, after all, who shall blame them for taking the bit between their teeth and following their own sweet will? Who was Te Ua that he should venture to dictate to Matene Te Rangitaurira of the best blood of Ngati-Hau? And if the aforesaid Matene and his merry men did come to unutterable grief at the hands of his own tribe on that grey morning, when he and 60 of his followers lay dead on the narrow island of Moutoa, why should they not? A man may not live when his *māna* has left him.

Each of these prophets in due turn met with the same fate. Hepanaia, misled by messages from the Hauhau gods of the nether world, induced the Ngati-Ruanui and Taranaki tribes to attack Te Morere (Sentry Hill), a small but compact redoubt garrisoned by 50 men of the 57th Regiment. This fort was almost impregnable, but the two tribes, led by Titokowaru, Hepanaia, and other chiefs, not only attempted to storm the position in broad daylight, but they did not desist from the attempt until they had lost nearly 60 men, including most of the leaders. Hepanaia was among the slain, but Titokowaru escaped with the loss of an eye.

Patara Raukatauri led his disciples, Te Wiwini, Kereopa, and Horomona, to convert the tribes of the Bay of Plenty, with the result that Kereopa incited the Whakatohea people to murder the Rev. Mr. Volckner; and about the same time Horomona caused the Patu-tatahi tribe to attack the cutter "Kate" off Whakatane and murder James Fulloon and the crew.

Patara and Te Wiwini carried this gospel of blood and fire to Waiapu, Poverty Bay, and Te Wairoa, to the utter undoing of those tribes and of the Hauhau leaders.

Horomona and the Patu-tatahi were captured by Major Mair and his friendly Arawa. Horomona and three of his most desperate companions were hanged and others of the gang sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The Whakatohea were defeated again and again by the colonial forces, while Kereopa fled to the hills and forests of the Tuhoe country, and there led a hunted and wretched

existence for the ensuing eight years, until he was finally betrayed into our hands by the people with whom he lived. He was captured by that noted warrior, Te Whiu, who handed him over to the Ngati-Porou, and he was finally tried, convicted, and hanged in Napier.

Te Wiwini, who was of the highest type of Maori—a man who knew no fear—led a mixed force of Taranaki and Ngati-Porou, and fought several battles against old Major Rapata and his followers in the neighbourhood of the East Cape; but the same singular ill-fortune followed this man, who was shot by Rapata at Pukemaire; and of his Taranaki followers only a remnant escaped by sliding down a precipitous cliff at Hungahunga-toroa on the day that Major Biggs and Rapata captured the whole force of the Hauhaus at that *pa*.

Yet another prophet of minor rank was tomahawked by his own men at Waerenga-a-hika, in the presence of the Government troops, and this was done for the all-sufficient reason that he had misled his disciples by urging them to assault the *Pakeha* lines on the Sabbath day. The prophet reasoned on insufficient data, viz., that the Forest Rangers and other Godless material of which the force was composed would on that day be engaged in prayer. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that the prophet was mistaken. The men were in their rifle-pits, and gave the Hauhaus such a warm reception that the prophet was one of the first to fall, and was then and there tomahawked by his own friends—a victim of misplaced confidence and imperfect knowledge of the manners and customs of the Forest Rangers.

Somewhat more than a year after this last affair the Hauhaus made their final effort to assert the supremacy of their religion. It was then that the prophet Panapa, aided and abetted by the chiefs Kipa, Kingita, Tahau, and Nikora, raided down from Taupo and Tarawera with the fixed intention of taking the town of Napier. That their forces were miserably insufficient for the purpose mattered not, for they were in direct communication with the spirit world and strong in fanatical courage and aptitude for war. There are probably very few people at the present day who realise how very nearly that small war party achieved success. Kipa led his warriors, who did not exceed 80 all told, to Omaru-nui, while Te Rangihiroa led his 30 men by way of the Petane Valley. The extraordinary daring shown by these men almost passes belief. As a rule, a Maori is a thorough soldier, who never does anything without careful consideration, but in this instance they did not hesitate to commit themselves to an attack on forces which might well have been 800 men—to an attack which must be made in the open country, where there could be no retreat if defeated. At Omaru-nui, though surrounded by

seven times their own number, they disdained to surrender, but drew up in close order in the form of a wedge, and in this formation awaited our onset. It was perhaps fortunate for our raw militiamen and unwar-like members of the Kahu-ngunu tribe that most of the Hauhau leaders fell early in the fight, and were therefore unable to give the order to charge, which it was evident that they intended to do; had they done so, who shall say what the result would have been? As it was, Kipa, Kingita, and Panapa were slain together with half their men. Nikora and Tahau with the others were captured and deported to the Chatham Islands, from which penal settlement, thanks to the parsimony and mismanagement inherent in popular governments, they in due time escaped, and lived to fight and die on other occasions. Nikora fell at Ngatapa, and of all the chiefs who led the van of battle at Omaru-nui, only Pahau has survived to tell the tale. Of those who marched by the Petane Valley, only Paora Toki and a few men escaped. Te Rangihiroa and nearly half of his men of the fighting blood of Taupo fell; and, much as we may regret the death of so many brave men, we must recognise that it was necessary in the interests of peace and quietness that they should die, inasmuch as they had become *whakamomore*, and as such were dangerous even to themselves.

That the Hauhaus firmly believed that they were invulnerable may be inferred from their behaviour on the several occasions I have mentioned. They had the courage of their opinions, and the very rough lesson they received on each occasion did not convince them to the contrary. They still insisted that the Hauhau religion was sound and true, and that only man was wrong; in other words, that each disaster could be distinctly traced to some sin of omission or commission on the part of the prophet, which same had created an *aitua* (evil omen) of so fatal a type that it became impossible to succeed in that particular undertaking, inasmuch as the gods were thereby compelled to leave them temporarily to their own devices.

All of these things were carefully explained to me at the time, and I remember that I agreed with the Hauhaus to this extent: that had the sub-prophets obeyed the instructions of Te Ua, the result would beyond doubt have been more favourable to them, and very much worse for us. There was, indeed, a good deal of method in this Hauhau madness, and the instructions given were so well conceived that, had they been obeyed, it would certainly have cost us the lives of two or three hundred more men, and perhaps another million of money.

The religion professed by Te Kooti and his followers presents no special feature requiring remark; it was merely a modification of

Hauhauism, and great as Te Kooti's power undoubtedly was it did not depend on his religion.

The authority of this man was a natural sequence of his personal *māna* which, in this instance, we may translate "magnificent audacity" as the only English equivalent. Never for one moment did he hesitate to destroy his own tribe or relatives, and when he made his murderous raid on Poverty Bay he slew as many Maoris as Europeans; not that the former had done him any particular injury, but he was simply moved to murder by the fact that he knew the character of the race to which he belonged. His object was probably twofold: firstly, to remove all the members of his own tribe who were of higher rank than himself; and secondly, he felt that to secure power and authority he must strike terror into the hearts of his followers. This object he achieved by ruthlessly murdering his own people.

The case of Te Whiti differs altogether from that of Te Kooti. Here we have an entirely new departure, a new and unexpected phase of Maori character. It is of course true that Te Whiti has prophesied many things which have not come to pass, and has very often behaved in a manner sufficiently absurd, if judged by European rules. But Te Whiti was not mad in any sense; his only weakness was that he believed himself to be the Messiah, and fortunately behaved very much as though he had been the exalted person he claimed to be.

Te Whiti is a member of the very warlike tribe known as Taranaki, who from 1860 to 1865 were our most active and bitter enemies. They were, indeed, among the first to take up arms against us; but Te Whiti took no part in the fighting, and as his authority increased, so also did the hostility of his tribe to the *Pakeha* grow less and less, and, thanks to his wonderful ascendancy over the minds of the turbulent west coast tribes, he has succeeded in keeping the peace even to this day. To attain this one object of his life, he has on several occasions found it necessary to send his people day by day to fence across the public road in the neighbourhood of Parihaka, in order that they might be arrested and deported to the South out of harms way.

Te Whiti's doctrine has been the gospel of patience and forbearance, peace at any price, with the reward in view that at no distant date God would redress the wrongs of the Maori people by establishing a millenium, during which the old *māna* of the Maori people would revive, and they would once more dwell peacefully, untroubled by the restless and encroaching *Pakeha*, who would, as a preliminary measure, be banished to his own country. An ex-

ception was, however, to be made in favour of those Europeans born in New Zealand, and I remember that my Maori friends were greatly concerned to find that I was not a native of New Zealand ; but, after condoling with me, they said, " We must not complain, for Te Whiti's word has gone forth. It is the will of God, and you yourself will be resigned when the time comes."

These theories had a great fascination for the Maoris. They were to bow their heads beneath the yoke and practice non-resistance until God in his wisdom should see fit to relieve them of their *Pakeha* burden. But, none the less, they were to assert themselves as the real owners of the soil, and, therefore, when a *Pakeha* took a road through one of their plantations, and by so doing destroyed a fence, they were to re-erect that fence so often as it might be thrown down, as a protest against European brutality. So also they were to ignore the fact that these lands had been confiscated years before, and awarded to military settlers. Such lands they were directed to plough by way of protest. These excentricities were not considered any infringement of the doctrine of peace, as preached by Te Whiti, forasmuch as they deemed themselves to be the rightful owners of the soil, and, therefore, if anyone interfered with them, he it was who broke the peace. I need hardly say that their views were not reconcilable with those held by the settlers, and hence it came to pass that the former were not always handled with gentleness when the two parties came into collision.

As to the supremacy of Te Whiti over the minds of his followers there can be no question on that point. They had absolute confidence in him, and I think have not lost it even to this day. At one of his great meetings he proclaimed, that on a certain day the dead of the Maori people would rise from their graves, and he ordered all true believers to attend at Parihaka to do honour to the occasion. At the appointed time the Maoris flocked from all quarters to Parihaka, firmly believing that they were to meet their long lost friends and relatives. They even carried with them large quantities of spare clothing in comical recognition of the fact that clothing is not worn in the other world. It must have been a bitter disappointment to the majority of those who went to Parihaka, that the dead refused to rise ; but -the mere failure of the prophecy entailed no loss of credit upon Te Whiti, who simply said, " O ye of little faith," and explained that so long as there was any doubt in their minds as to the power of the great God to do that which he saw to be good, so long would the dead remain obstinately in their tombs.

The success of Te Whiti as an exponent of the designs of the Supreme Being has naturally encouraged many vulgar imitators.

Among others, one Ani Kaaro, of Hokianga, visited Te Whiti about the year 1886, and, on her return, claimed to have been instructed by him in all the mysteries of his religion. On these grounds she called the people of Waihou together, and set up as a first-class inspired prophetess. For some time Ani was regarded with great awe as a specially gifted woman; but in the matter of prophets the Maori is fickle, and very soon a much more able woman, one Rimana Hi, set up in the same line, and cut out Ani Kaaro.

Rimana's doctrine was fantastic, since it was based on the assumption that all things white must necessarily be pure, and all things black in colour bad, and therefore offensive to God. Following these broad doctrinal lines, Rimana ordered her disciples to dress in white. If we may assume that she intended these garments to be kept clean, she was, on sanitary grounds, deserving of praise. The spirit of prophecy was strong within her, and very soon she had a convenient dream, wherein it was disclosed to her that a certain piece of land was *tapu* to her and her sect, and that nothing black should enter thereon under penalty of death. From this dream it resulted that any pig, cow, horse, or fowl of this obnoxious colour straying on to the ground was forthwith killed. A line of flagpoles, from which hung long streamers of calico, marked the boundaries of the holy land, the sacredness of which was in some way communicated to the people, so that it was shortly found improper to do any work; and, as even holy people must eat if they wish to live, Rimana's adherents supported life by eating the animals of the neighbouring settlers. The only visible occupation of the white-sheet fraternity at this period was that of muttering incoherent prayers the while they strutted round the flagstaff.

Rimana's next dream disclosed the hitherto unsuspected fact that the New Testament was neither inspired or holy, and therefore the Waihou Hauhaus, as they called themselves, must for the future pin their faith to the Old Testament.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that there was bitter enmity between the rival factions of Ani Kaaro and Rimana Hi, and all sorts of reports were circulated to the discredit of the latter, even to the extent of alleging that she was guilty of cannibalism. This report, though untrue, was very generally believed, and therefore the people of Waihou lived in fear and trembling, not knowing what the next dream might bring forth.

These reports were brought to the notice of the Government with the usual exaggerations, and Inspector M'Govern lost no time in visiting the fanatics in order to ascertain their actual condition. When the Inspector reached the boundary of the holy land he was

stopped by one Aporo Pangari, who demanded why the two men had profaned the sacred land with their black garments, and ordered them to leave at once. The Inspector was a man who could by no means be intimidated, and he intimated with characteristic gentleness, that he would not leave until he had seen Rimana, and ascertained what they were really doing; as for fighting, or violence towards himself, well, he was quite prepared for that. After a good deal of discussion Aporo agreed to consult Rimana as to his admission. The consultation lasted more than an hour, but the result was that M'Govern was allowed to see the prophetess; but he was not allowed to enter the inner enclosure unless he would remove everything that was black from his person. A white sheet was offered to him, but M'Govern did not care for that form of penance, and told Rimana that he would do none of these things; that his end had been attained by speaking to her personally, and he warned her not to break the law in any way, for if she did so he must return and suppress them once and for all.

M'Govern did not fail to report his convictions, that these fanatics would sooner or later force him to take action against them; and he had not long to wait, for shortly after, a Mr. Hearne, who had lost his way in a fog, entered the sacred enclosure, and was instantly seized and bound. His boots, sox, and vest, were taken from him and burned, they being of the objectionable colour, and he himself was not released until he had handed over all the money in his possession, and had promised to send his horse as part of his ransom.

With the limited force at his disposal it was sometime before the inspector had completed his arrangements in order to deal finally with these fanatics, and in the meantime Rimana had managed another dream, in which she foretold that M'Govern would attempt to enter the sacred enclosure, but would fail if her people armed themselves with spears and tomahawk, or other purely Maori weapons. She further informed them that no man need fear the bullets of the police since they were invulnerable. That the very worst effect of any bullet would be a small black spot, but that not a drop of their blood would be shed, though the whole of the police would be slain. These predictions were not fulfilled, though the fanatics were quite equal to their part of the performance. M'Govern, with perhaps a score of constables and specials, entered the enclosure armed with warrants for the arrest of these disturbers of the peace. M'Govern and the interpreter were somewhat in front of the main body, and were at once surrounded by a mob of howling fanatics, who not only refused them hearing, but attempted to tomahawk the former,

who only saved himself by catching the descending weapon. Meanwhile, the main body had come up, and blows were freely given and received until one, Eruera Rapana, the most violent of all the Maoris tried to tomahawk the interpreter, then M'Govern called on the two constables to fire, and Eruera was badly wounded in the arm. This resolute action cowed the fanatics and saved much bloodshed, for they saw that bullets would draw blood and that Rimana had lied to them. They saw, moreover, that the Europeans, who behaved with great forbearance, were becoming angry; indeed, it was well that M'Govern had previously taken the revolvers from the specials; for those men would undoubtedly have killed their opponents when the fighting commenced, without waiting for orders to fire. Had this happened, the trouble would probably have extended throughout the North, forasmuch as among the Maoris blood is very much thicker than water, and sooner or later any deaths would have been avenged, and then who shall say what the end might have been? As it was, matters were well managed, several were slightly wounded, and all were arrested; but none were killed, and, after all, a little blood letting and hard labour does a Maori no harm.

I have already dealt with that side of the Maori character that exhibits him in the light of a blood-thirsty fanatic; but it must not be inferred therefrom that all Maori superstitions are dangerous to life, for such is not the case. They have many that are derived from poetic fancy, such as their belief in *taniwha*, *kura*, *tipua*, Phallic trees and stones, *patu-pai-arehe*, and numerous other minor superstitions, all of which may possibly have originated in the old home of the Polynesians far west of the Pacific.

It may be admitted that there are no *taniwha* at the present day. These uncanny beings have either died out or are lying low, awaiting the advent of some powerful *tohunga*, whose mysterious powers shall call into action their latent life, and once again enable them to disturb earth's surface, as they did in 1886; when Tuhotoriki by his incantations set free the powers of Tarawera mountain, destroyed the terraces of Rotomahana, and buried the tribes of Rangi-Tihi and Tu-hou-rangi beneath 20 feet of mud. It may, perhaps, be well to describe what a Maori understands by the word *taniwha*, and to do this will necessitate a short history of some of the most famous of these monsters. Some of them are described as lizard-like in form, and man-eaters by profession, and this variety would seem for the most part to live under water in dark, deep holes. Others would seem to have been mere harmless lizards, though of great size; but the really dangerous type had the power



to take any shape, and were possessed of supernatural powers. I will not attempt to classify the genus *taniwha*, but will simply say that they are devisible into two great classes; namely, those possessed of supernatural powers, and who were probably connections of the dragon of Wantly, and those who were merely reptiles. As to this latter class, I can say positively that they cannot now be found in New Zealand; but it would seem that there was a period in the history of the Maoris when they were to be found even by those who did not seek their society.

Of such was the reptile Tutae-poroporo, whose home was in the Whanganui River, not far from the town of that name. This notorious man-eater was slain by that stout warrior, Ao-kehu, some twelve generations back, and the method employed to achieve this great feat was simple in the extreme. So many canoes had been upset, and the crews eaten, that it became a necessity that the monster should be destroyed; and, as usual in such cases, the hour brought forth the man in the person of Ao-kehu, who, armed with a *mirotuatini*,\* obtained the services of a brave crew and paddled his canoe slowly towards the home of the monster. When the *taniwha* rose to attack them, Ao-kehu, who was standing in the bow of the canoe, dived down its throat, narrowly escaping its teeth, and straightway started to cut his way out in a manner exceedingly unpleasant to Tutae-poroporo. I need hardly say that Ao-kehu freed himself from his living tomb, and that the *taniwha* died during the operation.† I am willing to admit that this tale borders on the marvellous, and it may be that there are people who will not believe: but to such people I say, is not Arapeta Tamumu, now or lately living, a direct descendant of the hero, and has he not invariably vouched for the truth of my story? I have heard the Maoris discuss the tale of Jonah and the whale, and the conclusion at which they arrived was very much in favour of the legend of Tutae-poroporo and Ao-kehu. They said, "We know that *taniwha* do swallow men, and we also know that whales do not; therefore, if a whale swallowed Jonah, it must have been by accident, and this we do not believe."

The man-eating *taniwha* of the highest order are those of which Sir George Grey has written, viz., Hotupuku, Pekehaua, and others, all of whom were slain by the valiant tribe of Ngati-Tama. There are circumstances connected with the slaying of these reptiles that will bear repetition, inasmuch as the tale told by the Arawa people is so vivid, and the details so natural, that one does not like to believe that the whole affair is a mere effort of imagination.\*

†See the full story, J. P. S., Vol. XIII., p. 94.

\*A wooden blade with a cutting edge of sharks' teeth.

\*We are inclined to say, rather is it the localization of tradition brought from far Hawaiki, with details added to fit in to local circumstances.—ED.

In the very early days of the Maori occupation of New Zealand friendly visits among the neighbouring tribes were not uncommon, for at that period the custom of killing and cooking casual visitors had not become fashionable : hence it was that the Arawa of Rotorua frequently visited their relatives in Taupo, and received visits in return. For a time all went well, but suddenly a number of these travellers were found to have disappeared, and were never seen again by their sorrowing relatives. It was at first supposed that the lost ones had extended their visit to other and more distant tribes ; but when those who, fortunately for themselves, had taken the path across the Kaingaroa plain and returned safely, but without intelligence of their missing friends, then it became certain that some evil agency was at work.

In due time rumours that men were missing reached the ears of the brave Ngati-Tama, who lived at Motu-whanake ; and they, fearing neither man nor *taniwha*, went out to discover who it was that had disturbed the peace of the country. Fortunately, they took the old warpath that led to Te Kapanga on the Whirinaki stream. When near to this place they heard a noise like thunder that seemed to proceed from the ground, but they could see nothing, and advanced cautiously until they came to the old track between Taupo and Rotorua. Here they halted, and for the first time saw the *taniwha* Hotupuku travelling through the snow grass in their direction. At this surprising sight the warriors, brave as they were, fled with such speed that they succeeded in reaching Motu-whanake, where they related their adventures to the chiefs and elders of the tribe, who could now account for the disappearance of so many travellers. The result of this knowledge was that the Ngati-Tama held a great meeting to discuss the situation and consider how they should destroy the common enemy. The warrior chief Pitama listened to each and every speaker's views, and then ordered a strong rope to be made ; and, when this had been done to his satisfaction, he selected 140 men to accompany him to the lair of Hotupuku, to which place they carried the rope and also some wood wherewith to construct a snare. With great wisdom Pitama chose a day for his operations on which the wind blew from the cave of the *taniwha* towards the site chosen for his snare. The reptile was therefore unable to scent the approach of the party, and thus allowed them to complete the work in hand. When the work was finished they all returned to their homes, but on the following morning the wind had changed, and was blowing towards the home of the *taniwha*. This was the condition desired by Pitama, who at once proceeded with his warriors to the scene of action, and there divided them into two parties, one of

which took charge of the rope and was directed to pull tight the noose whenever the monster should have been caught therein, while the other party were to hold themselves in readiness to rush in and destroy it when the time arrived.

Pitama reserved to himself the most dangerous part of the performance, viz., that of leading the *taniwha* into the snare. As he drew near to the cave, he felt the ground tremble under his feet, and by these signs knew that his enemy was astir, and had detected the approach of his victims; he had not long to wait, for soon he saw Hotupuku coming towards him. Then Pitama turned and fled, closely pursued, and when near the snare slackened his speed in order that the monster might not turn aside and attack his men, and by so doing escape the snare. With this possibility in his mind, Pitama allowed his enemy almost to seize him and then bounded through the noose, closely followed by Hotupuku. The seventy men were, however, on the alert, and, even as he passed through the snare, Pitama shouted "*Takiritia!*" and the rope tightened about the neck of this enemy of mankind, while the other party, shouting its battle cry, rushed in with spear and stone axe, and soon the *taniwha* was not only killed, but cut up ready for the oven.

The story as told by the Arawa enters a good deal into detail, and relates *inter alia*, that the bones and weapons of those previously eaten were found inside the reptile. The narrative goes on to state that Ngati-Tama ate up this *taniwha*: but as to this part of the tradition I do not feel clear, because if they did eat the *taniwha* it was a most deadly insult to all of those whose relatives had been eaten by that reptile; since the act would enable them to declare with perfect Maori propriety that they themselves had eaten those men and women.

After the destruction of Hotupuku the Ngati-Tama, proud of the reputation they had thereby acquired, began to look for other *taniwhas*, and while in this frame of mind received information that there was yet another reptile at Te Awahou, who was known to the tribes of Rotorua by the name of Peke-haua. This particular *taniwha* had not, so far as was known, eaten anybody, but he clearly belonged to the man-eating species, and might commence at any moment. To this end Pitama visited that tribe of the ancient people known as Te Ao-rauru, and asked their permission to kill Peke-haua. The request was granted, and as a preliminary measure he went on to examine the deep pool in which the monster had taken up his abode. On his return he ordered his tribe to construct a strong *taiki* (wicker work basket), and taught them how to weave in feathers with the wicker work. When all

was ready he called the people together, and explained to them the plan on which he intended to act. He explained that the smaller rope would be for himself, and the larger one for the *taniwha*. "I am," said he, "about to descend into the pool; if I jerk the smaller rope know that I am pursued by the *taniwha*, and in such case pull me swiftly to the surface. If, on the other hand, I jerk the larger rope you will know that I have succeeded in attaching it to the *taniwha*." When Pitama had given these brief directions, he invoked the aid of his tribal gods, entered the *taiki*, and was lowered into the water. Then and there only did the tribe perceive why he had caused them to weave feathers into the wicker work, for by that means was the water kept out of the basket.

Pitama went down and down, until he had passed right through the darkness, and it had once more become light, and also he perceived to his great astonishment that he had passed through the water and come out on the other side. Very carefully he stepped out of his basket, and looking about him, saw the *taniwha* fast asleep. Pitama now uttered a very powerful spell, which had the effect of making his enemy sleep even more soundly, at the same time he raised the head of the monster and placed the strong rope round its neck; he then jerked both ropes and entered the basket. Probably Pitama was actuated by a desire for fair play, but whatever the reason, he caused the *taniwha* to wake just as he stepped into his basket, with the result that the monster pursued him, and they both came to the surface together, where, undismayed by his own danger, the brave chief called to his tribe to haul in the slack of the rope, so that Peke-haua might not be allowed to dive again to the bottom. Then came the tug of war. All Ngati-Tama strove in vain to lift Peke-haua out of the water; but there united strength was insufficient for the purpose. The utmost that they could accomplish was to drag him into the creek, which to this day is called Peke-haua, and there he was despatched.

So far the *Rau-hokowhitu* (170 twice told, i.e. 340 men) of Ngati-Tama had gained much glory, but pride goeth before a fall, and so it came to pass in this instance, for the same men marched to the blue lake Tikitapu and there slew Kataure, the harmless pet *taniwha* of Hine-mihi, a noble descendant of 'Tu-o-Rotorua. Her tribe rose to avenge this injury, but in the battle that followed they received such rough treatment that but few returned to tell the tale. The survivors were, however, successful in enlisting the sympathy and aid of Tu-te-ata and Apu-moana, and these chiefs, having the whole power of the Arawa at their backs, defeated the Ngati-Tama at Te Wai-whiti-inanga with such loss that the survivors fled to Whare-

puhunga and Kake-puku, in the Waikato district, and were not again heard of as hunters of the *taniwha*.

There are *taniwha*, especially those of the sea, who are held to be the ancestors of men. Such was Paikea-ariki, who, when called upon by Kahutia-te-rangi, came promptly to his assistance in mid ocean and landed him safely at Ahuahu. This incident in the career of the great ancestor of Ngati-Porou was brought about in the following manner:—Ruatapu, one of the sons of Uenuku-rakeiora, while engaged in flying his kite, thoughtlessly climbed on the roof of his father's house. Now, from any Maori point of view, this was an exceedingly foolish action, for Uenuku was a sacred chief of the highest rank, and therefore to climb over his head was in itself sufficient to deprive him of a portion of his *māna*. For this reason, when Uenuku heard the footsteps above him, he demanded to know who the offender was. The young man, who realised the gravity of his offence, replied, "It is I, your son Ruatapu." Then Uenuku said in his wrath, "It is not for you, the base born, to tread my roof, though your brother, the noble-born Kahutia-te-rangi, might do so." This reply was a bitter affront to Ruatapu, inasmuch as it referred to the fact that his mother, Pai-mahutanga, had been captured at the great battle of Te Moana-waipu. She had been a woman of the highest rank, but being a captive, she was, of course, a slave, and the taint had descended upon her son, who had degraded his father by merely walking on the roof of his house.

The rebuke administered to Ruatapu had the effect of rousing the worst passions of the Maori nature, and he quickly resolved on an extensive scheme of vengeance, which he intended should embrace the whole tribe. To this end he set to work to make a canoe, which has since been known by many names, namely, "Te Huri-pure-i-ata," "Tu-te-pewa-a-rangi," and others. When the canoe was ready for sea he invited the elder sons of all the chiefs of his father's tribe to join him in the trial trip. Kahutia-te-rangi accepted willingly enough, for they were ignorant of the murderous intentions of their fellow tribesman. Ruatapu took up his position in the bilge of the canoe at the place where it is usual to bale out the water, and where he had bored a large hole, so shaped that he could plug it with his heel. When the young men had paddled almost out of sight of land, Ruatapu removed his heel and the canoe began to fill. His companions, who believed that the plug had been removed by accident, rushed forward to stop the leak; but Ruatapu seized his spear Tu-aro-punga, which he had hitherto kept concealed outside the canoe, and killed all of those who came within reach, until at last the canoe turned over. Of those who were either speared or

drowned on this occasion the names of a few only have been preserved by tradition, namely, Haeora, Pipi, Tawhai, Whetoi, Rere-i-runga, Tupeora, and Tamahina. Kahutia-te-rangi alone escaped death, by virtue of his *māna*, for all that his ancestors had ever possessed of this particular virtue was concentrated in the person of this young chief. His mode of procedure was simple: he first used a powerful *karakia* known as "Whaka-ahuru" in order to retain the natural heat of his body, notwithstanding his long immersion, and he then used the *karakia* "Whakakau" to compel the attendance of his ancestral *taniwha*, Paikea-ariki, Whaingā-ariki, Hurumanu, and Whakataka, who were thus called to his assistance. Paikea came at his call and landed the chief safe and sound at Ahuahu; and from that day Kahutia discarded his own name and took that of Paikea, out of gratitude to his *taniwha* ancestor, and by this name he is known as the ancestor of all the East Coast tribes.

I have myself seen men who were descended from *taniwhas* of a certain type, for I do not wish it to be inferred that their ancestors were either man-eaters or lizards. From the description given to me by their descendants, I should judge that the ancestor in question was a water spirit that scarcely differed from man in outward appearance. The tribe who claim this distinguished ancestry are the Ngāti-Hine-hika, who own that classic ground, the Whakapunake mountain and the Reinga falls, on the inland road from Gisborne to Te Wairoa.

The history of the tribe is as follows:—Their ancestor, Tanekino, came to the district some fifteen generations since, and was seen and loved by one Hine-korako, a female water spirit, who was one of the tribe of *taniwha* who lived in the Wairoa river under the falls of the Reinga. The lady herself was sixth in descent from Iwara, a *taniwha* of great *māna*, who was sufficiently human to reproduce his species and die of old age at the appointed time, a circumstance that has not hitherto come within my *taniwha* experience. Love being a great leveller, the lady waived her illustrious descent and became the wife of Tanekino. All went well until her son Tuarenga was born, but then the other women of the village began to make mischief, in the manner peculiar to women, by sneering remarks about *taniwha* mothers and their general unfitness for the duties and cares incidental to maternity. The result of this system of annoyance was that Hine-korako, unable to endure the taunts of her own sex, left both husband and child and returned to her watery home under the Reinga falls.

Since that remote period she has, however, kept watch and ward over her descendants, making her presence known whenever their

interests demanded the exercise of her supernatural powers. The last occasion on which she intervened to save them was during a great flood in the Hangaroa river, when Ngati-Hine-hika were flooded out of their homes at midnight and attempted to cross the river to a village on higher land. They had, however, miscalculated the strength of the current, and, despite their exertions, were swept down almost over the falls. At this terrible moment, when face to face with death, an old man so far retained his presence of mind as to call upon Hine-korako to save them. Instantly the downward course of the canoe was arrested, and it began to move slowly up stream without the least effort on the part of the paralyzed crew, who realized that once again their *taniwha* ancestress had intervened and saved them from certain death. It is not necessary for me to believe this tale exactly as told, nor do I ask my readers to give it credence so far as the supernatural is concerned, but I do ask them to believe absolutely that the descendants of Hine-korako will greatly despise any man who doubts any portion of the tale as told to me, and most certainly will not class him in the list of reasonable beings.

Of the *taniwha* possessing supernatural powers the best specimens will probably be found in Taupo, and of these Horo-matangi and Huru-kareao are *facile princeps*. They are *taniwha* of extraordinary *māna*, and would seem to be in sympathy with those great chiefs Te Heuheu and Here-kiekie, probably for the reason that men of their rank, being sacred in the eyes of gods and men, might take liberties even with *taniwhas*. But woe to the man of inferior rank who ventures to take liberties with the unwritten code of *taniwha* laws: instant death would be his portion. Not even the *māna* of a chief nor the invocation of a *tohunga* will always avail against a *taniwha*, for neither one nor the other sufficed to save that grand specimen of a New Zealand chief, Te Heuheu Tukino, who, with many of his tribe, was overwhelmed by a landslip at Te Rapa in 1845. Mere *Pakehas* adopt the commonplace theory that these people were destroyed by an ordinary landslip, but the Maoris, better instructed on that point, and knowing the peculiarities of their own land, hold that Horo-ma-tangi was the cause of the disaster, and in memory thereof call themselves the Huri-taniwha.

Concerning Huru-kareao, it is recorded that he was under the *māna* of certain women of Roto-aira, and they, having been insulted by the people of Rotorua, invoked the aid of this *taniwha* and his confreres, with the result that the offenders received short shrift, for their *pa* was sunk beneath the waters of the lake. Modern scientists are apt to account for all such occurrences by reference to volcanic disturbances, but the Maori insists that the *taniwha* are alone responsible for the mischief.

From time immemorial Horo-matangi had been the custodian of the *māna* of Lake Taupo, aided in all his acts by his familiar, the man *taniwha*, Ati-a-muri, who may be seen paddling his canoe in the dusk of the evening on the look-out for unwary strangers. The home of Horo-matangi is said to be at no great distance from the island of Motu-taiko, and rarely will a canoe attempt to cross the lake in a direct line from Toka-anu to Tapuae-haruru, and wisely so if the tales told be true. There are men now living who, taking advantage of the presence of a well-known *tohunga*, did actually make the attempt, and also received a wholesome lesson for their temerity, which they did not forget; for be it understood that those who would cross the path of a *taniwha* must have very great *māna*. Indeed, it is known that the only human beings who dare brave the wrath of Horo-matangi are Te Heuheu and two women, who are probably female *Arikis*.

The following narrative was given to me by one of the adventurous band, and I will relate it as nearly as possible in his own words. "When we left Tapuae-haruru the water was smooth and there was no wind, so we steered direct for Toka-anu; but our hearts were troubled, and as we neared the house of the *taniwha* we quickened our stroke and looked neither to right or left, nor did anyone speak a word to his fellows. Suddenly the canoe ceased to move forward, and began to spin round and a large rock appeared above the surface of the water. This we knew to be Horo-matangi, for the reason that *taniwha* can take any shape they may please. In another moment we should have been lost, but our *tohunga* was equal to the occasion. He took a hair from his head and dropped it into the water, and as he did so he muttered a brief invocation to the gods. In a moment the water became quiet, and we realised that the *māna* of the *tohunga* had mastered the *taniwha*; but though comforted by this conviction we went on our way in fear and trembling, and did not feel safe until we found ourselves in shallow water."

Of late years, since Europeans have crossed the lake at all hours and in all directions, even the Maori at times may take the direct route, but he decidedly prefers to have a *Pakeha* with him in such case, for it is a matter of notoriety that *taniwha* have no *māna* over the *Pakeha*, and the Maori recognised that he may take liberties while in such company that would otherwise be impossible.

As to the Ati-a-muri. This man *taniwha* does not appear to be personally dangerous to human beings, his business is rather to decoy the unsuspecting traveller within the reach of Horo-matangi. He is therefore to be feared in the dusk of the evening, at which



time it is his habit to paddle about in a spectre canoe, and visit the several *kaingas* on the edge of the lake, but approaching only sufficiently near for the outline of his canoe to be seen. By these means he has often deceived the people of the villages, who, hearing the measured strokes of the paddles, would turn out to welcome the supposed visitors with loud cries of "*Haere mai*," until at last the ghostly vision would fade out of sight, and disappear in the growing darkness, leaving the old and learned of the village alive to the fact that Ati-a-muri had once again tried to lead the unwary to certain death.

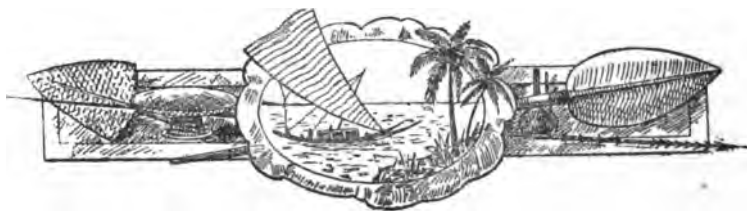
No longer as of old do *taniwha* of the Peke-haua and Hotu-puku type decimate whole districts, but amidst the natural wonders of Taupo may yet be heard strange tales concerning the savage Horo-matangi, and the cunning of his familiar Ati-a-muri. There is also a strange connection between these two *taniwhas* and certain dogs who are said to haunt the high land above the Karangahape cliffs; but what particular position these dogs may occupy in the economy of nature, is by no means clear, for it would seem that no one has ever seen these animals. Indeed, their very existence depends on the statement, that when the mist lies thick on the hills two dogs may be heard barking on the high land above Karangahape, and that those who have been sufficiently curious to visit that place in order to investigate the phenomena, have found only two large stones. The presumption that these stones are actually the dogs that bark when the mist covers the hills, seems hardly well-founded; but it may be that the *tohunga* of the Taupo tribe have information derived from uncanny source and that these stones are really goblin dogs who take that form when occasion demands; I will therefore offer no opinion on the point. It is said that these dogs are on terms of the closest intimacy with Horo-matangi, who will resent the smallest familiarity with them as an infraction of the *tapu*. For instance, anyone inadvertently pointing his paddle at the mighty bluff of Karangahape does that which might endanger the lives of all those in the canoe. But the man who, from sheer recklessness challenges the power of the whole *taniwha* clan by calling "*moi! moi! moi!*" simply invites immediate annihilation. Now it was this very thing that a certain friend of mine did, moved thereto by a direct impulse from Satan himself, and the effect was disastrous. The crew of the canoe, who would have looked death cheerfully in the face had it come in an ordinary manner, were simply paralyzed by the audacity of the act, and gave themselves up as lost; but after a while, finding that both winds and waves remained in their normal condition, they were induced to continue

their journey and arrived safe and sound at Toka-anu. This was a result so unexpected, and so contrary to previous experience, that a meeting was held to discuss the fact that they were all alive, and the conclusion at which they arrived did them credit. It was, that *taniwha* have no *māna* over Europeans, and therefore the fact of having one of that godless and unbelieving race in a canoe, was beyond doubt a protection, and such being the case it was advisable to bear with those little eccentricities of character which, under other circumstances might render the *Pakeha* a very unsafe companion. Kawhia has the reputation of being the home of quite a tribe of *taniwha*, no less than fifteen in number. They are called Ngai-te-heke-o-te-Rangi, and with the exception of one, namely, Ngataratu, who is a devourer of men, they are of kindly disposition, and are said to save all those from drowning who call upon them in the orthodox manner. Their dwelling-place is at Te Mahoe, on the Wai-harakeke arm of the harbour, and it is related that those who have had occasion to pass by that place in their canoes have heard a noise like the shutting of a door. Tradition affirms that Ue-kaha was the only man who ever visited the actual home of this tribe. It would seem that he was spearing *patiki* (flat fish), and was led on and on, until suddenly the ground gave way under his feet, and he found himself in a spacious cavern, wherein there was no water, but many *taniwha* were lying about. These monsters treated Ue-kaha well, and kept him with them for a whole week, meanwhile his tribe had given up any hope of seeing him again; but before the death *tangi* could be held a spring burst forth close to the village, and at the first gush of water out popped Ue-kaha, his hair matted with water-weed, but otherwise well in both mind and body.

Tawake-tara, who of old held sway under the shadow of the west side of Pirongia mountain—that is on the high road of all those who travel between Alexandra and Kawhia—was a *taniwha* of the man-eating persuasion, and a rival of Hotu-puku. A number of travellers had disappeared in a manner altogether unaccountable, inasmuch as none of the neighbouring tribes had, so far as could be ascertained, been entertaining their friends. As, however, no man of rank had as yet disappeared, very little stir was made about it, for men must die at some time or other; and if there was foul play, well the secret could not be kept for ever, and vengeance could then be taken, even to the extinction of the offenders. At last, however, a young chief called Te Kiritara was missed, and the wrath of his tribe could no longer be contained, and two famous warriors, Te Whatu and Te Ngaupaka, were sent out to investigate the mystery and decide on what tribe their vengeance should fall. *En route* the matter was

made clear, for the two men caught the *taniwha* in the act of devouring a victim, and being made aware in this fashion of the sort of enemy with whom they had to deal, they reversed matters by killing Tawake-tara.

To the old type of Maori, and in many instances to their modern representatives, the world is full of uncanny things instinct with a life derived from the demons who occupy the outer world, and having little, if any, connection or sympathy with man or his pursuits. Such things are, of course, invisible to the European eye, and not even conceivable by the prosaic Anglo-Saxon, whose training is in itself sufficient to prevent him from either seeing or appreciating those supernatural manifestations which are but ordinary incidents of Maori life.



## THE LAST OF THE NGATI-MAMOE.

SOME INCIDENTS OF SOUTHERN MAORI HISTORY.

By J. COWAN.

**P**ROBABLY no section of comparatively recent Maori history is so deficient in recorded detail as that which relates to the conquest and final extinction of the Ngati-Mamoe tribe, in the extreme south of the Middle Island of New Zealand. It is now at least a generation too late to gather the full story of the Ngai-Tahu—Ngati-Mamoe conflicts. Such men as the late chiefs Paitu, Rawiri Te Awha, and other well-schooled natives of Murihiku could have given much information on this subject had European historians taken the work in hand in time. Just a few fragments are now to be collected from the elders of the Murihiku people, in whom the strains of conquerors and conquered are blended. While visiting some of the Maori settlements in the south this year, I gained a little information regarding the subjugation and dispersal of the Ngati-Mamoe, chiefly from Tiemi, Kupa Haereroa, and Hone Te Paina, the two best-informed elders of Colac (Oraka) Bay, a small settlement on the shores of Foveaux Strait. Kupa Haereroa claims descent, on his mother's side, from Rakaihaitu, one of the very early Northern chiefs who explored the South Island, and whose name is preserved in the proverbial expressions, "*Nga-waipuna-karikari-a-Rakaihaitu*," (the water-springs dug out by Rakaihaitu, *i.e.* Wakatipu and other Southern lakes), and "*Nga-whata-tu-a-Rakaihaitu*" (the lofty food-storehouses of Rakaihaitu), in allusion to the cliffs of the South Island coast. Forty years ago Kupa was accustomed to visit Lake Manapouri (or Moturau, as some of the natives call it), "The Lake of a Hundred Islands," and Te Anau, in company with Rawiri Te Awha, who lived, and fished, and snared birds, on the shores of the

great lakes, and who pointed out to him the sites of the ancient villages of Waitaha and Ngati-Mamoe, and narrated the story of the Ngai-Tahu conquests.

The extinction of Ngati-Mamoe as a tribe took place, as nearly as can be estimated, a hundred and fifty years ago, in the time of the noted chief Te Wera. History was but repeating itself, for Ngati-Mamoe had, a few generations previously, extinguished the land-tillers of the Waitaha tribe in the customary manner of the Maori. My notes deal chiefly with the Ngai-Tahu—Ngati-Mamoe fights, along the Waiau River (which drains Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau), and the southern and south-western shores of Te Anau.

Defeated in battle after battle in Murihiku, a section of the Ngati-Mamoe retreated to the western side of the Waiau River. One of their ancient rock-shelters is still to be seen, on Mr. Tapper's property, at Clifden, a remarkable wooded limestone "kopje." The place is a labyrinth of caves and galleries, and secret ways and thickly matted woodland. On the northern side, the limestone face is a series of shallow caves. Deep fissures penetrate the rocky hill; these were used as shelters and dwellings by the Ngati-Mamoe. A cave hereabouts was known as "Te Ana-o-te-Ngarara" (the den of the monster); it was the fabled dwelling-place of one of those man-eating reptilian creatures with which the imaginative Maoris peopled many a gloomy cave and mountain. The remains of incinerated human bones, together with stone weapons and impliments, have been found on the kopje; and the rock itself was a Maori Necropolis.

It was most probably early in the second half of the eighteenth century that these cave-dwellers were assailed by the Ngai-Tahu from the south-east, under the Chief Tu-te-kawa. An engagement took place in the neighbouring valley of Wai-harakeke, and the *tangata-whenua* fled to the rock-recesses. The warriors of Ngai-Tahu slew most of the Ngati-Mamoe, and such of the women and children as were saved were enslaved; their slaughtered relatives were cooked and eaten. The principal Ngati-Mamoe chief killed was Te Whetuki, who is described as a man of strangely wild aspect, covered all over with long hair.

When the fight occurred, two of the Ngati-Mamoe men, Makatawhio and Pani-te-kaka, were away eel-fishing at Lake Manokiwai (now known as Monowai),\* which finds an outlet into the Waiau River, some distance above Clifden. Unaware of the fate of their friends they paddled their *mokihi* raft, with its load of smoked eels,

\*The name of this lake, though so very Maori in appearance, was given to it by its discoverer, Mr. James McKerrow, afterwards Surveyor-General, from the Greek *mono* single, and Maori *wai* water—i.e., solitary-water (or lake.—ED.

out through the Manokiwai Creek and down the swift Waiau. They were about to land (just above where the Clifden suspension bridge now spans the river), when the unusual silence, and some indefinable sense of danger warned them that all was not right in the *pa*. All at once they saw a stranger, whom they immediately knew to be one of their inveterate enemies, stooping down to drink at the riverside. The Ngai-Tahu warrior saw them at the same moment, and shouting an alarm, sprang for his spear. Instantly the eel-fishers plunged their paddles deep into the water, and shot the raft out into the strong current again. Plying their paddles desperately, they swept down the river, and when the warriors of Ngai-Tahu rushed to the banks all they saw was the *mokihi* disappearing round a bend of the rapid stream. The two fugitives escaped and rejoined some of the rest of their much-harassed tribe, attributing their safety as much to the efficacy of the *karakia*, or incantations, to the gods which they repeated as they fled down the river, as to their prowess in paddling. A fragment of a song composed in memory of this adventure is handed down to this day amongst the Southland natives :

“Panapana tu tere poka  
Ko te wairua e moea nei  
Nau mai, ka whakaatu te rere  
Ki Waiau, ko Maka-tawhio,  
Pani-te-kaka.”

The next scene in the tragedy of the Ngati-Mamoe was on the southern shores of Lake Te Anau. This region, it may here be mentioned, had been originally peopled by some of the crew of the “Takitimu” canoe from Hawaiki. About twenty-four generations ago the “Takitimu” immigrants, under their chief Tamatea, settled at Tarahau-kapiti, near the base of Takitimu Mountain, and established *kaikas* around the foot of Te Anau, where eels and birds were abundant. One of these villages was O-whitianga-te-ra (the place of the shining-sun), close to the southern corner of the lake, where the Waiau River takes its exit. Here was a noted *pa-tuna*, or eel-weir, where great quantities of the lake *tuna* were taken. Another settlement was Te Kowhai, close to the present township of Te Anau. One of these lakeside villages in later years was the *pa* of Tu-te-makohu, a chief of Waitaha. A memory of the sailor-chieftain of “Takitimu” is preserved in a present-day proverbial expression—“*Te whakatakanga o te karehu a Tamatea*” (in allusion to the tattooing of Tamatea), used by the Ngai-Tahu in reference to the Murihiku people. Tamatea and his followers, while here, discovered soot obtained from the bark of certain trees made an excel-

lent indelible blue dye or pigment (*karehu*: North Island, *ngarehu*), for tattooing. The pit or hole made for burning the bark, etc., was called "*Te rua o te moko*" (the pit of the tattoo). This, say the Maoris, was the origin of the phrase "*Te Rua-o-te-Moko*," used as in reference to the country round Te Anau, and now often applied by the Southland natives to the region extending from the lakes to the west coast. Tamatea's tattooing was, no doubt, very different to that seen on the faces of old men of the present day, and was probably identical with the Tahitian and Marquesan patterns of rectilinear devices, as described by Herman Melville in "*Typee*," and observed half a century later by Robert Louis Stevenson, whose two-line picture of a Marquesan chief in one of his South Sea ballads might well apply to Tamatea:

"Round all his martial body and in bands across his face,  
The marks of the tattooer proclaim his lofty place."

In the South Island are still to be seen some of the elders of Ngai-Tahu—notably two old men at Moeraki—tattooed in parallel straight lines across their cheeks, a fashion unknown in the North. Though they have forgotten its origin, this is the old, old *moko* (? *moko-kuri*) the last relic of their Eastern Pacific fatherland.

The shores of Te Anau, Manapouri, the Mavora Lakes, and the country round the bases of the Takitimu Mountains, were the last inland retreats of Ngati-Mamoe. After these defeats at Te Ihoka, Clifden, and elsewhere, a considerable body of them fled up the Waiau, and rested awhile at Te Anau. Here they were building rafts of *korari* (flax-stems), and *raupo*, in order to cross the lake, when their relentless pursuers suddenly came upon them. A number of the Ngati-Mamoe succeeded in crossing to the northern side of South Fiord, and escaped into the forests; but the majority of the fugitives were delayed by the construction of a large *mokihi*, which was not finished when Ngai-Tahu attacked them. The final encounter took place on the western side of the lake, near the southern point of the entrance to the South Fiord. Here most of the Ngati-Mamoe were killed, amongst them their chief, Pukutahi. The leader of the Ngai-Tahu expedition was Te Hau-tapa-nui-o-Tu. The survivors disappeared into the gloomy forests, and never again man's eye beheld them. It is supposed that they made their way on their rafts up the lake to the Middle and North Fiords, and thence worked across to the West Coast Sounds—Caswell, George and Bligh Sounds, and possibly Milford.

About the time that these events were proceeding in the Lake Country, and perhaps shortly afterwards, the coast-dwelling remnant

of Ngati-Mamoe were defeated and dispersed on the shores of Preservation Inlet. One of the last Ngati-Mamoe *pas* was that which stood on Mataura Island; this *pa* was taken, and nearly all its inhabitants slain. Another spot where the unfortunate tribe were slaughtered was on the beach of the Inlet, near the present township of Oneroa. On the invader's side, one of the most redoubtable of the Ngai-Tahu warriors, a Samson-like chief named Tarewai, was killed. He was of great stature and herculean strength, and his favourite weapon was a club made from the jaw-bone of a sperm-whale. A curious stratagem, often employed in Maori warfare, was successfully practised on the Ngati-Mamoe on the shores of the Inlet. A Ngati-Kuri chief named Maru, dressed in a rough *pokeka*, or cloak, of *toi*-leaves, acted the part of a seal gambolling on the beach, in the early morning, and succeeded in decoying the Ngati-Mamoe down on the sands, armed only with their cutting-knives of obsidian. Their concealed enemies suddenly rushed upon them, cut them off from their fort, and slew nearly all. The few survivors fled in the direction of Dusky Sound. Some of the Ngati-Kuri pursued them even there. On the western side of Resolution Island (Tau-moana), they captured and killed a Ngati-Mamoe woman named Taki-te-kura.

These events apparently occurred shortly before the visit of Captain Cook to Dusky Sound, in the *Resolution* in 1773, when the navigator spent six weeks in the fiord, repairing his ship and refreshing his crew. According to Hone Te Paina and Kupa Haereroa, the chief Maru, who had so successfully played the seal on the beach at Preservation, pursued the Ngati-Mamoe remnants in his canoe, and was living in Dusky Sound when Cook arrived. The natives who boarded the *Resolution* in Pickersgill Harbour, as related by Cook, are considered by Te Paina to have been Ngati-Kuri, with perhaps Ngati-Mamoe wives. Maru, Te Ao-paraki, and a woman named Ki-mai-waho, are stated on the same authority to have been the principal inhabitants of Dusky Sound at that time; it may have been Maru who went on board the *Resolution*, after performing an incantation at the ship's side ("the chief took a small green branch in his hand and struck the ship's side several times, repeating a speech or prayer; when this was over he threw the branch into the main chains, and came on board," *Cook's Voyages*). It was the same chief who presented Cook with a green-stone axe. When Vancouver visited Dusky in 1791 no natives were seen.

From 1773 to about 1842 there is no reliable record of native occupation in these West Coast Sounds. In, or about, the latter



year a sealing schooner, commanded by Captain Howell, sailed into Bligh Sound one night and dropped anchor. To the surprise of the crew fires were seen ashore. Early in the morning a boat's crew landed to make investigations. A Maori dwelling was found, and in it some mats, a whalebone club, and other articles, but the occupants of the lone *kaika* had fled to the depths of the forest. The tracks of the Maoris were followed for a short distance into the bush; but Howell's native sailors did not venture far, fearing to fall into an ambuscade, and contented themselves with taking away the *patu-paraoa* and a mat as relics of the phantom tribe.

The shores of Lake Ada, in the Arthur Valley, some miles above the head of Milford Sound, were probably the last habitat of the lost Ngati-Mamoe. Traces of these fugitive children of the mist were found here as lately as 1872. In that year Kupa Haereroa, and a number of other Maoris from Colac Bay, sailed round to Milford on one of their sealing expeditions. Leaving their long sealing-boat at the head of the Sound, Kupa and his companions explored the Valley of the Arthur, and went eel-fishing on this lonely lake. They swam the (then unnamed) Arthur River, and would have been the discoverers of the Sutherland Falls but that the bulk of Mount Pillans shut it off from their view. At first they imagined they were the first to break into this great wilderness, but soon after leaving the mouth of the Arthur they were astonished to discover three prints of naked feet in the mud beneath a cliff. They inspected these mysterious impressions with much the same emotions as Robinson Crusoe did the footprint on the sand, and on their way up the defile they kept a careful watch for any other trace that would put them on the trail of the supposed Ngati-Mamoe. On the shores of Lake Ada they found in several places indications that primitive man had had his habitation there. Under overhanging rocks they came upon deserted sleeping-places surrounded by rows of stones, and ashes of long-cold cooking fires. At one of these camps there was a separate and smaller sleeping-place, indicated by stones arranged in an oblong shape, somewhat apart from the other quarters. Kupa remarked to his companions "That must have been the bed of the chief." But this was all, and with the exception of a number of battered axe-heads of nephrite, that Donald Sutherland discovered some years ago when clearing the site for his house at the head of the Sound, no trace has since been found of the vanished tribe.

The Westland section of the Ngati-Mamoe were probably almost exterminated about the same time as the Waiau branch were being dispersed at Te Anau. It is said that a few of the West Coast tribe succeeded in escaping southwards in the direction of Jackson's Bay,

Big Bay, and Milford Sound. Until a few years ago it was thought possible that some members of this Ishmaelite tribe might yet be found living in the remoter recesses of Fiordland, still wrapped in the darkness of the stone age. This romantic hope has now, however, been completely dispelled. But sometimes a Southern native will be heard expressing a fanciful belief that the Ngati-Mamoe still haunt the great forests of the West. Says a Ngai-Tahu Maori: "A remnant of that people may be living to this day in the mountains of Te Rua-o-te-Moko, in the regions of the frost. Who knows? They were an *iwi-kohuru*—a treacherous tribe—and given to ambuscades. And when pursued their wise men would repeat *karakias*, and invoke the gods of the air, and dense fogs and mists would then descend and hid them from their pursuers, and they would escape into the depths of the forest. The mists were their salvation (*na te kohu i whakaora*). This is the reason that they are not now seen."



## TE KORERO MO NGARARA-HUARAU.

NA MAJOR H. P. TU-NUI-A-RANGI.

**K**O te kainga i noho ai tenei taniwha, kei Wai-marama, kei Here-taunga. Ka noho nei, a, ka roa, ka puta te aroha ki tona tuahine, ki a Pari-kawhiti. Ko te kainga o te tuahine kei Wai-rarapa. Kaore a Ngarara-huarau i mohio, kei hea tona tuahine e noho ana, engari katahi ka pihongia ki nga hau. Ka pau nga hau te pihongi, ka tae ki te hau tonga ka rangouna e ia te kakara o tona tuahine. Katahi ka haere mai ma te moana, me te pihongi haere tonu mai; tae rawa ki te ngutu-awa o Pahawa, kua tuku atu te kakara o tona tuahine i te hauauru. Ka haere atu a Ngarara-huarau ma roto i te awa o Pahawa. Ano ka tae ki te ngutu-awa o tetahi awa, ka kite ia i te rere; he nui te tiketike. Ka oho tona mauri, e kore ia e eke ki runga. Ka huaina te ingoa o taua awa ko Mauri-oho-o-Ngarara-huarau, i taua ra i karangatia ai taua ingoa tae noa mai ki tenei ra.

Heoi, ka rere te taniwha nei, kia eke ia ki runga. Kihai i eke. Ka tu ona waewae ki waenganui o te pari, ka tupeke ake nga waewae o muri, ka tu ki te tūnga o nga peke; katahi ka rere, ka eke ki runga. Ka haere i roto i taua awa eke noa ki te upurangitanga ki roto o tetahi hiwi, ko Maunga-rake te ingoa. Ka eke ia ki runga, ka rongo i te ngenge, ka whakatuapuku i tona tuara. He mea mohio e nga tangata ki te openga o nga peke i te whenua, ka tapaia te ingoa o taua wahi ko Hau-tuapuku-o-Ngarara-huarau.

Ka haere ia, ka tae ki tetahi awa, ko Koura-rau te ingoa, 10 *maero* pea te matara mai i te wahi i noho ai tona tuahine. Ka noho i roto o Koura-rau. Ko te tikanga o tenei ingoa, he nui no te koura-wai o roto i taua awa. Heoi, ka noho nei te taniwha, ko tana mahi, he patu i nga tira haere; ara, he kai i nga tangata, horopuku tonu, ahakoa he kawenga ta te tangata, ka horomia pukutia e taua taniwha—ahakoa he tamaiti i runga i te hakui e waha ana, ka heke tahi raua ki roto i te kopu o te taniwha nei—ahakoa nga tokotoko me nga taiaha, ka pau katoa te horo.

Ka mahara mai nga iwi o te taha moana, ki nga tira o reira, kei nga kainga o uta e noho ana. Ka pera hoki te mahara o nga iwi o uta nei ki o ratou tira i ahu atu ra ki te taha moana, kei reira e araitia ana e te tupuhi o te moana te tae ki te mahi kai moana hei maunga mai ma ratou ki o ratou kainga i uta nei. Kaore! kua pau i a Ngarara-huarau.

No muri mai ka kitea e etahi tangata, kua noho he taniwha ki roto o Koura-rau. Ka haere te rongo o te matenga o nga tangata o Wai-rarapa ki te tai-rawhiti, katahi ka mohiotia e nga iwi o reira, kua ahu mai a Ngarara-huarau ki te upoko o te motu nei. Ko tana mahi ano tenei i Wai-marama, he huna i nga tangata o reira. No te haerenga atu nei o Ngarara-huarau i Wai-marama, ka ora nga tangata o reira. Ka mauria atu te rongo e nga tira haere, ka rongo nga tangata o Here-taunga kua mate nga tangata o Wai-rarapa, ka mauria mai hoki te rongo o nga mahi a Ngarara-huarau i Wai-marama, ka rongo nga iwi o Wai-rarapa nei.

Heoi, ka rapua e nga iwi o Wai-rarapa nei he ritenga e mate ai a Ngarara-huarau, a, ka kitea, koia tenei: Me mounu kia puta ki waho i tona rua i noho ai, a, me taki haere kia uru ki roto ki tetahi ngaherehere. Ko taua ngahere me tapahi he umu mo ia rakau, mo ia rakau, ko tetahi taha me waiho kia mau ana. Ko nga rakau e tu ana i te taha o te huanui ma te auta haeretanga a te taniwha e turaki nga rakau, a, ma te hinganga o tetahi rakau ki runga i tetahi rakau ka turaki, a, ka tamia, ka kore e tino kaha; hei reira ka werowero ai ki te tokotoko, ki te huata, me te whiu ki nga patu me nga pou-whenua, a ka mate ia. Heoi nga whakamaramatanga mo te ritenga e mate ai; me nga karakia ki to ratou atua.

Heoi, ka whakaetia e te iwi enei ritenga katoa. Katahi ka whiria he taura. Ka oti, ka tapahia haeretia nga rakau o te taha o te huanui hei haerenga mo Ngarara-huarau. Ka oti, ka patu te kuri; ka mutu ka kowhiria nga toa tokorua, ka whakapatia o raua waewae ki te atua kia tere ai te oma, ka whakaponotia te hau o nga tangata nei me ta raua kuri-mate, me te taura hei tukutuku i te kuri ki te waha o te rua o te taniwha. Ka tae raua ki runga o te rua ka tukutuku i runga i te taura. Kaore ano kia tae ki waenganui o te pari ko te tiaho o nga whatu kua puta ki waho o te rua; no muri i puta ai te upoko. Te putanga mai, ka haere nga tangata nei—te haere a te taniwha te haere a nga tangata. E haere ana nga tangata nei ano ko tiurangī! ara, ko to manu e kiia nei he kāhu. Na te mea ano ka ngaro nga tangata nei i roto i te ngahere ka tomo tahi hoki te taniwha. No te oinga o te hiku ka pa ki te rakau kua oti te tapahi ra, ka hinga ki raro—ko te oinga o te upoko, ka hinga nga rakau, ka auru nga peka ki tetahi rakau, ka hinga, katahi ka hingahinga nga rakau, ka tamia a Ngarara-huarau ki te whenua. Nawai ra i kaha; kua kore e kaha; e werohia ana ki

nga tokotoko, e patua ana ki nga pou-whenua, a, ka mate a Ngarara-huarau.

Katahi ka haea te puku. Anana! e whakapapa ana te tangata, te wahine, te tamariki i roto i te puku. Heoi, ka tanumia nga tangata, ka hostu ma Mahuika e kai a Ngarara-huarau. Ko te upoko ka tapahia ka whakamaroketia, a, whakakohatu tonu iho. Ko te karakia nana i tiki i taki a Ngarara-huarau, ara, ko te tapuae, ko "Pa-whakaoho," ko "Tu-mania," ko "Tu-paheke."

Ka mutu nga koreo o tenei taniwha; i kite au i te upoko kohatu me te Mema nei, me Piukenana—kei te taha tonu o tona whare e tu mai nei ano.

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[TRANSLATION.]

### THE STORY OF NGARARA-HUARAU.

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(TRANSLATED BY S. PERCY SMITH.)

The original home of this *taniwha* was Wai-marama (about twenty miles south of Napier), in the Here-taunga district. He dwelt here for a long time, and then felt a longing to see his sister, Pari-kawhiti, who lived in Wai-rarapa. Ngarara-huarau did not know where his sister lived, but (to find out) he proceeded to sniff the various winds. After trying them all, when he came to the south wind, he experienced the sweet scent from his sister. So he started on his way to find her, coming by the sea, sniffing as he came, till he reached Pa-hawa (Pahaoa, about twenty miles north of Cape Palliser), where the scent of his sister came from the west, so he directed his course up the river. When he arrived at the mouth of a certain stream, he found a waterfall which was very high. His heart was startled, for he thought he would not be able to ascend it. This place is called to this day "The startled heart of Ngarara-huarau."

But the *taniwha* made a jump at the fall, but failed to get up it. Then he placed his legs in the middle of the cliff and drew up his hind legs so that they were at the same place as his fore legs; then he sprang up and reached the top. After this he followed up the stream to its source in a certain hill named Maunga-rake. When he got on top he felt very tired, and so he stretched or rounded his back, a fact which men arrived at by seeing places dug out by his fore legs, and hence has this place always been called "Hau-tuapuku-o-Ngarara-huarau."

After this he went on to a river named Koura-rau, which was about ten miles distant from the place where his sister dwelt, and at

Koura-rau he remained. The name of this place is derived from the plenty of *koura* (fresh water cray-fish) found there. And so the *taniwha* remained there. His occupation was to kill the travelling parties passing that way—that is, he used to swallow them all, even if they had loads on their backs: mothers carrying children on their backs, men with spears or *taiahas*, all went down his capacious throat.

The people who dwelt at the sea-side imagined that the travelling parties from there were remaining at the inland settlements. It was the same with the inland people, who thought that their travelling parties who had gone to the coast to bring back fish, &c., were detained by bad weather at the coast. But not so; they had been consumed by Ngarara-huarau.

Some time after some people discovered that a *taniwha* had taken up his abode at Koura-wai. When the news of the deaths of these people of Wai-rarapa reached Wai-marama, then it was known by the latter people that Ngarara-huarau had come towards the head of the island. His occupation at Wai-marama had been of the same kind—viz., the consuming of man. But when the news reached them of Ngarara-huarau, then they felt safe; and when the news of the deaths at Wai-rarapa reached the people of Here-taunga, then the latter people sent word of Ngarara-huarau's doings to Wai-rarapa.

So now, then, the people of Wai-rarapa sought means by which they might compass the death of Ngarara-huarau, and after a time decided on measures as follows: To entice him out of his lair by a bait, and lure him along to enter a certain forest. In the forest the trees were to have a *umu* or scarf cut in each tree, leaving part uncut, so that the writhing of the *taniwha* should cause them to fall on the others and bring them down on top of him, and thus press on him and prevent him using his strength; then could he be speared, and the weapons be used to slay him. This was the explanation of the proposal, besides invocations to their god.

All these arrangements were consented to by the people. Then was a rope made, and the trees scarfed along the road which Ngarara-huarau was to follow. Then a dog was killed, and two brave fellows selected, their legs being touched with the god to make them swift to run, whilst the *hau*, or spirit of the men, their dog, and the rope, were subjected to invocations to make them sure. When the men got to a place above the cave, they let down the dog by the rope, and before the bait had reached mid-cliff, the flaming rays of the eyes of the monster were seen coming forth, followed by his head. On his coming forth the men fled, followed by the *taniwha*; the men fled like the flight of the hawk. When they reached the

forest the *taniwha* entered with them, and as his tail lashed the trees that had been partly cut through, they began to fall; and as his great head moved from side to side, the trees fell on the others, and all came down, pressing Ngarara-huarau to the earth. He struggled and struggled till he was exhausted, and then was he speared, and the clubs did their work, and thus died Ngarara-huarau.

His body was then cut open. Behold! there were layers of men, women, and children inside him! After that the men were buried, and Ngarara-huarau was given to Mahuika (father of fire, *i.e.*, he was burnt). The head was cut off and dried, and it turned into stone. The *karakias*, or incantations used to draw forth Ngarara-huarau, were those known as the *Tapuae*, "Pa-whakaoho," "Tu-mania," and "Tu-paheke."

Here ends the story of this celebrated *taniwha*. I have seen the stone head, and so has Mr. W. C. Buchanan, for it stands near his home.



## THE LORE OF THE *WHARE-KOHANGA*.

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### NOTES ON PROCREATION AMONG THE MAORI PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND.

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WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, AND  
SUPERSTITIONS PERTAINING TO MENSTRUATION,  
PREGNANCY, LABOUR, &c.

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BY ELSDON BEST.

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#### PART I.

**H**AVING resolved to put together such notes concerning Maori sociology, and more especially those pertaining to family life, as I have collected from the Tuhoe tribe, I begin with those treating on birth, in order to give some idea of Maori customs, rites, beliefs, and general ideas connected with generation.

The native system of genesiology we shall never know in its entirety, but enough has been preserved to show that the natives of this land treated generation as a most *tapu* matter, and that they possess a complete ritual in connection with conception, pregnancy, parturition, and care of the young. It will also be seen that the Maori held some very peculiar views and ideas anent these matters; ideas that are by no means restricted to these people, inasmuch as many similar items have been placed on record as connected with divers barbarous races in various parts of the world.

The main part of this paper will be divided into four parts, treating on Menstruation, Pregnancy, Abortion, and Labour, while following the latter will be given an account of the treatment accorded to mother and child after they have left the *whare-kohanga*, or "nest house." Preceding the main part of the paper will be given a few notes concerning sex in Nature, and the tendency of the



Maori mind to personify natural phenomena, &c., and view such as being represented by, or having originated with, anthropomorphic beings.

#### ANIMISM.

There appears to have ever obtained among the neolithic Maori an universal vivification of nature: a personification of, and application of sex to natural phenomena and inanimate objects. The term used here, *i.e.*, personifications, has been objected to, it being said that allegory would be a more correct expression. I would submit, however, that such allegories imply personifications, and that such are often the personified forms of abstract ideas, or continued metaphors. This process of primitive thought was even applied to the period when man had not yet appeared on earth. For strange mythical beings, probably personified forms of cosmic forces, or of unknown æons, preceded Rangi and Papa (the Sky Parent and the Earth Mother), and these are alluded to in Maori mythology as though anthropomorphous beings; they cohabited and produced young.

The physiogony of Maori myth is both singular and interesting. Their system of anthropogeny resembles those of many other primitive peoples, in that it derives man from the union of earth and sky, which were looked upon as being the origin of all things.

The primitive Maori traced the origin of man, birds, fish, insects, trees, plants, &c., back to Rangi and Papa. But long ages before that there were a series of gods, or allegorised eras, or forces; and those personifications were also endowed with sex and produced young. From them eventually sprang the earth and sky. The remote primal pair who existed before light, sound, the elements, &c., were Te Rangi-matinitini and Te Ao-matinitini, who are said to have been *atua* (gods, demons, supernatural beings, or forces). The two produced Te Pu and Te More, who are described as really one being, but possessed of a bi-sexual nature and a double name, the upper part being Te Pu and the lower part Te More. Such was the origin of sex in Maori myth. After these beings came Te Weu, Te Aka, Te Rea, Te Wao-nui, Te Kune, Te Whe, Te Po, and then came Rangi and Papa, the heavens and the earth. The above names are singular ones, those from number three to number eight inclusive being terms applied to trees, their growth, parts, &c. Then come conception, sound, nothingness or chaos, and darkness or gloom.

The above allegory accounts for the origin of sex according to Maori myth. From Rangi and Papa sprang certain beings possessed of supernatural powers, though not termed gods, *i.e.*, *atua*. These were the origin and personification of war, peace, winds, trees, birds,

&c., &c. Among these offspring was one Tane-nui-a-rangi—he who searched long for woman ere he found her. His first acts were to produce the various forest trees, by means of cohabiting with certain beings, who are looked upon as the origin and personified forms of such trees. Then he found woman. Her name was Kurawaka, and she was a daughter of Tiki and Ea. By her Tane had Hine-titama, whom he also married, and this was the origin of incest. Ea was the first woman of this world, the world of light and being. She was taken to wife by Tiki, who was of the *Po*, or world of darkness.

These myths differ somewhat among the various tribes, but the above will give a general idea of their nature and of the Maori idea of the origin of man and of sex. I have never been able to obtain from reliable native sources any corroboration of an unfortunate account of the origin of man which has appeared in print, and which is undoubtedly the result of missionary teaching.

According to the myths of the Mātātua tribes, the sun (*Ra*) was a male descendant of Rangi and Papa, and who mated with two females, one being the personification of summer, the other that of winter. For a lengthy account of such personifications and anthropomorphic agents in Maori mythology, see the JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, Vol. viii., p. 94.

When Tane desired and sought woman, he hied him to Rangi, the sky parent, and asked: "O Rangi! Where is the *uha*?" (female or female principle). And Rangi said: "The *whare o aitua* is below; above is the *whare o te ora*." The first of these terms may be translated as "the abode or origin of trouble, death, misfortune." It is here applied to the female organ or principle, and apparently so for two reasons: in the first place, man is born of woman to encounter many troubles in this world, and finally death; again, the female organ (or principle) was the origin of death. In this wise, when Maui of old sought to gain eternal life for man, he proceeded to enter the organ of Hine-nui-te-Po, Goddess of Death and Queen of Hades, that he might obtain the life principle, or breath of life, from her sacred body, and so conquer death. For the seed of man is implanted in that organ and is endowed therein with the breath of life, or life principle. But it was not to be, and Maui perished in the organ of the Goddess of Hades—that is to say, in the *whare o aitua*. Hence death ever assails man in this world. The term *whare o aitua* might also be applied to Papa, the earth mother, for she is the personification of the female principle. Her descendants who dwell on her broad bosom, *i.e.*, man, birds, trees, &c., all perish and are received back into the earth mother. For Papa said to Rangi: "Our offspring shall return to me in death, and I will conceal them. They shall be our legion of the dead."

The expression *whare o te ora* is applied to the heavens and the denizens thereof who have grasped eternal life. For those of the offspring of Rangi and Papa who remained on high, *i.e.*, the sun, moon, and stars, know not death.

Ever among the Maori people the organs of generation were deeply imbued with *tapu* (sacredness, sometimes "uncleanness") and *māna* (influence, prestige, supernatural power), both of an active and of a passive nature. This may have sprung from an observance of the mystery of sex, and the application thereof to all departments of nature, as also such items as those above given. When a person repeated a magic spell—say, to ward off the witchcraft of others, and cause their death—he would place his hand on his genital organs in order to give force, supernatural power (*māna*) to his incantation. This is quite Oriental. Observe sundry passages in the Bible, where a man, when making a solemn promise, is said to have placed his hand "in the hollow of his thigh."

The ancient sacerdotal term for the organs of generation is *tawhito*. This was only used in invocations, &c.; other expressions obtained for ordinary use. An old native said to me: "As for the *tawhito* of Hine-nui-te-Po, that was the *atua* which destroyed man" (see *ante*). And again: "Friend! the salvation of my ancestors was the *ure*, the *tawhito*. By its aid were the shafts of magic warded off and life retained."

*Ure* is the ordinary term for the *membrum virile*, the expression in common use. The word *tawhito* may be rendered as "ancient," or "the ancient one," but I am inclined to believe that another meaning of the word, as retained by the natives of Futuna (who are Polynesians and allied to the Maori), is the correct one in this case. The Futuna word *tagito* signifies "cause, source, principle, origin." In one sense, however, all these meanings are allied. The Esthonians term their deity "the aged one."

Another term, presumably a mystical or sacerdotal expression, applied by the old-time Maori to the male organ, was *tangata matua*, which would appear to have much the same meaning as *tawhito*.

In time of war the warriors would, prior to setting forth on a foray, pass beneath the *tawhito*, in order that the *māna* of that organ might prevent them from being afflicted by *atua* (malignant demons, gods), and so be assailed by indecision, faint-heartedness, &c., in battle. This singular rite, termed a *hirihiri taua*, was effected by means of the men passing between the extended legs of the priest. In like manner, when a warrior has been affected by such afflictions as the above, he will hie him to a firstborn female of a family of rank and get her to cure him. She does so by stepping across his body as he lies on the ground.

The quaint old myth of how the mountains grouped around Lake Taupo quarrelled, separated and went away to other places, is an example of animism, the vivification of nature. Those mountains are endowed with sex, the powers of speech, and locomotion. They married and produced young in the form of hail, snow, and sleet. Such items are illustrations of the ancient hypothesis of the *anima mundi*, which appears to have obtained among all primitive peoples. Maunga-pohatu, a mountain of Tuhoe land, is spoken of by the Tama-Kai-moana sub-tribe as their mother, that people having dwelt beneath it for centuries.

After Rongo-maui had visited Whanui (the star Vega) and obtained from him the germs of the *kumara*, or sweet potato, he returned to this lower world and caused his wife, Pani-tinaku, to give birth to the sweet potato, which was thus acquired by the ancestors of the Maori.

Several cases of human beings having been born in an extraordinary or supernatural manner are recorded in native myths and traditions. Thus Rawaho, a son of Hape of the "Rangi-matoru" canoe (which made the land at Ohiwa), was born from the armpit; also one Tama-mutu, an ancestor of the Tuhoe tribe, entered this world in the same manner. Potiki the first, origin of Nga-Potiki, the ancient people of Tuhoe land, was not the offspring of human parents, but was the result of the union of Hine-pukohu-rangi (personification of mist) and Te Maunga (the mountain). For the Maid of the Mist lured to her arms the mountain, who descended from his high places to Onini at Rua-tahuna, in the Ure-wera County, where originated the ancient tribe of Nga-Potiki, the Children, or Children of the Mist.

The above Hine was the personified form of the white mists, as seen among these forest ranges. And when dawn breaks across the vale of Rua-tahuna, you may oft times see the white form of the Mist Maiden as she reclines upon the broad breast of her old-time lover. But when the sunlight gleams down from rugged Huiarau, then is it that Hine fades away and disappears.

Cases of miraculous or extraordinary conception are not absent from Maori tradition and mythology. For example, one Kura-nui-a-monoa, wife of Toi the Wood Eater, of immortal fame, is said to have been visited by one Tama-i-waho (also known as Puhaorangi), who descended from the heavens and is looked upon as a god, and she bore to him the child Oho-matua-rau. Similar cases are those of Uenuku and Tairi-a-kohu, Te Maunga, and Hine-pukohu-rangi. Such myths are of world-wide distribution; many of them are allegories based upon natural phenomena, as are the last two above

mentioned. The Aztecan myth of Coatlicue and the humming bird, with its Greek counterparts, illustrate another common form of miraculous conceptions as preserved in many lands.

Enough has been said to show the supernatural power which the generative organs were supposed to possess by the Maori of old, as also concerning that form of animism which endowed with sex the forces of nature, the heavenly bodies, and other items of the inanimate world. My notes on the evidences of animism and of phallicism to be found in Maori myth and ritual are somewhat numerous, and must be reserved for a separate paper.

The word *ai* signifies to "procreate, beget," while *hika* means "to generate," and is applied to the generation of fire by the rubbing process, as well as to the generating or begetting of children. This term *hika* is also used in connection with certain rites, as *hika moana*, a rite and invocation to calm the ocean.

We will now commence the main part of our subject, dealing with the various divisions in the order given above.

#### MENSTRUATION (*Paheke*).

The native terms for menstruation are *paheke* and *mate marama*. The former term is applied to the menses, and is also used as a verb (compare *heke*, "to descend, to drip.") The expression *mate marama* means literally "monthly sickness," *marama* meaning the moon and the lunar month. The term *atua* is also sometimes applied to the menses. This word is generally translated as "god," it is applied to demons, evil spirits, spirits of deified ancestors, to caco-dæmons, also to diseases (thought to be caused by malignant demons), to persons of evil or quarrelsome nature, &c., also to various phenomena not understood, as menstruation, for example. When the *Matātua* canoe arrived from far *Hawaiki* and was coasting along the shores of the Bay of Plenty, near *Matata*, one of the crew said to *Wairaka*, the principal woman on board:—"Ha! *He atua kai raro i ou waevae*," i.e., "There is an *atua* beneath your limbs," alluding to her *paheke*, which he had observed. Hence the name of *Te Awa-a-te-atua* at that place, meaning, "The River of the *Atua*," or menses. The term *parapara* is also applied to the menstrual discharge, likewise to that of birth. (Compare *para*, "refuse, sediment, impurity, dross, etc.")

In regard to the name *mate marama*, the "monthly" or "moon" sickness, I quote from native authorities:—"The reason of this sickness being known as *mate marama* is because it affects women when the moon appears. It never affects them when the moon is lost to view, that is during the dark nights (*hinapouri*) of the moon. Some women are affected when the moon is just seen, and others at various





stages of its growth, some when the Turu moon appears (*i.e.*, the 17th night of the moon). A woman is always affected at the same stage of each moon, the time of her affliction does not vary." Another native, an old woman, said to me :—" Women always *paheke* at the same time, at the same stage of each moon. Hence, when it commences, they always know what night of the moon it is. (Natives reckoned time by the nights of the moon, and the lunar month.) Women do not *paheke* during the dark nights of the moon, nor yet while suckling a child, although the child may suckle its mother for a long time. When the moon appears the skin of women who have a bad time during menstruation becomes affected. "*Ka hinawanawa kotoa te kiri o te wahine mate kino, e ka puta mai te marama,*" *i.e.*, the skin becomes rough, like unto what we term "gooseflesh," in cases of dysmenorrhœa. When the moon appears, then women say :—" The *tane* (husband) of all women in the world has appeared."

Another native, an old man, said :—" The moon is the permanent husband (or true husband) of all women, because women *paheke* when the moon appears. According to the knowledge of our ancestors and elders, the marriage of man and wife is a matter of no moment, the moon is the real husband."

The above is a very singular belief, the supposed connection between the moon and women, but it does not seem unnatural to the Maori mind, deeply imbued as it is with the spirit of animism common to primitive peoples. For his strange mentality had vivified the moon and endowed it with sex and human passions. Moreover, the heavenly bodies and man were equally descendants of primal chaos, through Rangi and Papa, were derived from the same prototype, an anthropomorphic personification of the origin, or beginning, of all things—the Void whence were evolved Light, Sound, Water, Fire, and matter organic and inorganic. In a sense, therefore, the Maori looked upon the moon as a relative and ancestor of his own; and the Maori ever turned to the spirits of his ancestors to save him from evil. The moon is said to have had two wives, Rona and Tangaroa-a-roto, both daughters of Tangaroa, who was originally a land deity.

There was, and still is, a certain amount of *tapu* connected with the menstrual discharge, though that *tapu* scarcely seems to apply to the woman herself, except in the sense of "uncleanliness." The discharge is viewed as a sort of human embryo, an immature or undeveloped human being, hence the *tapu*. "*E ahua tangata ana te paheke o te wahine. He whakatipu tangata taua mea.*" (The *paheke* of a woman is a sort of human being, it is a person in embryo.) Another aged authority states :—" The menses is a kind of human



being, because if the discharge ceases, then it grows into a person, that is when the *paheke* ceases to come away, then it assumes human form, and grows into a man."

In native legends there are several instances of the development of the menstrual discharge into a human being. Such were generally developed after having been cast away by the woman, by means of the care and nurture bestowed upon them by supernatural beings, as in the cases of Maui-potiki and Whakatau, famous heroes of Maori tradition. It would also appear, according to some of these old-time folk tales, that the menstrual discharge sometimes developed into a caco-dæmon, a malignant spirit which afflicted man grievously, and was termed an *atua kahu* or *kahukahu*, a name also bestowed upon the malignant spirit of a stillborn child. However, my chief authority among the Tuhoe tribe states that these *atua kahu* were the spirits of stillborn children only, whereas the *paheke* possessed no *wairua*\* (spirit); that is to say, the menstrual discharge is not endowed with the spirit of life, the spirit which animates man, leaves his body at death and descends to Hades. But a stillborn child does possess this spirit, and it is liable to resolve itself into a most mischievous demon, as we shall see anon.

On account of the above-described feeling in regard to the *paheke*, or menses, the sleeping places, &c., of women were looked upon as being unclean and hence dangerous to man, who is *tapu*. Such places are to be avoided by all men of standing, although they might not be harmful to a common, *tapu*-less person, such as a slave. Should a man sit down, or recline on a place where women sleep, or rest, or should he utilise an article of female wearing apparel as a pillow, he will be polluted thereby, his *tapu*, the sacred spiritual and intellectual ichor which pervades, vivifies, and preserves him, will be contaminated by contact with "uncleanness," and hence his spiritual, physical, and intellectual well-being will be seriously affected and endangered. He would become *kahupotia*. The terms *kahupo* and *hinapo* signify "dim-sighted." Not that his ordinary sight will be affected, that kind of dim-sightedness is termed *mātāpo*, but his spiritual sight will suffer, that is to say, he will lose his power of second sight, a most serious affliction to the Maori, and one which would have seriously endangered his life in pre-European days. In this state he would no longer be able to observe the numerous signs, tokens, by which ancestral gods warn their living descendants of impending troubles and dangers. An old warlock of Ngati-Awa said to me:—"Son! Never recline on the resting places of woman, such

\* See Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 9, p. 177, for an account of the *wairua* of man.

places are unclean. The blood (*i.e.*, *paheke*) of woman is there. They are the undoing of man. But should you happen to do so, then be sure that you conciliate your ancestors, that they may restore your sight, and continue to guard and preserve you from evil."

A man would perform the *whakaepa* rite in order to free himself from the polluting effects of the *moenga toto*, or unclean sleeping place.

Regarding unnatural discharges, a peculiar case was mentioned to me by the Rua-tahuna natives. A woman of the Hamua clan has a discharge of blood from the nose at each appearance (*kohititanga*) of the new moon. This is termed her menses by the natives, inasmuch as the ordinary discharge is invariably absent.

The material used here, in Tuhoealand, from time immemorial, as a menstruating cloth, is a variety of moss (generic term *rimurimu*) known as *angiangi*. It is probably *Hypnum clandestinus*. It is a light coloured, fine, very soft moss, found growing on logs in the forest. As used for the above purpose, it is termed a *kope*. It is not prepared in any way, but simply crumpled up and thrust into the vagina. After the discharge has ceased, the woman will go off into the forest and there bury the *kope*, each woman has a secret place where she does so. It would be a serious matter for her were her *kope* to be seen by anyone. For they would probably make a great joke of it, and she would feel terribly humiliated, so much so, indeed, that she might commit suicide.

In cases of difficult, or painful menstruation, the woman was usually isolated in former times. In native opinion it is the moon that is affecting a woman in this plight. A stoppage of the menses, which does not seem to often occur among Maoris, though perhaps it is more frequent among half-breeds, is spoken of as "*he mate kino na te marama*," an evil complaint caused by the moon. Such an illness may continue for a week, during which time the woman will take but little food. At such a time women have a great desire to drink cold water, but are not allowed to take much, lest it should aggravate the trouble. Those who are not ill during menstruation are allowed to eat any kind of food, there is no restriction whatever. They also bath in cold water at such times, should they desire to do so. It does not appear that woman herself is looked upon as being "unclean" during the period of menstruation, although the discharge is so viewed, indeed the latter is very polluting in its action, as we have seen. Women perform their ordinary duties at such times, as cooking food, etc.

There is no recognised rule or custom regarding copulation during the period of menstruation. The women seem to please themselves in the matter, some indulge while others do not.

Now, the term *paheke* has, strictly speaking, three applications. It is the name of the discharge, it is the verb "to menstruate," and it is also applied to the period of menstruation or, more properly speaking, to the first day thereof. The term *koero* is applied to the second and third day of such period. When a woman does not desire to conceive, she will not copulate during menstruation or, rather, during the *koerotanga* (*koero* stage) of such period, for such a connection, she believes, would surely be fruitful. But she will abstain until three days after menstruation has ceased. Thus, according to native ideas, it is during the *koero* stage (and immediately after it) that the sexual act is fruitful. "*He eke koero tena, ka tupu tonu atu he tangata*"—that is, a *koero* copulation, it will surely be fruitful—said my informant. If a woman does not desire to conceive, and her husband wishes to have connection with her during the *koero* stage of menstruation, she will say: "*Kaore au e pai kia mahia koerotia ahau e koe, he hoha noku ki te whanau tamariki*"—I am not willing that you should have a *koero* connection with me; it is so tiresome to me to bear children.

Copulation is desired mostly by women just prior to menstruation. It is said by natives that a girl will not conceive at her first, nor yet her second, menstruating period, but that she will at the third.

The natives of the Tuhoe tribe state that their women have more trouble in menstruation of late years than they had formerly. Difficult or painful menstruation was very rare in former times; it is much more common now. Possibly this may be connected with the increasing lack of fecundity so noticeable among these tribes. Native women are generally affected by a slight headache a day or so before menstruation commences. (These notes have been collected from the Tuhoe or Urewera tribe only: hence there is necessarily much Maori birth lore, &c., not included in them. Customs, rites, &c., differ to a certain extent among the various native tribes of New Zealand.)

The stoppage of the menses is termed *papuni*. To cure this a woman will, at dawn of day, go and bathe in a stream, and then on her return she takes a dose of a decoction made as follows: Four pieces of flax root (*i.e.*, the native flax, *phormium tenax*, the *harakeke* of the Maori) and four pieces of the branchlets of a forest climbing plant known as *aka taramoa* are cut up into small pieces and boiled in a vessel until the liquid is considerably reduced in quantity. This delightful beverage is said to be effective in cases of difficult menstruation. When obtaining these roots and twigs for the above medicine, they must be taken from the east side of the flax clump and creeper, as the *māna*, or virtue, of them is on that side only as

regards their use as medicine for menstruating women. This singular superstition may be connected with the rising of the moon in the east. For when the same materials are being procured for the purpose of making a medicine for diarrhoea or constipation, it does not matter from which side they are taken.

Another decoction used as a medicine in cases of difficult menstruation is made in a similar manner from the bark and berries of the *rohutu* tree (*myrtus pedunculata*).

It is, however, very improbable that these "medicines" were used in olden times, but have only come into use since the advent of Europeans. The natives do not appear to have used internal medicines in ancient times, or certainly but to a very limited extent.

Some singular beliefs obtain among the natives in regard to menstruation. If a menstruating woman goes on to a sea beach where the *pipi* shellfish (cockles) are found, all those shellfish will desert that beach and migrate to pastures new. Or if such woman essays to cook the kernels of the berries of the *tawa* tree (*nesodaphne tawa*) in a boiling spring, they will never be cooked, but remain quite hard, although those of other women not so afflicted will be quite cooked.

Or if a menstruating woman goes to an *ahi titi* (a fire made to attract the *titi*, or mutton birds, and at which they were formerly taken in great numbers), no birds will be caught. For the birds will persistently avoid the fire, and will be heard crying out and screeching. Then the fowlers will know that a menstruating woman is among them. They will know it from the actions and cries of the birds.

In former times women were not allowed to take part in the cultivation of the *hue* (gourd plant), because it was believed that if a menstruating woman went among the plants, they would surely die.

As few natives know their ages, it is not easy to say at what age menstruation commences, but, so far as I can judge, probably at about the fourteenth year—perhaps the fifteenth in some cases. It may, however, occur earlier.

(To be continued.)



## THE *HUNAKEHA* TREE.

BY W. T. MORPETH.

THE following was communicated to the writer by Puanaki, of Opatu, Upper Whanganui River, N.Z. Does anybody know the tree, or know of it?

The *Hunakeha* tree was first discovered by a woman called Pare-koritawa. Out of curiosity, and knowing no evil, Pare one day cut the bark, and the red juice of the tree ran out on her hands, staining them as with human blood. Overcome with superstitious fear the poor woman quickly cleansed her hands and hastened home, where she related her experience to her friends. Soon afterwards she sickened and died, and by this it was known that *hunakeha* was a sacred tree. Now this was in times long gone by. (*I mua, i mua noa atu.*)

Some few years ago, however, a tragic event occurred which clearly showed that the *hunakeha* still flourishes "like a green bay tree," and that its baleful *māna* has not declined with the years. At Tawata, a lonely *pa* on the Upper Whanganui, an aged chief lay dying. Four friends from Pari-nui, named respectively Pateriki, Te Piwhara, Riwai, and Te Ikahaehae, made an excursion into the forest and returned with some branches and twigs of the *hunakeha*, in the hope that its magic properties might be invoked and directed against the Pale Spectre that hovered over the little *whare* of *raupo* thatch, over against the bush where the sick man lay. And the prophets and *tohungas*, naked of body, and with many strange rites and bodily contortions, recited all their most potent *karakia*, and prayed to the gods with savage vehemence and passionate eloquence. But they strove in vain, for Te Kere died and was gathered to his fathers, and the people came from far and near to celebrate his obsequies. When the *tangi* was over the visitors returned to their homes, and directly afterwards the four men from Parinui, who had so lightly plucked the boughs from the still green tree, one by one fell sick and died. Whether from ignorance or whether with a reckless disregard of the consequences, it may not be known, but by their action they had slighted and grossly insulted the deity which has its abode in the *hunakeha*, and, like Pare-koritawa of old, paid the penalty with their lives.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE TA-TATAU OR HERALDIC MARKS AT AITUTAKI ISLAND.

BY LIEUT.-COL. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

**I**T is claimed that each canoe that arrived at Aitutaki from Hawaiki was carved on the bow in a more or less distinct pattern, presumably with the heraldic bearings of the chief of the canoe, and that this carving was adopted by those who came in the canoe as the *ta-tatau* which should for all time distinguish them from other tribes.

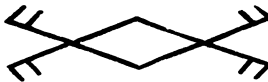
So far as can now be ascertained, the first of these canoes in point of time was the *Te Uatoaua*, under the chief *Te Muna-korero*, a Tongan. This canoe entered by the *Avaroa* passage, and the crew landed in the *tapere*, or district now called *Waiau*. They adopted the carving of the canoe as the tribal *ta-tatau*, and it was tattooed on their bodies, and occasionally on the neck, wrist, or legs, but never on the face. The same mark was placed on the garments and tribal ornaments, and any appropriations of this special mark by another tribe resulted in bloodshed, for the object of the mark was to preserve the descent of each family by giving each member thereof the proof of his descent on his own person.

It was *Te Muna-korero* who gave the name to the small reef island of *Maina*, by throwing himself down in the coral sand to enjoy the heat of the sun, *mainaina ra*. His *ta-tatau* was



and this mark is called *pa-maunga*, or range of mountains, in memory of a range in far off Hawaiki.

*Katopa-enua* was the next canoe to arrive, under the chief *Kaki*. It entered by the *Vaimotu* passage and landed at *Taravao*. Their *ta-tatau* is called *puapua-inana*, and the mark was as follows:



Irakau, the canoe of Ui-tario, came at the same time as Kaki, and entered by the Taketake passage. Their *ta-tatau* was called *komua*, or the forward thrust of a spear, viz.,



After the foregoing came the Ariki Te-Erui-o-te-Rangi in his double canoe, one side of which was called "Te Rangi-matōe," and the other "Te Toenga-rangi." This canoe entered by the Ava-tapu, and their *ta-tatau* is called *paekō*:



The last of these ancestral canoes was Tue-moana, with the chief Ruatapu, who entered by the Ava-kopuanua, and asserted his *māna* over all the tribes of the island. His *ta-tatau* is known as *punarua*, viz.,



Compare the arms of the Montacutes with those of Te Munukorero, and the same idea will be seen.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [182] Ngati-Hau of Whanganui.

I just send you a line as to the origin of the names of Ngati-Hau, referred to on page 182 of this volume, as derived from Haupipi. This was not the origin I heard of 40 years ago, which was Ngati-Hau-a-Paparangi, a name which the natives themselves did not know the origin of, nor did I until recently, when I was talking with a Tahitian member of the Makea family, of Rarotonga, concerning my old tribe of Ngati-Hau, and gave them their old name in full. When he heard this he said, "My old tribe, Hau-a-Papara'i, the only people who never bowed down before the Pomares, who were *toas* (braves) wherever they went." I take it that the tribe brought their own name with them from Hawaiki.

W. E. GUDGEON, Rarotonga.

[We are very glad indeed to accept Col. Gudgeon's version of the origin of this name, the more so as it is additional testimony that the Maoris came here from Tahiti, which is the theory formed by the writer of the above article after visiting Rarotonga and Tahiti in 1897. See "Hawaiki, the former home of the Maori." There is an old saying about this man which implies that he lived in Hawaiki: "*Te uri o Hau-nui-a-Paparangi, nana i taotao te nuku roa i Hawaiki.*" The descendants of Hau-nui-a-Paparangi, who suppressed the land (?) people of Hawaiki.—ED.]

### [183] A *taiaha* "whai-mana."

(See Col. Gudgeon's paper on "Mana Tangata," etc., Journal Vol. XIV., No. 2.)

A remarkable, and, I think, hitherto unrecorded instance of the strange *manatapu* sometimes attaching to a war-chief's weapon is that of Titoko-waru's sacred *taiaha* "Te Porohanga," carried by that warrior throughout the later campaigns in Taranaki, 1868-69. "Te Porohanga" is an historic weapon dating back to the old days of inter-tribal warfare. It belonged to a chief of Nga-ruahine as far back as the "thirties" of last century. When a war-party of Taupo men raided Wai-totara on one occasion they were defeated and many prisoners taken by the *tangata-whenua*. The chief Wai-o-nui (grandfather of the present Tutange-Waionui, of Pariroa, Patea) wished to save them, but the Nga-ruahine chief, who had this *taiaha* in his hand, brought it down with a sufficient gesture, saying as he did so, "Cut them down." So the captives were slaughtered, and went into the oven. The *taiaha* received its name, "Te Porohanga," in commemoration of this incident. In after years, when Titoko-waru became the war-priest and leader of the Hauhaus, this weapon was the medium of his battle-god Uenuku, and was used in a singular manner in the selection of the men who formed his war-parties. Titoko-waru's band of warriors chosen for special expeditions and sorties was called "Tekau-ma-rua" ("The Twelve")—though it generally consisted of sixty men. An eye-witness has described to me this ceremony, a notable instance of which was the "selection-by-*taiaha*" of the war-party which assaulted the Turuturu-mokai redoubt, near Hawera, in 1868. The people would all assemble in the meeting-house (in this particular case it was the sacred praying-house



"Wharekura" in the Ngutu-o-te-Manu *pa*). Titoko-warū, standing facing the assemblage, would balance his red-plumed *taiaha* in a horizontal position on his thumb and forefinger. The spirit of his war-god Uenuku entered into him, by virtue of his *karakias*, and the weapon would turn itself without any effort on his part. It was the visible manifestation of the three cumulative *mana*—if one may be allowed the expression—(1) *mana-atua* (the breath of the gods), (2) *mana-tangata* (Titokowarū's personal prestige), and (3) the inherent *mana-tapu* of the weapon. The *taiaha* would move, as Titoko stood facing his people, and its tongue would point towards a particular man. Titoko would question the man thus indicated, and, if his answer were satisfactory, he would order him to stand aside as one of the *taua*; and so on until the tally of the "Tekau-ma-rua" was complete. My informant adds: "Titoko-warū would not select the over-confident men." The repeated success of the Hauhau war-parties in the bush-fighting of 1868 no doubt considerably enhanced the *mana-tapu* of 'Te Porohanga.' It is still in the possession of Titoko-warū's people.

J. COWAN.

[184] Rakataura. (See J.P.S. Vol. XIV., p. 96.)

The following short account of Rakataura was given me many years ago by a member of the Ngati-matakore tribe (of "King" country), a descendant of Raka:—

"Ko Rakataura anake te tupuna i haere mai no Hawaiki i runga i te tuara o te ika nui whakaharahara, ko Paneiraira te ingoa. I haere tahi mai raua ko tana tamaiti ko Hape-ki-tuarangi, engari ko ia (ko te tamaiti) i tika mai, ara i waha mai e te hau rauwhakarewarewa [a whirlwind], ko 'Te Apurangi' te ingoa. I u tahi mai raua ki Wai-te-mata. Te take i haere mai ai a Raka i runga i te ika, na te mea i kawhaka tana wahine ki runga i a Tainui. He mea whakarere marire atu hoki a Raka ko tana tamaiti."

THE TAINUI IMMIGRANTS.—Hone Kaora (John Cowell), of Kawhia, when giving evidence before the Native Land Court at Otorohanga in 1886 (after detailing certain Tainui history), gave the following list of the people (evidently Raka's followers) who left the "Tainui" at Tamaki:—

"After Tainui arrived at Otahuhu the persons who carried the *mauri-manu* travelled overland. There were ten of them, viz., Hia-ora, Mate-ora, Maru-kopiri, Taranga, Tane-whakatea, Tama-ki-te-marangai, Hine-puanga-nui-a-rangi, Waihare, Rotu, and Puaki-o-te-rangi."

JAS. COWAN.





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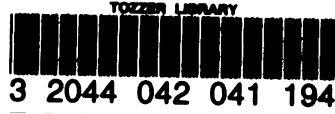












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